Exploring Muslim Parents' Experiences of Value Transmission to Adolescents in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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A thesis submitted to the University of South Africa (UNISA) for the Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology of Education in the College of Education

> June 2023 Supervisor: Professor Mogamat Noor Davids

Declaration

I, Abdella Muzein Hussien declare that the thesis hereby submitted by me for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of South Africa (UNISA) is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me to another university /faculty.

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Kind regards,

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Dr Naailah Duymun-Demirtaş

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Abstract

This study used a qualitative research method to examine the values and experiences of parents raising adolescent children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The purpose of this phenomenological study was to explore the dynamics of the parenting experience as it relates to parenting adolescents, with the specific aim of exploring and achieving an understanding of the values Muslim parents foster in their children and the transmission experiences they described; and of discovering the positive and challenging aspects during the parenting process of raising adolescent children. The overarching theoretical paradigm is interpretivism. Ecological systems theory and Social capital theory were applied to learn about these experiences. Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was the selected methodology, which entails the careful recording of the participants' expressions in semi-structured interviews, followed by an analysis. Ten Muslim parents, both husband and wife from five middle class families, participated in interviews and shared their experiences of parenting adolescents on an array of topics including their views about adolescence, parental aspirations/values priorities, parental expectations, transfer strategies, parenting concerns, and factors that support and hinder parenting adolescent children. Through the explication of the data that emerged from the five themes, six main findings were the contribution of this study to the literature. Pro-social and self-directed values, along with moral and ethical deeds (akhlaq), are two key findings that are seen as being of the utmost importance in the participants' socialisation goals, illustrating how pervasive these values are in the context of value transmission. Parents were able to have a more cooperative and negotiated approach to issues of children's safety, setting limits, expectations, and consequences due to the various transmission techniques they used. This gave parents confidence and reinforced their efforts to raise adolescent children. Parents' efforts are strengthened by the social and personal support they receive from people they consider to be their sources of strength, such as their own religious knowledge, reciprocity between partners, and family members, all of which are regarded as components of social capital, enhancing their efforts. Highs and normal lows in parenting presented the positive experiences of parenting with some challenging encounters in raising adolescent children. Companionship and sense of fulfilment were the positive aspects of parents' experience of raising adolescent children, although they encountered some disappointment and bewilderment at the onset of adolescence. Finally, the digital age of uncertainty featured in the discussions was identified as parental concerns and fears which necessitate mediating media use by limiting, preventing, and monitoring children's media use due to parents' anxiety and concern that their kids would be exposed to unsuitable and immoral behaviour and activities. This study serves as an example of how crucial it is to acquire and apply contextual knowledge in order to be able to arrive at a deeper understanding of the requirements and challenges particular to the demographic group.

Key words: adolescence, parenting, value transmission, Islam, religion, Ethiopia, Muslim family, interpretivism/ social constructionism, interpretative phenomenological analysis, phenomenolog

Abstrak

Hierdie studie het 'n kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetode gebruik om die waardes en ervarings van ouers wat adolessente kinders in Addis Abeba, Ethiopië, grootmaak, te ondersoek. Die doel van hierdie fenomenologiese studie was om die dinamika van die ouerskapservaring soos dit verband hou met ouerskap van adolessente te verken, spesifiek om die waardes wat Moslem-ouers in hulle kinders koester en die oordragervarings wat hulle beskryf, te verken en te verstaan; en om die positiewe en uitdagende aspekte van die ouerskapproses van die grootmaak van adolessente kinders te verken. Die oorkoepelende teoretiese paradigma is interpretivisme. Ekologiese sisteemteorie en sosiale kapitaalteorie is toegepas om uit hierdie ervarings te leer. Interpretatiewe fenomenologiese analise was die geselekteerde metodologie, en het die noukeurige aantekening van die deelnemers se uitdrukkings in semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude behels, gevolg deur analise. Tien Moslem-ouers, beide man en vrou uit vyf middelklasgesinne, het aan onderhoude deelgeneem en hulle ervarings van ouerskap van adolessente oor 'n verskeidenheid onderwerpe gedeel, insluitend hulle sienings oor adolessensie, ouerlike aspirasies, waardeprioriteite, ouerlike verwagtinge, oordragstrategieë, ouerskapkwessies, en faktore wat ouerskap van adolessente kinders ondersteun en belemmer. Deur die verduideliking van die data wat uit die vyf temas na vore gekom het, was ses hoofbevindinge die bydra van hierdie studie tot die literatuur. Pro-sosiale en selfgerigte waardes, tesame met morele en etiese dade (akhlaq), is twee sleutelbevindinge wat beskou word as van die uiterste belang in die deelnemers se sosialiseringsdoelwitte, wat illustreer hoe deurdringend hierdie waardes in die konteks van waardeoordrag is. Ouers kon 'n meer samewerkende en onderhandelde benadering hê tot kwessies van kinders se veiligheid, die stel van perke, verwagtinge en gevolge deur die verskillende oordragtegnieke wat hulle gebruik het. Dit het ouers selfvertroue gegee en hulle pogings om adolessente kinders groot te maak, versterk. Ouers se pogings is versterk deur die sosiale en persoonlike steun wat hulle ontvang het van mense wat hulle as hulle bron van krag beskou, soos hulle eie godsdienskennis, wederkerigheid tussen huweliksmaats en familielede wat almal as komponente van sosiale kapitaal beskou word. Hoogtepunte en normale laagtepunte in ouerskap het die positiewe ervarings van ouerskap uitgebeeld met 'n paar uitdagende voorvalle in die grootmaak van adolessente kinders. Geselskap en 'n gevoel van vervulling was die positiewe aspekte van ouers se ervaring van die grootmaak van adolessente kinders, alhoewel hulle 'n mate van teleurstelling en verbystering ervaar het aan die begin van adolessensie. Laastens, is die digitale era van onsekerheid wat in die besprekings genoem is, geïdentifiseer as ouers se besorgdheid en vrese wat vereis dat kinders se mediagebruik beperk, voorkom en gemoniteer word om te verhoed dat hulle kinders nie aan onvanpaste en immorele gedrag en aktiwiteite blootgestel word nie. Hierdie studie dien as 'n voorbeeld van hoe noodsaaklik dit is om kontekstuele kennis te bekom en toe te pas om sodoende 'n dieper begrip van die vereistes en uitdagings spesifiek tot die demografiese groep te kan verkry.

Sleutelwoorde: adolessensie, ouerskap, waardeoordrag, Islam, godsdiens, Ethiopië, Moslem-familie, interpretivisme/sosiale konstruktivisme, interpretatiewe fenomenologiese analise, fenomenologi

Setsopolwa

Dinyakišišo tše di šomišitše mokgwa wa dinyakišišo wa boleng go lekodišiša maitshwaro le maitemogelo a batswadi bao ba godišago bana ba mahlalagading ka Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Maikemišetšo a dinyakišišo tše di kgethegilego e bile go lekola seemo sa maitemogelo a batswadi a go amana le go godiša bana ba mahlalagading, ka maikemišetšo ao a kgethegilego a go utolla le go fihlelela kwešišo va maitshwaro ao batswadi ba Mamoselemo ba a fago bana ba bona le maitemogelo a go fetišetša maitshwaro ao ba a hlalošitšego; le a go utolla dilo tše kaone le tšeo di hlohlago ka nagong va tshepedišo va go ba godiša bana ba mahlalagading bjalo ka batswadi. Seemo sa teori seo se akaretšago bohle ke sa gore seemo ke sa maitemogelo. Tshepedišo ya teori ya ekholotši le teori ya tirišano ya setšhaba di dirišitšwe go ithuta ka ga maitemogelo a. Tshekatsheko ya tirišano ya setšhaba (IPA) e bile mokgwa wo o kgethilwego, go rago gore go gatiša ka tlhokomelo ga ditlhagišo tša bakgathatema ka go dipotsološo tšeo dipotšišo tša tšona e lego tša go ngwalelwa ruri le tša go hlakanywa le tša go nyaka maikutlo a yo a botšišwago, gwa latela tshekatsheko. Batswadi ba lesome ba Mamoselemo, bobedi monna le mosadi wa gagwe go tšwa go malapa a mahlano a maemo a magareng, ba kgathile tema ka go araba dipotšišo gomme ba fana ka maitemogelo a bona a go ba batswadi ba bana ba mahlalagading go mehutahuta ya dihlogotaba go akaretšwa maitemogelo a bona ka ga bana ba mahlalagading, ditlhologelo tša batswadi/mekgwa ye e beilwego pele, tšeo di emetšwego ke batswadi, mekgwa ya phetišetšo ya mekgwa, dipelaelo tša batswadi, le mabaka ao a thekgago le go šitiša go ba batswadi ba bana ba mahlalagading. Ka go diriša tshedimošo ye e tšwago go merero ye mehlano, dikutollo tše tshela tše kgolo e bile seabe seo dinyakišišo tše di bilego le sona go dingwalo. Mekgwa ye e sepelelana le setšhaba le mekgwa ye e tšwago go bona, gotee le ditiro (akhlaq) tše kaone le tše di amogelegilego, ke dikutollo tše pedi tše bohlokwa tše di bonwago bjalo ka tše bohlokwa kudu ka go dinepo tša setšhaba tša bakgathatema, gomme se sa laetša ka fao maitshwaro a a phatlaletšego kudu ka seemong sa phetišo ya mekgwa go ya go bana. Batswadi ba kgonne go ba le mokgwa wa tirišano kudu le wa go rerišana go merero ya polokego ya bana, go bea mellwane, dikemelo, le dipoelo ka lebaka la mekgwa ya phetišetšo ya mekgwa ye e fapafapanego ye ba e šomišitšego. Se se file batswadi boitshepo le go maatlafatša leswa matsapa a bona a go godiša bana ba bona ba mahlalagading. Matsapa a batswadi a maatlafatšwa ke thekgo va setšhaba le va sebele veo ba e hwetšago go batho bao ba ba bonago bjalo ka bao ba ba fago maatla, go swana le tsebo ya bona ya sedumedi, tirišano magareng ga balekane, le maloko a lapa, bao ka moka ga bona ba bonwago bjalo ka dikarolo tša setšhaba, go maatlafatša matsapa a bona. Maemo a godimo le ao a tlwaelegilego a batswadi a hlagišitše maitemogelo a makaone a go ba batswadi fao go nago le ditlhohlo go dikamano ge ba godiša ban aba mahlalagading. Tirišano le maikutlo a go kgotsofatša a bile dilo tše kaone tša maitemogelo a batswadi ge ba godiša bana ba mahlalagading, le ge e le gore ba itemogetše maswabi le go makala ge ba thoma go tsena mengwageng ya mahlalagading. Mafelelong, mengwaga ya titšithale ya go hloka bokgonthe ye e ilego ya akaretšwa ka dipoledišanong e hlathilwe bjalo ka ditlhobaboroko go batswadi le letšhogo e lego tšeo di dirilego gore go hlokagale kgašo ya go tsena gare ka go fokotša, go thibela, le go hlokomela tšhomišo ya kgašo go bana ka lebaka la go tšhoga ga batswadi le pelaelo ya bona ya gore bana ba bona ba ka itemogela maitshwaro le ditiro tše di sego tša ba lokela le tšeo di sego tša loka. Dinyakišišo tše di šoma bjalo ka mohlala wa ka fao go lego bohlokwa ka gona go hwetša le go diriša tsebo ya seemo ka nepo ya go kgona go kwešišo ye e tseneletšego ya dinyakwa le ditlhohlo tše di amanago le sehlopha sa dipalopalo.

Mantšu a bohlokwa: bana ba mahlalagading, go ba batswadi, phetišetšo ya mekgwa, Islamo, tumelo, Ethiopia, lapa la Mamoselemo, mekgwa ye e sepelelanago le setšhaba/tlhathollo ya semelo sa tlhago, tshekatsheko ya tirišano ya setšhaba, maitemogelo a boikgopolo

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter provides the background of the study and outlines its purpose and scope. Due to my choice of a phenomenological approach which emphasises the importance of reflexivity, I have presented a strong personal motivation in order to situate the genesis and relevance of the work within a personal and societal context.

1.1. Background of the study

The transmission of values has been the main concern of parents, teachers, and religious leaders, who are all considered responsible for transmitting values and norms to children. Intergenerational relations between parents and adolescents are maintained through the socialisation process in which cultural values are shared, practised, and transmitted from one generation to the next to influence behaviours and values within a family context (Hank, Salzburger, & Silverstein, 2017).

The socialisation of children into a system of values and beliefs about the self and society are the most important tasks and responsibilities of parents (Donato and Bertoni, 2017). Socialisationhelps children to acquire skills, attitudes, and behaviours that are required for successful adaptation to a family set-up and the society at large (Monica, Wendy, & Peggy, 2012).

There is an increasing recognition that human development takes place within the social context of the family system (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010). Previously, and in the same vein, Darling and Steinberg (1993) allude to the fact that culture is a critical force in the socialisation processof children. Support for such assertion comes from Shaules (2007) who argued that cultural contexts further provide a shared meaning system, which requires individuals in their community group to internalise certain cultural values.

The family, as a primary institution, is central to the socialisation of children and it is an important context for the development and transmission of values, norms, and expectations (Darling, 2007). It is in this social setting that children_s lives are shaped, the social and cultural standards and expectations of the society are gradually internalised (Hirut, 2012; Bitter, 2013).

The family can be considered as the first sociological environment for the preparation of children

to recognise societal expectations, values, norms, and beliefs and finally took it as their own (Agneta, Jennie, & Eriksson, 2015; Darling, Flaherty, & Dwyer, 1997), and, thus, _parenting emphasises the responsibilities and qualities of exemplary behaviour of the parent⁴. In the same vein, Bitter (2013) and Leifer & and Fleck (2013) argue that as children are first exposed to a sociocultural system, that is family with a set of rules, teach children about interpersonal relations and appropriate behaviour and values. As families select and emphasise the values that better contribute to the maintenance of family identity, healthy family relations play a crucial role in the transmission of values (Cigoli and Scabini, 2006; Trommsdorff, 2009).

Recent evidence (Copen & Silverstein, 2008; Hoskins, 2014) suggests that parents play a crucial role in intentional and unintentional transmission of values, and thereby shaping adolescent developmental outcomes.

The family and religion are viewed as "anchors and safe harbors" that may create a better society for everyone in Ethiopia, as in other Muslim nations, where child rearing is profoundly anchored in cultural and religious ideas and practices (French, Eisenberg, Purwono, et al., 2008). It is a highly esteemed institution in Islamic culture where Muslim youths are likely to be raised in stable environment with strong emotional ties among the family members (Hodge, 2002). Context is important in parenting and there is a lack of empirical research to advance our knowledge on the experiences of parents and their socialisation goals as well as the strategiesthey use to transmit their values to their adolescent children. The present study attempts to fillthis gap of knowledge.

A growing body of research and theory suggest that parenting is embedded in the cultural contexts and core societal values (Kagitçibasi, 1996; Trommsdorff, 2002). The study of the ecology of human development similarly shows that parenting takes place through the broader cultural contexts that shape family functioning (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). In this regard, the study which compared cultural values and parenting practices of mothers from European and Asian American backgrounds further indicate that cultural values shape both socialisation and parenting values (Chao, 1995).

According to Tam and Lee (2010), parents do not only refer to the direct copy of their values in

determining what values are essential qualities to foster into their children, but they consider the normative socialisation values, that is, they depend on what they perceive are valued by society, suggesting that cultural values and contexts serve as important sources of parental values. For example, while in collectivist societies parents emphasise the values of cooperation, empathy, conformity, obedience, interdependence, and hard work (Kagitçibasi,1996; Trommsdorff, 2002), individualistic cultures stress on independence, self-maximization, and assertiveness (Schwartz, Weisskirch, Hurley, et al., 2010).

Adolescence is viewed as a period of developing independence and identity, including religious identity, and it is a time when young people become vulnerable to competing values andmessages (Steinberg & Silk, 2002). Some scholars argue that this period is not just important for values development, it is also a time for change in behaviour (Padilla-Walker, 2007). It is a transition period in which parent-adolescent relationship undergoes transformation (Learner & Steinberg, 2009), often regarded as the most challenging time for both parents and children, with parents struggling to understand their children and to communicate through the _sensitive attunement' of the developmental needs of adolescents (Trommsdorff, 2012; Kobak, Abbott, Zisk, et al, 2017:3).

Adolescents' relationship within the family setup and their healthy development are affected by a host of variables such as technological advancement, transformation of cultural practices due to global and social environment, peer influence, and adolescents' increasing interest inindependence and autonomy (Ibrahim, Somers, Luecken, et al., 2017).

In view of this, scholars (Spring, Rosen, and Matheson, 2002) suggest that changes in society and its cultural context lead to the reformation of interaction and expectation in the family with adolescent children. Research evidence has also indicated that parental values and the transmission thereof are affected by some demographic factors like the socioeconomic situation, the education of parents and their occupations (Sharma, Sapru, & Gupta, 2004), and the religiouspractices of parents (Rahkar Farshi, Valizadeh, Zamanzadeh, et al., 2019). However, paucity of research warrants an investigation of the latter. Farshi et al., (2019) contend that religious groups, the mosque, and the Madrassa can affect the relationship between parents and adolescents within Muslim communities. Some literature suggests that parents from the low socioeconomic background often endorse physical punishment, hierarchical relationship styles and focus on obedience and conformity (Conger, Kim, & Scaramella, 2003) while parents of families from high socioeconomic status (SES) use psychological punishments more often, allowing children to express their ideas and endorse egalitarian relationships (Hill, 2006).

Although several studies suggest that adolescents spend more time with peers and digital media use which may provide them values that would conflict with parental values by encouraging experimentation (Padilla-Walker, 2007), some evidence suggest that Muslim youths spend more time with their parents than children of primarily secular family. Presumably family ties and interconnectedness are given high importance among family members in Muslim community (Daneshpour, 1998; Haddad & Smith, 1996).

Likewise, scholars such as Steinberg and Silk (2002) are of the opinion that such connectedness and cohesiveness of the family environment would place the family context as the most important avenue and source of value information to adolescent children.

While parental responsibilities and functions in the socialization of children have been found extensively in the mainstream literature, socialization in the context of Muslim families has been studied and documented in a few mainstream literature, given that Islam informs parenting and places high importance on the family structure as a fundamental and basic starting point both for micro and macro societal development (Yasmin, 2018; Farrate, 2015). Thus, this qualitative study aims to bridge such gap and contribute to the literature.

Children are acquainted with values and norms at home from their early stage of life so that they assume a well-defined natural duty and obligation to the family. Among the duties of children in Muslim families, giving respect to their parents and helping their parents at home or outside the house are often stressed (Degni, Filio, Pöntinen, et al., 2006). Children in Muslim families meet the expectation of their parents by showing obedience, internalizing the values of their parents and showing respect to authority figures with little or no resistance. As is the case of other community group, when children enter adolescence, and experience maturing body and mind andcome into contact with various socializing agents, some of them would become less willing to

accept their parents_ authority over their choice of friends and activities, hobbies, and dressing style (Smetana, 2015). In the same vein, some literature (Santrock, 2011, 2005, 2009) suggests that adolescents tend to disagree with their parents. They question and argue over the values their parents want them to adopt and challenge their authority, and disagree on minor issues such as homework, household chores and choice of friends (Sigelman & Rider, 2003; Smetana, 2015). In light of the literature presented above, it can be stated that there seems to be a generationalgap between parents and adolescents which could largely be exacerbated with the emergence of digital technology which divide generations (Odendaal, Malcolm, Savahl, Malcom, Savahl, et al.2006).

However, the idea of inevitability of conflict between parents and adolescent has come to scrutiny by some scholars who hold the view that _conflict between parents and adolescents is not nearly as frequent as popular myth has suggested⁴, although it still is considered a common occurrence in many families (Smetana, 2015). This could be the case in traditional societies and among Muslim families where greater respect and obedience to parents is considered a required virtue and perceived a religious duty of children (Hodge, 2005).

While parents may want to preserve and protect the values with which they were brought up, adolescents adopt a new one which may contradict the parents_traditional family values due to the competing messages and values to which they are exposed. Parents often may not even be aware of the values that they practice, simply because they uphold it as it may be part of their being. Barni, Ranieri, Scabini, and Rosnati (2011) observed that the parents of today were socialised in a different social context from their children who are increasingly influenced by modern media technology and peers. That was not the same during the socialisation of their parents which according to some writers would require negotiation of which values to maintain and which values to abandon in a changing social environment (Akyil, Prouty, Blanchard, et al., 2014). However, in traditional societies, the idea of negotiation would become a difficult task and often a greater challenge for parents who raise adolescents who adopt different values (Akyilet al., 2014).

Although the above literature clearly shows parenting as adaptive to socioeconomic, cultural and demographic condition, few studies are available that have explored parenting in the context of

Ethiopia in general (Dame, 2014) and Muslim families in particular. The few early studies conducted among some ethnic groups focused on parenting variables such as methods of child rearing practices (Abraham, 1996; Seleshi & Sintayehu, 1998) and parenting styles. Among the few studies conducted in recent years on child rearing values, beliefs and practices (Yishak, 2015; Dame, 2014) and the experiences of parents who raise adolescent children (Berhan, 2016), Berhan_s study was the exception as it directly addresses parenting experiences among one ethnic group in Addis Ababa.

In her qualitative research on the experiences of parents, Berhan (2016) noted parents_focus on shaping their children_s character, instilling obedience, and being more concerned about the unhealthy physical and psychosocial environment surrounding their adolescent children. Similarly, Yishak (2015) found that adolescents are exposed to multiple experiences outside the family which led them to contest parental values, norms, and expectations.

A few empirical studies conducted in Muslim countries suggest that some adolescents nowadays seem to be reluctant to conform to the values of their parents due to constant exposure to media messages and values which lead to conflicts in parent-child relationships (Sanagoei Zadeh et al., 2016).

The above discussion suggests that understanding the experiences and goals of Muslim parents who raise adolescent children can help educators and family therapists identify important issues and strategies that may be effective in enhancing family relationships and addressing adolescents'challenges (Rahkar, Valizadeh, Zamanzadeh, et al., 2019). Yet, our knowledge of parents_ experiences and their socialisation goals, the values that they prioritise and instill in their children and their transfer strategies is limited in general (Berhan, 2016) and there is a dearth of qualitative study among Muslim families in particular. Thus, the aim of this qualitative study is to explore the experiences of parents and their socialisation goals and the strategies they use to transmitt their values to their adolescent children.

1.2. Rationale for the study

1.2.1. Personal and Academic Motivation

I was born and brought up in a semi urban area in a district known as Aleta wondo, the then Sidama province, surrounded by members of extended family supporting each other, living in close vicinity (Degbey, 2012; Adinloy, 2009). My parents reared us the way they thought was important for our future lives according to their tradition and lifestyles of the time. Our family_s livelihood was primarily based on the petty trade they were engaged in. During my youth, I used to contribute to the family income, but my elder sibling fully engaged to support and complement the family income to ensure the family needs get fulfilled (Kyalo, 2012).

I grew up in a family environment where the extended family members frequently visited each other at the time of happiness such as marriage, religious festival as well as in a time of crisis such as death of a family member from near and far (Garcia, Pence, & Evans, 2008).

Apparently, a misunderstanding between my parents caused a long year of estrangement between them during my adolescence, presumably due to my late father's personality characteristic or the fact that he skewed to his second wife, who lived next door to my mother. Although my father and mother started to live apart later, my father was closer physically although his involvement in our education was limited compared to our late mother. Mother aspired high to see us thrive in education. When I recollect the nature of our parents' relationship, it appears that marital happiness was missing on the part of our late mother (Kidwell, Fischer, Dunham, & Baranow- ski, 1983) because our late father had to divide his time and attention among the two families and the level of support that our late mother received from him was thus divided. However, she had constant psychological support and encouragement from extended family members, particularly from the late grandmother and our late aunts from the paternal side. Although limited in his financial capacity, our late father did provide us the support within his limit.

Along with my professional journey, the recollection of my own adolescence has contributed to sharpening the area of focus on Muslim families. In a typical day in our adolescence, I spent time with my friends engaging in a football team we formed, playing and competing with in and

outside peers coming from nearby areas. I remember those days when school was closed for a long vacation due to student protest against the then feudal government and boycott of school which gave us ample time to socialise with our clique members and chewing Khat¹ during theday and having discussions on political issues. As chewing khat was not uncommon among the Muslim family and considered to have a religious base associated with rituals accomplished to invoke God in groups, chewing khat by students make them feel good, exhilarated, was condoned by families and community and the fact that it was perceived to have a stimulant effect for students to concentrate and stay awake for long hours to study and accomplish their school work. However, unlike chewing khat, consuming alcohol (and doing drug) was not tolerated and triggered conflict between parents and adolescents when discovered, to which I myself met with severe parental reaction on a particular night when I came late having drunken Tej, a beverage locally produced from bee honey with mild alcoholic content, with my friends, something which we did to experiment and prove to ourselves that we are adults.

In those days, my contemporaries and I were limited in our exposure to outside influence with a few mass communication outlets such as radio and television, which were merely available in some homes, and gazettes sold in big urban areas. In other words, one could compare those days with the current burgeoning of modern media and technology, which is an issue also addressed inthis thesis. We were taught how to practise social life, dos and don_ts of the culture of the villageand community we were brought up. Tedla (1991) noted that respecting parents and elders, having love towards the extended family, being obedient, showing concern for others, having self-discipline, sharing, as opposed to following individual pursuit were amongst the most important values that were emphasized by our parents, which are conceived by theorists as elements of Social Capital (Putnam, 2002). Parents were the primary source of socialisation with assistance from the extended family members and neighbors. Thus, there seemed to be little reason for parents in those days to worry much about the external influences that youth were exposed to.

¹ Khat, originated from fresh leaves of Catha edulis, known by its various names such as chat, Abyssinian tea, etc, has a stimulant effect and categorized under psychoactive drugs. When used or being abused it alters one_s mood or emotional state through sustained release or inhibition of neurotransmitters, thereby enhancing the response of the individual. It is grown and has been widely practiced in Ethiopia, in Somalia, Middle East and extending down to as far as the Cape in South Africa. (Dawit et al., 2005). In Proceedings of the National Workshop on Khat Habit and other Psychotropic drugs in the spread of HIV/AIDS and their impact on health and socioeconomic well-being.

In the early days of my childhood neighbours were active in complementing parenting efforts by showing their concerns in different ways. For instance, adults would admonish a child in the neighborhood when they saw him/her misbehave or would inform the parent when they think the child has breached community norm². Disobedience to parental rule was considered an immoral thing and conceived as an outcome of poor parenting (Haddad & Smith, 1996). Many parents were intolerant when the youth crossed the line. They employed harsh methods ranging from swearing, corporal punishment and in some cases, brutally tying up the child to a tree. I, however, have never experienced this harsh form of punishment because my parents were not in favour of such practices. To my observation, these trends apparently changed in many households. The changing social and global environment, however, has changed such collective effort partly and would put pressure on parents who raise adolescent children (Hoskins, 2014). I also remember an incident which resonates in me throughout my adult life, when my mom reminded me in a forceful tone of her disappointment and the burden she shouldered in raising usand her advice not to play with and hang around with one of our peers by singling out his name and calling him a 'bad boy' (Wagner, 1994). As our friend had a unique and bad habit of stealingmoney from his mother and elder sister, we were warned to keep away from him. I realised that parents were protective of their children as they were aware that children learn good and bad from their surrounding and friends (Kassamali, 2015; Santrock, 2011). In the thinking of parents, there is another life out there which they want us not to follow. Of course there were exceptions but they were minimal and isolated. These personal memories of my own adolescent years made me interested in understanding the experiences of adolescence in this period. This phenomenological account of my adolescence, provides a useful background to the complexity of a study on family life and adolescence. The thesis will highlight the experience of the contemporary Muslim family and provide a glimpse of the changes that family has undergone over the past 50/60 years.

²I reflect upon my own youth and the parenting experiences of those days in one of my published books, Abdella Muzein (2015). _Wisdom to raising healthy and efficacious children: Implication to parenting and learning_, in a chapter devoted to connection with the neighbourhood and the community where everyone feels to have a stake in child development compared to the present situation where adults are not inclined to support child development in a manner the previous generation used to do.

Raising my own adolescent children, a daughter and son, and an adopted son provided me with experiences - excitement, a sense of accomplishment and some challenges (Bornstein, 2002). I experienced the normal lows with my grown-up children: elder son and young daughter, occasionally on mundane issues such as conflicting interest over watching TV at the same time on one screen; while I favour to follow news from international channels, they were inclined to watch their favourite films on the then available one TV screen which we used to share at the same time. The way I handle such differences and the lesson I got therein also trigger ideas and questions to further contemplate on the parent-adolescent relationship which finally helped me sharpen the area of focus to Muslim families which influenced the study conceptually and methodologically.

As I mentioned earlier, in my adolescence both Muslim and non-Muslim children interacted freely, played together, supported each other in academic affairs with some differences exhibited in our religious upbringing. We underwent similar developmental changes which sometimes triggered conflict with our parents.

The fact that Muslim youth had more opportunities to get religiously socialised compared to our non-Muslim peers through obligatory congregational prayer every day and on Fridays and during the month of Ramadan through different religious rituals such as reading and listening to commentary and translation of Qur_an ³ and Hadith day and night. With encouragement from our parents to go to the Mesjid ⁴ (mosque]) we observed Muslims, male and female in large and small groups, exchanging warm greetings and sharing and eating food during Ramadan ⁵ at the fast breaking time. All these gave us a sense of belonging and reinforced our Islamic identity

³ The Qur'an is a divinely revealed scripture, universally regarded as the authentic word of Allah (God), a source of guidance along with prophetic tradition by Muslims. It was revealed to prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in 23-year period of time, in one language, in one primary style, directly from one God, with no existing variant editions – all of these characteristics provide a great source of social cohesion and unity. Walter R. Schumm and Alison L. Kohler (). Social Journal of Islamic Social Sciences 23:2.

⁴ A place of worship for Muslims, the word masjid evolved from the Arabic term, which means a '—place of prostration'. During prayer, Muslims briefly kneel and touch their foreheads to the ground as a sign of submission (literally Islam) to the will of God. Google English dictionary, Oxford university press (2023). Retrieved on 6/18/2023.

⁵ Fasting is one pillar of Islam and an obligatory ritual from sunrise to sunset for one month from all who meet the relevant conditions, such as being healthy mentally and physically but there are concessions for individuals with various valid reasons such as travel from home, being sick and at a time of menstrual cycle and to compensate when their situations change or improve. Walter R. Schumm and Alison L. Kohler (). Social Cohesion and the Five Pillars of Islam: A Comparative Perspective. Forum. The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences 23:2.

(Hadad & Smith, 1996) and brought us closer to understanding the place of parents in religion and our duties to them.

I was twenty-five years of age when I graduated from the Department of Psychology at Addis Ababa University and started my career in secondary high school as a guidance counsellor and later as an expert to coordinate activities of school guidance counsellors working at senior high schools for the Ministry of Education. The counselling services I rendered on personal and academic issues for the school-bound students and my services at the head office for a decade gave me the first opportunity to come across the developmental needs of adolescents requiring attention and support. With this experience, I later assumed a post at different NGOs including Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia (FGAE) and Save the children - USA.

During those times, I was working as an adolescent reproductive health expert and Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) advisor which inspired me to develop and write parenting books and later conducted courses at two universities ⁶ which further helped me learn more about youth and parent adolescent dynamics.

I travelled in and outside Ethiopia and attended various trainings and workshops on adolescent development and counselling and conducted trainings for health and education professionals. After having served both the Ministry of Education and NGOs in different professional capacity for nearly three decades, I changed my career path to pursue private work and teaching at university on a part-time basis. In my private practice as a family educator, I conducted training for parents on parenting adolescents which gave me more insight on the areas and issues requiring investigation. This professional journey further triggered excitement in the field to pursue my professional career in youth development and family studies which led me to finally narrow down the area to explore experiences of parenting adolescents through their own perspectives would be an avenue that may help understand the challenges of parenting in

⁶ I conducted 'Child psychology' and 'Gender, marriage and family' courses for under graduate class and post graduate class at Addis Ababa university and Jimma Universities respectively (2014-2020), as a guest lecturer which provided me the impetus to pursue my inquiry around family and parenting experiences. Authored Learning materials such as 'Reproductive Health Behavior Change Communication: facilitators' guide' (Abdella, 2007) and a few books on parenting. I travelled in and outside Ethiopia and attended various trainings and workshops on adolescent development and counselling and conducted trainings for health and education professionals.

this transition period (Dunkley, 2013). This led me to believe that this study may be relevant to other religiously minded parents who share similar concern about moral and religious issues. For example, as is inMuslim families, there are similar concerns and outcry from the other religious groups over /against adolescents' exposure to inappropriate media channels and getting addicted tosubstances and drugs and pornography ⁷. While this is the major reason for venturing into this particular study, my personal and professional journeys have also contributed towards the choice of the study topic. The question that lingered for long was '*What issues do* I want *to* research about the socialisation of children among Muslim parents', a population group where littleinvestigation has been made in the mainstream parenting scholarship in Ethiopia ?. Phrased differently, I am motivated to do this study out of a need for deep understanding of Muslim parents' experiences of raising adolescent children.

In my attempt to answer this question, I decided to go back and reflect on some of my personal and professional experiences and to examine what I have in me, because self-examination and self-understanding are important to open the doors to new ideas and thoughts (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Indeed, "any inquiry process is within the context of a researcher_s personal experiences (and) general socio-cultural framework (Goetz & Lecompte, 1984: 33).

As in any other social group, in Muslim households, parents are highly concerned about the choice of friendship, due to long held opinion that bad companionship would lead children to bad behaviour or they go astray from the fold of the religion (Haddad & Smith, 1996). Parents expect their children to lead responsible lives by engaging in marriage through Nikah⁸, avoiding sex before marriage, so that they should be a source of pride for their family (Hodge, 2002).

⁷ In two rounds of panel discussions on 'Youth Development and School and Home Partnership', organized by one private school,I was invited to attend and provide some explanation at the end of the session. In this platform parents participated in the meeting expressed their worries and concerns on use of technology and drugs with strong emotions. Some of their remarks include: "I don't know what to do when she wake up at dawn to read and see pictures by opening her telegram channel", "While we parents preoccupied with their academic issues, we forget about their moral development", "They upload many applications and it is a serious concern for us- parents", "Drugs are sold in powder form at a pharmacy and easily get their way into classes and those who do not use drugs are affected". "They spend the whole night chatting on the internet and watching pornographic films and go to school with low energy and apathy", others comp lain about other p arents. "Parents who provide smart phones to their children affect other students in a negative manner", "Some parents require parents themselves", to mean parents who are poorly prepared to parent their children. Personal note: November, 2020, Panel discussion.

⁸ A civil contract that requires the consent of the two parties, signed and agreed upon, witnessed not only by the individual spouses, but also by their guardians and their elders, then becomes a legal and binding document (nikah) which create a constitution for marriage.

In recent years, parents expressed their concern following disturbing news that came from schools and media outlets which revealed incidents of sexual abuse committed by individuals practising homosexual acts on children, a highly discouraged act by Ethiopians and considered an evil act in Islam and Christianity (Haddad & Smith, 1996). A more revealing phenomenon posted on the social media in recent years about girls being trafficked and sold in hundreds thousands of birr⁹ on account of their virginity, became a big issue and further brought public outcry. Additionally, these unhealthy sexual practices and use of kchat and other drugs such as Marijuana among youth in the backyard of residential areas and the school yards in Addis Ababahave forced the city government to ban Playboy / pornographic magazines and close video houses as part of counteracting indecency and immoral practices operating in the city (Ayele, 2007). All of these and related fears and concerns of parents are issues being heard, felt and observed by parents, but are regarded as taboo topics to engage in public. Today, especially after HIV and AIDS pandemic, open sexual talks have become a norm and a matter of publiceducation. The HIV and AIDS prevention campaigns removed the suppressed sexuality discourse in the interest of health. Therefore, to conduct a scientific inquiry into parental concerns that may involve youth sexuality has become a matter which scholarship and academic cannot ignore.

As a family educator, I conducted courses with selected parents who raise adolescent children, from fifteen families both fathers and mothers on 'Family Time: Parenting Adolescents'. This helped widen my perspective on parenting and gave me an opportunity to become familiar with some of their concerns and aspirations and their struggle to raise their children in an ever- changing environment.

As explained earlier, my interest in dealing with the experiences of parents emanated not only from the need to understand the experiences of parents but it also arises arose from my personal and professional experiences with adolescents and families who raise adolescent children.

⁹ Name of an official currency in Ethiopia.

I have noticed that while parents who attended the trainings and lectures I presented at different occasions professed to find them helpful, I was not able to see whether the outcomes were to be enduring or overly encouraging. My personal encounter with adolescents and the conversation I made with regard to their views about the relationship with their parents seem to suggest the existence of conflicts and a generation gap in their communication (Valizadeh et al., 2018). These experiences of mine with parents and adolescents were critical in my decision to pursue aninquiry to hear the parents' voice, views, and opinions. This is particularly important amidst the noise and emotional turmoil that often accompany this period in the family lifecycle (Martinez, 2008; Ibrahim et al., 2017). I have furthermore become increasingly aware of the need for a systematic inquiry that could inform parents the approaches /methods adaptive to developmental stage and needs of children in this stage of family life cycle.

The factors discussed above and my interest in the field helped me much to situate my study around this topic (Dunkley, 2013). I believe that the road I travelled in the field of psychology was useful to make a valuable contribution to this field. I also realised that the topic might be of interest to other educators and researchers (Trommsdorff, 2006; Roest, Dubas, Gerris, et al. 2009).

1.3. Problem statement

In every culture, parents have their own unique child rearing values and practices that could reflect their cultural settings. Muslim communities are no exception. A body of literature(Keller, 2009) suggests that parents use a range of knowledge, skills, and beliefs to raise their adolescent children.

A growing body of literature suggests that parenting behaviours will be influenced by the cultural, religious, technological, ethnic, and political situation of the given society (French et al.,2012; Trommsdorff, 2012).

Parents' socialisation goals, their beliefs about child rearing and the methods they employ in raising their children may vary amongst societies to the extent that a behaviour acceptable in one society would be viewed as inappropriate and considered pathological in another society (Kagitcibasi, 2005). For instance, in Muslim societies modesty and chastity are the highlyrequired value for healthy marriage functioning and the honour of the family (Hodge, 2005), while dating before marriage is viewed as normative in the Western society. Similarly, high parental control and supervision are considered normative in collective society, while the same behaviours

are viewed as a hindrance and a constraint to the development of children in individualistic cultures (Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

Drawing on three rounds of survey and qualitative data, the -Young Lives_ study in Ethiopial conducted among children and their caregivers, Yishak (2015) found that adolescents are exposed to different experiences outside the family which led them to contest parental values, norms, and expectations, which resulted in increased intergenerational conflicts requiring parents to renegotiate their imposed restriction related to the time allowed outside home and dating negotiations in some contexts (McGue, Elkins, Walden, & Lacono, 2005).

There are certain values and religious views which are uniquely positioned to be observed in Muslim families, and may be different from issues of concern for parents of other religious groups. For example, observing modesty, such as the practice of hijab (putting on veil or headscarf by girls) and growing beard by boys, and having an appropriate appearance such as not wearing frippery make-up, abstaining from alcohol and free mixing of opposite sexes (Haddad & Smith, 1996). However, studies suggest (Parvizi & Ahmadi, 2009; Valizadeh, Zamanzadeh, Rassouli et al., 2018) that Muslim families like other cultural settings are witnessing the conflict that arises when traditional family norms fail to adapt to new changes, which is exacerbated by the emergence of adolescence. Valizadeh and colleagues (2018) in their qualitative study among Iranian parents revealed adolescents_incongruence with parental expectations, refusing parental advice and lacking adherence to parental beliefs and values.

Much earlier research (Pasley and Gecas, 1984) in the west shows the existence of someparenting programs which were intended to improve the quality of parents' life by focusing on the parents who raise young children but tended to disregard parents of adolescents.

Recent works show various intervention programs designed basically to increase "sensitive attunement" (Kobak, 2015:3) by targeting parenting practices (Kazdin, 2016; Allen, Garcia-Huidobro, Porta et al., 2016).

Such kind of programs are almost non-existent in our context; except for a few short courses ¹⁰ being delivered and seminars offered by some professionals and paraprofessionals on an ad hoc basis upon invitation by a few schools and NGOs periodically.

Beshir (2003) in his conference paper indicated that Muslim parents in Ethiopia are concerned about the values that are on the decline and the tendency of adolescent children to adopt values other than their parents which led them to confront their parents who had complained. He further stated that widely spread pornographic films and detachment of youth from the social and religious norms enhanced their moral decay and misbehaviour. This gap often could force some parents to negotiate and solicit professional assistance from counsellors, family therapists, Imams and sheks ¹¹ at the mosque and wise men in the neighborhood (Akiyil, 2014).

Haddad and Smith (1996) as well as Hodge (2002) and Beshir & Beshir (2004) argued that Muslim parents lead their life and raise their children based on their cultural and Islamic values with the ultimate purpose to please God and thereupon seeking divine support, as raising children in a proper manner is considered a religious duty put into the care of parents.

The concern of parents about adolescents' exposure to outside influence and their fear thatchildren would abandon some of the parental values and stay away from their religion are issues deserving inquiry, but the problem is the dearth of literature on Muslim parenting and the uncertainty that shrouds this topic, hence the need to understand the problem better as perceived through the experiences of Muslim parents who raise adolescent children in Addis Ababa.

Studying the experience of parents in this phase of the family life cycle pertaining to their values transmission to their adolescent children will be an area of interest for me and the professionals

¹⁰ There is a growing interest and trend among some private schools in the capital city to incorporate topics pertaining to parenting and organizing short training courses for parents periodically as part of their effort to equip parents with knowledge and skills on parenting and thereby strengthen home - school partnership for common goal of cultivating virtues and enhance academic performance of students in high schools. The course 'Family Time: Parenting Adolescents, is one initiative taken by me in recent years and being conducted in a few schools ata time when parents are looking for the answers they often ask themselves and drew the attention of schools pertaining to discipline, influence of technology on students' academic aspirations and attainment. Abdella (2016). Family Time: parenting adolescents, Amharic document'

¹¹ These are learned men on religious affairs considered constituent of the social networks that provide support to parents on religious and social issues and complement parenting through their weekly sermons and daily teaching at the mosque and outside occasionally.

in family studies. For example, research question (s) such as 'what are the experiences of parents with adolescent children? or 'what are parents' prioritised goals to their adolescent children'?, are some of the topics pursued by a few investigators from mid-19th century to this digital era (Wagner,1994; Akyil, 2014; Berhan, 2016), to which I am strongly inclined to engage in.

1.4. Research questions and objectives

The study explores and describes the experiences of Muslim parents transmitting values to their adolescent children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The main research question which guides this study is, what are the experiences of Muslim parents who raise adolescent children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia?, with the following sub-questions:

- What are the experiences of Muslim parents in transmitting cultural /religious values to their adolescent children in Addis Ababa?
- How do Muslim parents transmit their core values to their children?
- What are the personal and social resources that help Muslim parents in raising their adolescent children?

Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study are:

- To investigate the experiences of Muslim parents as they transmit cultural /religious values to their adolescent children in Addis Ababa.
- To explore the modes /strategies parents employ to transfer their values to their adolescent children.
- To explore the personal and social resources which help parents raise adolescent children

1.5. Significance of the study

Providing relevant answer to the research questions above would have a lot of practical and theoretical contribution in the field of axiological studies grounded in Islamic philosophical tenets, teachings and methodologies. First and foremost, it throws light on the extent of continuity and change in Islamic values that parents try to communicate to children through their

Child-rearing practices. Secondly, it expounds some innovative and relevant strategies for promoting Islamic values in the new millennium. Third, it can also create a platform for theorising values transmission that is friendly and can adequately capture current developments and practices of child-rearing in transitional societies like Ethiopia.

1.6. Theoretical framework

Understanding the complex process in intergenerational values transmission requires perspectives that consider psychological and sociological components. Two theories, ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986) and social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Colman,1988) with a focus on Franchelli and O' Brien's (2014) "Islamic capital" was adopted as a guiding theoretical framework to interpret the data required to answer the research questions.

As a social phenomenon, parenting involves interaction amongst various individuals, interacting with one another, in a sustainable way. Bronfenbrenner's ecological system describe five layers or systems in the ecological system -the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, the macrosystem, and the chronosystem. Bronfenbrenner emphasises the complex dynamic nature of interaction in microsystem relationships as being responsible for the promotion of development: reciprocal interactions between the child and parent, child and peers which is referred to as proximal processes.

Another theory relevant to parenting adolescents is Coleman's (1988) social capital theory, an evolving concept, broadly referring to the social norms, networks and levels of trust that are found in a social group or society. Colman (1988), building on Bourdieu's (1986) social capital theory, identify two types of social capital, financial capital and cultural capital which includes family social capital and community social capital as the resources parents employ to raise their children.

1.7. Research design & method

In this section, I will discuss the method of data collection, the sample selected and the analytic approach which I adopt in this study. Firstly, I employ an interpretative phenomenological approach (IPA) to analyse the data. Purposeful sampling (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Smith, 2004; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2012) method is employed to recruit participants who meet the requirement of a homogeneous group (Smith & Osborn, 2003; Willig, 2008), while semi-

structured interviews are conducted with ten participants both fathers and mothers in fivefamilies.

Through such a qualitative, exploratory study, a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of Muslim parents who raise adolescent children thus sought. Such endeavors are essential for ensuring culturally/religiously competent practices for social workers, family educators, school counsellors, and can have implications for research and policy.

Trustworthiness of this study is ensured by establishing credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability, which will be explained in chapter three (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

1.8. Country profile

1.8.1. Demographic profile

Situated in the horn of Africa, Ethiopia is known for its mosaic of cultures and diverse population and religion with different ethnicities and nationalities living across the land. It is a country cherished with plenty of social and religious values handed down from generation to generation. The current estimate of the population of Ethiopia reaches 116,462,712 (CIA, 2023) to which the official statistical census of 2007 estimate orthodox Christians to constitute 44%, Muslims 34%, and protestant Christians 18% (csa, 2007). However, the results of the 2007 census "provoked fierce public debates among Muslims at various levels, about their share in Ethiopia's population on account of the methodology of data acquisition" (Desplat & Østebø, 2013:5).

Addis Ababa, the largest city and capital of Ethiopia, is home to 30 percent of all urban dwellers in Ethiopia with a metro population of 5.461 million (CIA, 2023). The number of inhabitants is speculated to reach more than this figure due to the influx of people from rural to the city.

Due to the position of Addis Ababa as the capital of the country and the official seat to the UN and African Union and other international agencies, many foreigners from outside are coming to and from the city and thousands and hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians from the rest of the country are attracted to heading their way in search of employment, a better life and education.

One can assume that all the Ethiopian ethnic groups and religions are represented in this fast changing metropolitan city.

Children and youth aged 14 and below comprise 44.4% of the country_s population (CIA, 2013). Life expectancy is 58 years for men, and 62 years for women (United Nations, 2012). Some sources put Ethiopia among economically poor countries with annual per capita income at \$1,300 (CIA, 2013). Although these sources put the economic growth of the country in two digits following an economic growth due to the favorable changes in the policy environment which encouraged a boom in the private sector, unemployment rate in the country reached 16.8% (Trading Economics, 2016). As a result, especially in Addis Ababa, a growing affluent class, who are engaged in importing of manufacturing goods and agricultural inputs, exporting of agricultural products and real estate development and provision of various services are mushrooming widely (Getnet & Woldekidan, 2012). However, the current political turmoil ,poor governance, and war (Getnet & Woldekidan, 2012), the outbreak of COVID -19, which forced the shutdown of economic activities for some time and the high inflation all severelyaffect adolescents and young people and rob them of tiny vision of bright future.

According to the national behavioural surveillance survey 2000, unmarried in-school youth with the age range of 15-19 years old initiate sex at 16 years of age on average. Among them one- tenth of the youth reported to have sexual experience. Public Health Office (MOH, 2005) in its previous years report indicated that a significant proportion of females encountered coercion when they had their first sexual encounter.

Adolescent sexual initiation is thought of as age inappropriate and developmentally risky and culturally disapproved to engage in public dating, and sexual intercourse before marriage particularly in rural areas in Ethiopia (Getnet & Weldekidan, 2012). Adolescent sexual initiation is associated with a host of health issues, including more lifetime sexual partners, increased substance use, negative mental health outcomes (Collins & Laursen, 2004).

The differential treatment of boys and girls has been observed in traditional Ethiopia right from the early socialisation of children where women are consciously or unconsciously given lower status and boys are favoured on various accounts (Getnet & Weldekidan, 2012). In traditional Ethiopia, girls are socialised and expected to be decent, silent, and shy and expected to keep their virginity until marriage while boys are encouraged to be assertive, explicitly and implicitly encouraged or condoned when they act aggressively and engaged in sexual act. Whereas the marriage arrangement is made by parents or clans without the consent and knowledge of the bride in rural societies, the groom is involved to some extent, though parents have the final say (Ayele, 2007). In the current situation especially in big urban areas, the male youth has begun to make his own choices and inform his parents of the girl he has chosen. The sexuality of adolescent youth is a major concern of parents.

1.8.2. History of Religion in Ethiopia

Ethiopians follow the three Abrahamic religions, Christianity and Islam and a small number of followers of Jewish religion. A tiny population group, known as 'Ras Teferians, who representa religious cult practised mainly by Jamaican descendants and who believe they have a historical connection with the deposed late monarch, emperor Haile Selassie, are settled around the vicinity of Shashemene town, some 250km South of Addis Ababa.

The religion of Islam was introduced in Ethiopia during the time of the prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him), following the arrival of the Prophet's followers as asylum-seekers in Aksum in about 61 1 A. D. (Hussein, 2006). In fact, when the early followers of Prophet Muhmmed (peace be upon him) were persecuted in their land of origin, they immigrated with theinstruction of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) to go to Ethiopia on account of the presence of a 'righteous king' who offered sanctuary for these migrants and later reportedly converted to Islam (Abbink, 2011), although, some Christian scholars dispute this claim.

Although Islam has a long presence as a major religion in Ethiopian history, various sources (Soares, 2012) indicate the persecution and marginalisation of Muslims by the dominant Ethiopian states and the ruling Christian elite for centuries, who consider the country a "Christian Island in a sea of Muslims" (Desplat & Ostebo, 2013:5).

According to Desplat & Ostebo (2013), Muslims are marginalized in many facets of life, including political representation and the freedom to practice their religion in public. Prior kings and regimes

saw them as "second-class citizens" until the popular revolution of 1974, which ended the feudal system and abolish the monarchy (Hussien: 2006). The authors further elaborated that the history and contribution of Muslims have been relegated and are not officially recognised and neglected as a subject of research. When researched, Islam became only relevant when "Muslims clashed with the Christian empire, thus Muslims were reduced to a distracting and troublesome part of Ethiopian history" (Desplat & Ostebo, 2013:2). Historical records attest to the fact that Muslims were persecuted and highly marginalised first under Emperor Tewodros (1855–68) in the mid-1860s, and more importantly under Emperor Yohannis (1878–89) who made "strenuous efforts to have people converted, especially in the northern Wällo and had issued a proclamation calling for mass conversion of the Muslims in Ethiopia" (Abbink, 2011). Abbink (2011) observed these phenomenon "as rare in Ethiopian history which provoked resistance, including armed revolt and renewed religious polemics, especially in works by Muslim ulema from northern Ethiopia".

Desplat & Ostebo (2012) further noted the absence of effort on the part of the Ethiopianscholarship to provide balanced perspective which underscores the legitimate place of Islam in Ethiopia in terms of its historical legacy, its role in shaping the society and its demographic makeup.

Similarly, Endashaw (2012) in his study on '*Practices and Contributions of Islamic* Education to Modern Education in Ethiopia' found that in spite of the contribution Islamic education made to the literacy development of the country, few scholarly works have so far been produced to present the legacy of Islamic education. Endashaw (2012) concluded that the histories, social roles, everyday practices and beliefs of Muslims have been largely ignored. As a result, research on Muslims and Islam in Ethiopia and socialisation practices in particular have been limited in general, which this thesis intends to contribute to.

Ahmedin (2008) and Abduljelil (2022) noted in their books that in spite of persecution and alienation in their own country, Muslim Ethiopians remain faithful and keen to their religion and pay a huge price to exercise their religious freedom and use the latter to teaching and fostering prosocial behaviours in their children to enablem them lead their day to day lives by living peacefully with other religious followers and contribute to their country by learning the basics of the creed.

Traditional Muslim education has been conducted for three important objectives: the training of Muslim clerics, the spread and betterment of literacy through Muslim education, and the dissemination of Islamic doctrine and religious practices (Hussien, 2006). Traditionally children learn slamic ethics and values in the madrassas (religious school), at mosques by a few ulamas (learned sheks) and pious teachers at their own respective residences, under big trees in undersupplied contexts.

Halstead (2000) stated three main kinds of values which are instilled in the minds of children at these traditional sites along with the broader subject areas of theology and the tradition of the prophet (Hadith) at different levels. The first one is Akhlaq (moral and ethical behaviour), which refers to duties and responsibilities set out in the Shari ah and in Islamic teaching in general, and the second one Adab, which refers to the manners associated with good breeding and the third imply the qualities of character a good Muslim needs to embrace as a follower of the prophet_s (May peace and blessings be upon him) example.

Elementary schools (Known maktab or Kuttab), in which pupils learned to read and write, date to the pre-Islamic period in the Arab world. These schools developed into centers for instruction in elementary Islamic subjects. Students were expected to memorise the Qur'ān as perfectly as possible.

In traditional Ethiopia, students often made long journeys to join the circle of a great teacher. Some circle, especially those in which hadith¹² was studied was so large that it was necessary for assistants to repeat the lecture so that every student could hear and record it.

Recent empirical evidence (Endashaw, 2012; Yassin, 2015) suggests that Islamic education system played a significant role in influencing Muslim culture and the political, socio-cultural, educational, and economic aspects of the people in Ethiopia. Yassin's (2015) study on the development of Islamic education system and its influence on Muslim culture in Ethiopia in

South Wallo found that Islam has a significant influence on the political aspect of the nation during the expansion and hegemony of the Muslim Sultanates in the sixteenth century particularly during the reign of Imam Ahmed. Its influence on socio-cultural aspects of the life of the people especially on personal and family life of Muslims include marriage, spiritual life, conflict resolution and healing practices is significant. According to Yassin (2015) Islamic values of forgiveness, mercifulness, peacefulness, and trustworthiness enhanced the conflict resolution practice of Muslims in the region which enabled them to have good inter-faith relationship and influenced their business practices as well. This was demonstrated for example, by shunning away from selling alcoholic drinks and declining from renting hotel beds for those who do not produce certificates that they are married individuals to discouraging sex-out-of wedlock as a bid to maintain on decency and moral ethics.

This study which is an investigation on a segment of Muslim social life, namely parenting adolescent children will contribute towards the existing but limited literature that informs about how and why Muslim communities conduct their affairs the way they do. The study willdemystify the notion that Muslims are different from other communities and it will hopefully promote respect and tolerance amongst the different faiths in Ethiopia.

1.9. Delimitation of the study

This research was delimited to a selected number of family contexts in Addis Ababa. The study is limited to parents of adolescents who share same religious belief and practice to generate rich qualitative data for the study. I rely on participants' self-reports as a single source of information which may also limit our understanding which is based on limited data. I believe that being able to describing oneself through semi-structured interviews, in a friendly atmosphere with free will is more relevant than other methods pertaining to discussing experiences and "oneself world" (Smith, 2012).

1.10. Organization of the chapters

The study is divided into six chapters. The introduction part, chapter one presents an introduction and background information to the study, specifically addressing the rationale/motivation, research problem & research objectives and brief description of the theoretical framework and methodology. Chapter 2, consists of two sections. The first section reviews literature relevant on

the topic of the study. Accordingly, 5 literature themes, each presented and discussed in the context of the research questions to identify the gap in existing literature which this study is responding to.

The second section highlights the theoretical framework, the ecological theory and social capital theory chosen to guide the study. The purpose of the theoretical framework is to interpret the data required to answer the research questions.

Chapter three deals with the methodology part of the study. The first section discusses the philosophical orientation of the research methodology. A general description of phenomenology is provided as a qualitative design adopted to best answer the research questions and interpretative phenomenological approach (IPA) which is chosen to analyse the data for the study is elaborated. The chapter describes the data collection method, which was mainly through face to face in-depth interview, the sampling method, the selection and inclusion procedures together with an explanation of the purposive sampling that was utilised to select ten parents from five families. It also outlines the steps followed in using the interpretative phenomenological approach (IPA) to generate data for the study. It concludes by addressing the ethical requirements of the study, namely, informed consent, safety, privacy and confidentiality and the use of the tape recorder and the standards to ensure the integrity of qualitative research. Chapter four is divided into two sections: the first section presents the material, narratives of the five family groups as a unit and the second one make analysis of the data generated from the study participants.

Chapter five is devoted to a discussion of the research findings emergent from the themes in chapter four using the theoretical lenses and the literature to benchmark the findings in light of the extant literature. Chapter six concludes the study. Based on the findings, the chapter provides some recommendations which have implications for policy, practice and future research.

Chapter 2 Literature review

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of existing literature related to the topic under investigation. There is little empirical research available on the experiences of parenting adolescent children among Muslim parents. Based on the literature available, the review of the literature includes five major themes and will be discussed in detail.

The chapter is divided in two broader sections. The first literature theme focus on review of three research foci pertaining to parenting which would contribute to our understanding of the experiences of parents raising adolescent children. Next, the socialisation values of parents and the way cultural orientation shapes parenting will be presented. It further discusses an overview of child rearing practices in Africa in general with focus on Ethiopian child-rearing practices. The chapter extends the review of literature on the influence of media on parenting in the contextof a changing social and global environment. Finally, the review concludes by exploring the role of religion in child and family development in general and the Islamic perspective on family and parent-child relationship in particular. In the second section of the chapter the ecological systems theory and Social Capital theory will be presented as the theoretical framework to guide this study.

2.1 Parenting Research

The study of parenting began in the 20th century and the two dominant grand psychological theories of the day, psychoanalysis and behaviorism were adopted for the explanation of human behaviour. From its inception, broadly speaking, researchers on parenting have pursued their inquiries to answer two important questions: what are the modal patterns of child rearing, and what are the consequences of different child rearing practices and patterns (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). In this regard, research on parenting has always been exclusively pursued to understand socialisation from the child's outcome, with little attention to parental experience orientation.

The following section discusses three related areas of research which could contribute to our understanding of the experiences of parents raising adolescent children in this phase of the family life cycle. It consists of studies on the dimensions of parenting, studies on marital quality, and studies on the parent-adolescent relationships. Each subtheme is described below.

2.1.1 Studies on the parenting dimension

In research on socialisation emphasis has been placed more on the styles of parenting and techniques of discipline from the pioneering work of Baumrind (1971) and Hoffman (1970) and continues to present-day scholarship (Smetana, 2017; Baumrind, 2010).

Expanding on the popular work of Diana's (1971) parenting style which she identified asautocratic parenting, authoritative, and indulgent parenting style, Darling and Steinberg (1993) introduced warmth and responsiveness / demandingness dimensions. Darling and Steinberg(1993) found that these two constructs, warmth/responsiveness and demandingness share common things in their emphasis on accepting and supporting the child. The brief review of eachparenting style would explicate how different parenting styles relate to children's acceptance of values.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) identified and added indifferent parenting which made the warmth/demandingness dimensions yield the four parenting styles. According to them authoritarian parents are high in demandingness (expectations) and low in responsiveness (Bi, Li, Wang, et al., 2018). These parents impose explicit standards and restriction but do not allow negotiation, seldom provide explanation or allow verbal give-and-take. (Bi et al., 2018). However, because of their demandingness, these parents are likely to express their values when they set limits and establish rules for their children, which increase the availability of parental values to adolescents (Darling and Steinberg, 1993). Although it has different meaning in non- western society, this style of parenting is accompanied by humiliation of the child and coerciveness in Western society, and is likely to reduce adolescents_motivation to accept the values of their parents (Ruddy & Grusec, 2001; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

In contrast, authoritative parents are characterized by high parental demandingness and high parental responsiveness (Baumrind, 1991; Arafat et al., 2020). They have a connection, regulation, and autonomy granting dimension (Nicolett, Eugene, Alice, et al., 2015). Authoritative parents explain their expectation, are willing to negotiate, and take into account thechild_s viewpoints when setting their standards. Such parenting style which is associated with

positive parent –child relationship would increase adolescents_ motivation to attend to parents_ values that could lead to their acceptance of parental values (Kobak, Abbott, Bounoua, 2017). Indulgent parents on the other hand are high on responsiveness, they satisfy their children_s needs, but they are low on demandingness and fail to set proper boundary, which could result in low or absence of articulating their standards and limits clearly to their children (Bi et al., 2018). However, parents' responsiveness or warmth may increase the motivation of children to attend toparental messages. Scholars suggest that these contradictory processes lead adolescents to confusion and make them reluctant to hold the values of their parents.

Finally, neglectful parenting style is characterised as low in responsiveness and demandingness (Baumrind, 2005, 1995; Maccoby, 1983). Neglectful parents are parent-centered and such practices could reduce the availability of parental values to adolescents, as it lacks clear standards and expectations from which adolescents infer parental values (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003).

Although the benefits of authoritative parenting transcend the boundaries, it has becoming understandable that different parenting styles play a different role in various cultures, family structure, and ethnic groups. A growing body of research support the notion that cultural values influence parenting socialisation goals and practices and beliefs of parents which will be described in length in the section later (Bornstein and Cheah, 2006; Gershoff et al., 2010).

2.1.2 Studies of marital quality/ life satisfaction

Research in the domain of marital quality pertaining to parenting adolescent children also contributes to our understanding of the experience of parenthood. Previously, a number ofstudies were conducted to measure the relationship between parenting variables such as marital satisfaction, happiness, and overall marital quality and the presence of children over the family life cycle. The section below briefly reviews the factors which could influence marital qualityand psychological wellbeing during this developmental stage of family life cycle.

In prior study McLanahan and Adams (1987:243) asserted that "no [scholar] has found that parents are better off than non-parents on any of the conventional measures of well-being". Several studies conducted on the association between parenthood and life satisfaction in the 1990s and 2000s confirmed McLanahan and Adams's conclusion (Evenson & Simon, 2005; Nomaguchi

& Milkie, 2003). Pasley & Gecas (1984) suggested that families are more susceptible to stress during the early years of children's life, during infancy, preschool, and school age where they require care and attention of their parents the most.

A few recent studies carried out on parental well-being in relation to child age suggest that parents are better off with young children than adolescent children, despite intense time demandsit exerts on caring for children (Meier, Musick, Fisher, & Flood, 2018).

In the same vein, some scholars suggest that when children enter adolescence, parents tend to be confronted with new challenges and demands due to the adolescents' test of limits and more independence and autonomy that are likely to generate additional stress (Smetana, 2011; Smetana & Rote, 2019).

Although the above discussed studies highlight factors that affect parental experiences with an adolescent child, the relationship between the quality of the marriage and the experience of parenthood during the adolescent period of family life cycle is scarce. Some researchers suggest an examination of not just the presence of children but also other factors that may affect research on parental psychological well-being which could be more related to marital quality research, to give more light on the issue (Lavee et al., 1996).

A few studies attribute the impact of life satisfaction to the family context and parent- related factors which conceivably increase the risk of psychological turmoil in parents. According to these scholars single parents or parenthood in dual-earner households, have been shown to be particularly burdensome and stressful (Meier et al., 2018; Simon, 2008). Some scholars relate single parenting to greater parenting strain (Nomaguchi & House, 2013/12). When parents are in a state of intense exhaustion and lack the resources to deal with parenting stress, a risk of parental burnout even exists (Mikolajczak & Roskam, 2018; Mikolajczak, et al., 2019; Meier et al., 2016).

According to Walker (2015) the lack of a traditional two-parent marriage may also increase stress among parents of adolescents. In such condition both single-parent families, in which there is no partner to share the responsibilities of parenting, this could increase the stress felt by the parent of an adolescent. Steinberg (1994) identified four parent-related factors that increase the risk of psychological turmoil in parents which make difference in how parents weather this stage of life. In his research, he found that being the same sex as the child, being divorced or remarried, few sources of outside support, and having negative expectation about adolescence increase the chances of occurrences of psychological distress.

What do these studies reveal that relates to the current effort to explore the lived experiences of parents who raise adolescent children? Several indications appear to be of significance. There appears to be strong but not definitive evidence that these parents are experiencing more anxiety and less efficacy and feel content in relation to their parental tasks (McLanahan & Adams, 1989), in light of recent finding which states that parenthood is both rewarding and burdensome and that the positive and negative effects of children offset each other (Hansen, 2012).

2.1.3 Studies of the parent-adolescent relationships

Parent-adolescent relationship pertaining to experiences of parenthood during the adolescent period of the family life cycle is the other domain reviewed in the present study. For the last few decades, research within the field of adolescent development has generated as much enduring interest as the study of the family especially on parent-adolescent relationship, which dominates the scientific journal (Steinberg, 2002; Monica et al., 2012; Laursen & Collins, 2009).

Three conceptualisation of parent-adolescent relationship guided research in the domain ofparentadolescent relationship in the literature (Grotevant and Cooper, 1986; Branje, 2018). The oldest of these (Cromwell & Olso, 1975; Jacob & Rollins & Thomas, 1979), from sociological studies (Blos, 1979; Haley, 1980) and clinical writings (Blos, 1979; Haley, 1980) to current scholarship (Laursen & Collins, 2009; Monica et al., 2012), embraces the view that independence becomes one of the tasks of adolescence that a child has to accomplish which is often measured in terms of autonomy from parental influence. The oldest theories on individual change focus on disruptions caused by adolescent maturation and their potential to undermine parent-child relationships. These models hold the view that changes in adolescents provoke changes in families (Laursen & Collins, 2009; Steinberg, 1989). However, early literature (Grotevant and Cooper, 1986) differs from sociological and clinical approaches on account of having methodological shortcomings which according to them decrease the significant continuities in the parent-adolescent relationship that extend into adulthood. Evidence to support this conceptualisation comes from recent literature which highlighted both change and continuity in parent-adolescent relationships (Branje, 2018).

The second conceptualisation of the parent-adolescent relationship embraces the idea that relationship remains largely harmonious and continues in quality from childhood through adolescence (Grotevant and Cooper, 1986). Grotevant and Cooper suggest that studies that support this perspective tend to be large survey or interview-type studies, and that they tend to de-emphasise real changes that occur in the parent-adolescent relationship.

The third conceptualisation of the parent-adolescent relationship is a more recent literature that incorporates both continuity and change (Branje, 2018). Branje (2018) posits that the normative parent-adolescent relationship involves an enduring bond that undergo transformations at adolescence and beyond. Henrickson & Roker (2000) found that adolescent relationships with parents remain positive and the former eventually adopts values more like those of their parents than different from them.

In the same vein, Larson and colleagues (2010) view the period of adolescence both as a time of transition and transformation during which teens negotiate more symmetrical relationships with their parents- as such they considered it a 'time of independence in the context of connectedness' (Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck, Duckett, 2010).

From these perspectives we can understand that the parent-adolescent relationship is renegotiated from a unilateral authority to mutuality, and involves a realignment of family ties rather than a severance of them (Laursen & Collins, 2009).

Although research has focused on competing conceptualisation of the parent-adolescent

relationship, few scholars have approached the examination of this relationship with different questions in mind. Studies which have examined components of the parent-adolescent relationship, however have looked at the parental perspective, although the literature exhibits a paucity of information on this significant relationship from the adult's perspective (Goetting, 1986).

The effects of pubertal change on parent-adolescent relationship has received considerable attention from many scholars. Parents may be surprised by what seem to be sudden changes to the dynamics of the parent-child relationship when their children reach the onset of adolescence (Lougheed in press).

Following the effect of pubertal change, patterns of the ups and downs of day-to-day life at this stage become more intense and unpredictable. Adolescence is marked by a confluence of developmental changes across biological, psychological, and social domains (Collins & Laursen, 2004; Hollenstein & Lougheed, 2013). According to scholars this period of reorganisation brings with it more intense and variable emotions (Dahl, 2001; Rosenblum & Lewis, 2003), which can be challenging for both adolescents and their parents to navigate (Steinberg, 2001).

Expanded logical reasoning and increased idealistic and egocentric thought, peers, changes in schooling and movement towards independence are among the changes in adolescents (Santrock, 2000, 2011). For many parents, transitioning from parenting a child to parenting an adolescent can create stress, uncertainty, and vulnerability (Suleiman & Dahi, 2019).

According to these researchers the changes are considered to have both challenges and opportunities in the parent child relationships, suggesting that effective parenting during this developmental period can help establish positive trajectories during adolescence. Phrased differently, although adolescents seek and move towards independence, they still need to stay connected with their families, because parents play a very important role in their development (Santrock, 2000, 2011).

Another focus has been the nature and extent of conflict in parent-adolescent relationship (Smetana, 2011). Studies on parent –adolescent conflict are one of the interest areas in the present

research effort because they come close to revealing a commonly perceived aspect of the parental experience of raising adolescent children. Smetana (2011) found that most parent-adolescent conflict revolved around the mundane issues of day-to-day life, such as disputing, over everyday issues, rules and regulations on personal management issues like grades, dress codes, and dating (Smetana, 2017). Youniss and Smoller (1985), however noted that adolescents distinguish personal domains such as choice of friends, clothes, hairstyles, from social conventions, which they considered the domain in their parental authority.

Some scholars attributed the reason for conflict to parents' and adolescents' different sets of expectation and ideas about social conventions (Steinberg, 2001). According to Smetana (2011) many of the conflict parents and adolescents feel reflect not only differences of opinion but differences in the way they frame and define issues.

Whereas the matters that parents and adolescents argue about are often seen by parents as involving either moral codes or codes that are based on social conventions, these very sameissues are seen by adolescents as matters of personal choice (Smetana, 2011; 2019). Steinberg (2001) noted that when parent and adolescent define issues in such different terms, differences of opinion cannot be reconciled.

While scholars recognise the existence of challenges in raising adolescents often manifested in parent and adolescents_encounter of daily hassles and conflicts over mundane issues during adolescence (Bülow, Keijsers, Boele, Van Roekel & Denissen (2021), a growing body of literature suggest that the majority of families are successful in making the transition from child dependence on parents to adolescent behavioural independence and volitional functioning (Meeus, 2016; Smetana et al., 2006). Hence, most families are in a relative equilibrium of family functioning under 'normal' circumstances.

Taken all together, insights gathered from parent –adolescent conflict literature suggest that parents are likely to report mild conflict as compared to previous stages in the family life cycle and this occasional conflict will be higher between mothers and sons in the early part of adolescence in contrast to previous studies which suggest conflict between mothers and their daughters to be higher (Shehata & Ramadan, 2010). Furthermore, for most parents the conflict

described will be of a minor nature and not indicative of a significant deterioration of the parent– adolescent relationship. One might speculate from these findings that the parent of an adolescent experiences a higher level of frustration in realising her/his preferences, particularly in the early adolescent years, with regard to his/her adolescents personal management.

From the literature reviewed so far, few studies looked at specific aspects of the experiences of parenthood such as emotion involved in parenting, however, they did not explore specifically the experiences of parents in relation to parental values transmission at this period of family life cycle, with exception of previous research by Wagner (1994) and a recent study by Berhan (2016).

In the absence of such research, professionals working in the field of counselling, and parent education appear to be left to draw on popular assumptions or personal experiences to support parents of adolescents. The present study seeks to bridge such a gap by creating a window into the experiential world of the Muslim parents who raise/bring up adolescent children.

2.2 Parental Socialisation Goals

Parents' socialisation values occupy a central place in the studies of the family and a crucial process in the individual development and the functioning of society (Ranieri & Barni, 2012; Schönpflug, 2001), and in shaping parents' practices and how they organise their children_s home environment (Kikas, Tulviste, & Peets, 2014; Tulviste, 2013).

As adolescence is the time of identity development, characterised by tension between an increasing need for autonomy and conformity to societal expectations, it is a very important phase for studying values transmission (Barni et al., 2011). Padilla-Walker (2007) argues that children become very vulnerable to value messages during adolescence, more than at any previous time in childhood.

Parental socialization values refer to the values that parents would like most to be instilled into their children, or the qualities that parents consider the most desirable behaviour to be acquired by their children (Barni, 2011). Schwartz (1999) also defined parental values as desirable goals that people hold, aspire to achieve, pass onto others, and serve as guiding principles in people's lives. Thus, parenting goals are considered as outcomes that parents have in mind and hope to achieve

during specific interactions with their children (Coplan, Hastings, Lagace-Seguin, & Moulton, 2002). Likewise, Suizzo (2007) observed that parents may have goals for their childrenthat include the types of values and qualities of life they hope their children may have as adults. Similarly, Kuczynski, and Knafo (2014) suggest that all values are equally important for parents and qualitatively different interactions and emotions are engaged depending on the content of thevalue

Lekes, et al., (2011) distinguished intrinsic and extrinsic values to understand the kind of goals parents have for their children. Their study suggests that parents value both intrinsic and extrinsic life goals for their children. Some parents encourage their children to pursue intrinsic goals such as developing close and satisfying relationships and learn to know and accept themselves and serve the community (Lekes et al.,2011), so that they will work towards improving their communities. Others inculcate in their children values that could stress extrinsic values such as pursuing high status careers, being financially successful, and develop an image that others find appealing (Deci et al., 2001b).

Culture influences the way we think, express our emotions and behave in a certain way (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Triandis, 2001) which resulted in difference in socialisation goals and the values parents prioritise within and across societies. Parents in western cultures promote developmental goals that are autonomy-oriented whileparents in most Asian, Latin America, African, and rural, indigenous societies are encouraging developmental goals that are relationship-oriented (Lieber, Yang, & Lin, 2000; Triandis, 2000). This means that in collectivist societies socialisation goals focus on the acceptance of norms and hierarchies for the common good and maintaining harmonious relationships, in particular, the family (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Kagitçibasi, 1996a). Accordingly, connection to the family and other close relationships, orientation to the larger group, respect andobedience are values implicit in the developmental goals of relatedness (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008:187).

On the other side of the spectrum, socialisation strategies in individualistic societies emphasise mental states and personal qualities, often characterised by competition, self-reliance, and emotional distance from the in-groups (Chen, Fu, & Zhao, 2015).

However, some scholars (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Keller, 2003; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007) contested the dichotomous depictions of value systems and developmental goals as they conceive it theoretically and empirically limiting. According to Keller (2003) "a dichotomous framework that pits individualism against collectivism, or autonomy against relatedness, is neither accurate nor useful in understanding parents' socialisation of their young". In other words, different cultural environments can endorse similar developmental goals (Harkness, Super, & van Tijen, 2000), just as different developmental goals can be found in subgroups of a given culture (Bornstein, Venuti, & Hahn, 2002). In this vantage of view, the current understanding is value systems and developmental goals, such as autonomy and relatedness, coexist in most culturesand within most parents, although they are often contrasted in the literature (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008).

The next section reviews literature on factors that can influence or mediate the acquisition and transmission of parental values in the context of home.

2.2.1. Family environment as moderator in values transmission and acquisition

Previous research has highlighted a number of parental and familial variables that can influence acquisition and transmission of values. Among them , the quality of the relationship between parents and children (Grusec et al.. 2000); parenting styles (Grusec 2002; Pinquart and Silbereisen 2004); parental love and emotional support (Roberts et al., 1999); communication (Grusec and Goodnow 1994; White 2000), and parental consistency in messages about values over time (Knafo and Schwartz, 2003); value similarities between fathers and mothers (Barni et al., 2011; Knafo and Schwartz, 2003); and family cohesion and adaptability (Roest et al.. 2009a; White and Matawie, 2004; White, 2000) are the much cited variables in the literature.

Grusec et al. (2000); Grusec (2002); Pinquart and Silbereisen (2004); White and Matawie(2004); and Roest et al., (2009a) suggest that family relational climate and parenting practices moderate adolescents' values acquisition as operative mechanisms in the formation of children'svalues and the familial transmission of values.

Positive parenting, characterised by parental practices embedded in affect, support and discipline focus, seems to strongly associate with family relational climate, demonstrated in cohesion, conflict management and expressiveness (Kolak and Volling 2007; Stattin et al., 2011). Similarly, Cigoli & Scabini (2006) and Trommsdorff (2009) suggests that family relations playan essential role in values transmission.

As families are the proximal environment in the ecological model, parents select and emphasise the values that better contribute to the maintenance of family identity (Bronefenbrenner, 1986; Trommsdorff, 2012).

Roest et al., (2009a) recognised paucity of research on the topic of familial transmission of values which the topic deserves, he wrote:

.... and it is important to map out the underlying mechanisms and variables that contribute to this ultimate outcome, i.e., adolescents'' values. For example, family psychologists can benefit from mapping out these mechanisms and variables to develop and implement interventions to improve the formation of adolescents'' values by enhancing the quality of parenting and family relationships.

Three important variables that contribute to adolescents' acquisition or acceptance of parental values are identified by Barni et al.'s (2011) research on 'values transmission in the family'. These are: the relevance of perceived parental agreement, the kind of parent-adolescent relationship, and parents' promotion of volitional functioning of the adolescent are found as significant and positive predictor of acceptance.

According to these researchers the relevance of perceived parental agreement revolves around children's perceived agreement or similarities of values by both parents. This perceived agreement may allow adolescents to accept equally both the values they perceive as coming from their parents (as the values of fathers and mothers are exactly the same). Knafo & Schwartz (2003) noted that when parents agree, their values messages are more likely to be clear and coherent which could enhance the understandability of parental values. When adolescents view parents' values this way, they are able to avoid any 'conflict of loyalty' (Barni et al., 2011).

This indicates the centrality of perceptions (Gagné & Lydon, 2004) in interpersonal processes and the role of these perceptions as 'filters of reality', which support the importance of individual perceptions on value acquisition. In this line, plenty of literature (Negy and Snyder, 2006) suggest an association between a positive perceptions of family relationship quality and emotional support among its members and intergenerational continuity of values between parents and children (Bengtson et al., 2002; White, 2000).

This research further found that a close and supportive family context may increase adolescents' willingness to accept their parents' values because it promotes the child's desire for compliance with parental wishes (Barni et al., 2011). A close family climate is usually characterised by shared interests, values and behaviours among all family members (Scabini et al., 2006). By the same token, the closer children are to their parents, the more they are willing toaccept parental values and the more similar adolescents' values are to those of their parents, the more they perceive themselves as being close to their parents (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011;Roest et al., 2010; Kuczynski, 2003; Barni et al., 2011).

Likewise, Pereira, Canavarro, Cardoso et al., (2009) noted that family emotional quality predicts a child_s behaviour itself, and is a mediating variable of the effectiveness of value transmission (Grusec et al., 2000; Rudy and Grusec, 2001).

Parents' promotion of a child's volitional functioning was found to be another significant and positive predictor of acceptance of parental values. The study of Barni et al., (2011) gave extension to the idea of children generating their own values propounded by Grusec and Goodnow (1994) and that this feeling promotes acceptance. Barni et al., (2011) refer to self– other generation to explain adolescents' inclination to values they perceive to be inherently worthy, in a sense they consider the values they accept a result of their own choices but at the same time are also shared by their parents.

Other literature sources contend that acceptance or rejection seems to be a complex process, not just transmission from parents to children where the latter passively accept them (Grusec et al., 2000; Knafo and Schwartz, 2003; White and Matawie, 2004; Barni et al., 2011). According to

these researchers, the acceptance of values involves several processes including the child's motivation for the message; message perception as appropriate and as a facilitator of self-generated feelings; the consistency of the message where there is a sense in the coherence between verbally stated values and parents' behaviours; and a supportive parent–childrelationship with high levels of cohesion and low levels of conflict. This proposes that whatever parenting practices are employed by parents, children also have their perspective to judge; and interpret the messages/values before accepting it (Barni et al., 2011). Phrased differently, transmission is now conceptualised as an interactive process in which parents and children have inherent capacities for initiating action, making sense of their interactions with each other, and making decision among the available alternatives (Barni et al., 2017).

A body of knowledge (Ryan, Deci, Grolnick, & La Guardia, 2006) identified dimensions of parenting that would encourage greater internalisation of values. The three factors/mechanisms suggested are: parental involvement, autonomy support, and dimension of structure.

Parental involvement would be expressed by showing interest in and knowledge of their child_s life and demonstrating it to the child that they have invested in his/her choices and activities. Such positive relatedness induces children to be more willing and motivated to attend to, accept and comply with parental values and expectations.

The second facilitative parenting dimension, autonomy support, involves the extent to which parents encourage a strong sense of agency in their children, helping children feel they can choose and self-initiate their own actions.

The dimension of structure entails information and guidelines, setting rules and norms to help children successfully self-regulate (Grolnick, 2003). Providing the appropriate structure involves delineating and conveying clear expectations, outlining consequences associated with meeting or not meeting the expectations and following through with those consequences. However, some scholars (Hoffman, 2000; Grolnick, 2003; Barber, Maughan, & Olsen, 2005) cautioned on the consequences of inappropriate structure, which emphasises obedience and compliance with demands, which would give children feelings of being pressured or controlled and can be

counter productive. In other words, inappropriate structure can lead children and adolescents to be regulated by fear of punishment or anticipation of reward. Interestingly, these three dimensions of facilitative parenting are similar to the characteristics of parental behaviour suchas supportive, warm, and involved (Omar, 2010) commonly outlined in the parenting styles literature which in turn could support the internalisation of moral values in adolescence (Hardy etal., 2008).

To the extent that parents act in such ways, it is likely that they would not only succeed in transmitting most of their values to their children, but that the autonomous way in which their children would internalise their values would contribute to their children' wellbeing. Some scholars further suggest that such family environment which encourages discussion, and the parents' receptiveness to the children's position and emotional feeling could also promote values transmission from adolescents to parents (Pinquart and Silbereisen, 2004).

To sum, several studies have converged on the importance of nurturing, protection and parental responsiveness for the process of values acquisition and transmission (Grusec et al., 2000; Taris, 2000). Parents' sensitivity to the child's point of view and feelings, explaining expectations, and allowing choice regarding the extent and ways in which their values may be embraced by their children may encourage and promote children's autonomous internalisation of their values. The next section describes the strategies and approaches parents employ to disciplining their children, transmitting norms, and values and convey messages to their children.

2.2.2. Transmission strategies

According to prior research, parents transmit their values to their children and the latter passively accept these as given and any changes in the transmitted knowledge were thus conceived as errors in the process (Barni et al., 2011). Parents employ various methods, approaches and ways to transmit their values, norms and messages to their children. They convey their messages explicitly through instruction and the selective reinforcement of appropriate responses, or implicitly through their own behavior in certain situations.

Earlier literature identified four strategies parents employ to promote the transmission of values and protect their children from being affected by the external source in their values acquisition (Goodnow, 1997). These are prearming; cocooning; compromise; and deference. Prearming is an alternative possible strategy parents employ in an attempt to prearm their children (Grusec et al., 2000) to alert them to the presence of competing messages and values and provide them with strategies and arguments they need to use as necessary (Goodnow, 1997).

Prearming strategies range from helpful advice to ways of resisting competing values to the vilification of opposing values (Kuczynski et al., 2011) provided by parents to children. For example, in a study examining the parent-child relationship in Jamican families Navara (2006) found that parents used to tell stories of their own experiences with prejudice and stereotypes living in Canada to prepare their children in their own encounters with discrimination.

The other strategy pursued by parents is 'cocooning', which involves parents' attempts to shield or protect their child from the influence of values that compete with those sanctioned by parents. Hughes and colleagues (2006) propose two broader strategies parents utilise to transmit their cultural and social values; socialisation and enculturation. Whereas socialisation is the intentional process of communicating cultural values, beliefs, customs, and behaviours through modeling, direct instruction, and managing the child environment, enculturation is a largely unconscious process whereby children learn the norms, rules, values, and ideas of the family through embodiment. In other words, values are communicated through the process of engaging in mundane family and social activities through interaction and observation (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006).

In this way, it seemed that socialisation and enculturation form the basis of the transmission of values and beliefs between generations, because living in communities that share similar values and practices facilitate the transmission parental values independently of their effort (Hughes et al., 2006). Phrased differently, for parents raising and living in the same culture, intergenerational transmission is somewhat easierbecause their direct efforts as socialising agents are supported by processes of with-in culture-enculturation. However, parents who want to preserve and transmit their ethnic heritage culture diaspora without the support of their community will be pressured to exert much time and energy to do this, primarily by means of their own conscious efforts and strategy (Walker, 2015).

There appears to be a third approach, 'emotional cocooning' which parents may be using especially in more democratic families with low hierarchy and high proximity (Akyil et al., 2014). Within this approach parents create an atmosphere where children enjoy being with their parents and experience their values positively and thereby are shielded from opposing values. Cocooning strategies may also include tactics such as choosing to live in isolated ethnic neighborhoods or religious communities, and enrolling children in religious schools (Knafo, 2003).

Some scholars (Kuczynski et al., 2011) postulate that an important degree of enculturation occurs by virtue of living in a network of close relationships. According to Kwak (2003), core cultural values are supported not only by family practices, but also by being embedded within an ethnocultural social network. Park et al. (2004) viewed these social networks as a form of social capital from which the family can benefit as they navigate through the constraints and opportunities of their new culture.

Engaging children and adolescents in activities are also among the strategies employed byparents. Navara (2006) for example found that Jamaican immigrant parents living in Canada often filled their children's time with acceptable activities such as church activities, household chores which parents assume leave less time for contact with dominant culture and peers. Parentsalso cocoon by restricting interactions with individuals who could espouse potentially competing values by encouraging their children to limit their interaction with their siblings, cousins, and schoolmates who were from Jamaican origin (Navara, 2006).

Guided participation is a less restrictive enculturation strategy which entails cultural activities such as celebration of traditional meals, holidays, dance, and music so that they can be voluntarily integrated into the children's life preferences. In this, parents may not have been involved directly in these community activities, instead they relied upon their children's involvement with the group to communicate various cultural values and beliefs deemed important by the parents (Walker, 2015).

Taken together, parents employ a host of strategies to prepare their children to withstand outside pressure that could affect their behaviours negatively and preserve their tradition and family values.

2.3. Child rearing practices in Africa

There is a dearth of research on child rearing practices in Africa. Existing literature on child rearing practices heavily depends to a large extent on the samples of American and Western population (Nsamenang, 1992; Trawick- Smith, 1997: 24), resulted to majority of popular books and literature concerning parenting to come from the Western world (Tomlinson & Swartz, 2003.

In the African context parenting is conceived as the process of raising and educating a child from birth or before until adulthood (Self Growth, 2012). This implies that parenting is the process of taking care or supporting a child from birth to adulthood involving the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual capabilities.

Two types of the family system, the nuclear family and the extended family are prevalent in the African context. Whereas, the nuclear family is made up of only both parents and the children, the extended family comprises the nuclear family plus close relatives such as the uncles, aunties, grandparents and cousins, which, in a sense, includes several generations (Degbey, 2012). Furthermore, the extended family is composed of a number of joint, compound, elementary and nuclear families occupying separate but nearby homesteads (Adinlofu, 2009).

As it is a cohesive unit, the extended family provides economic, social, emotional and psychological security to all its members (Degbey (2012; Adinlofu, 2009). This means that when one speaks of the family in the African context, one is referring not just to the nuclear family but the extended family (Gyekye, 1996).

In Africa the child begins to learn the values, norms, and rules of the community early in life within the context of such strong social network and extended kinship structures. Multiplelearning opportunities are available for a child in the African context. Children and adolescents learn everywhere and any time, in the forest, shrines, churches, caves, by the lake or riverside, gathering places, the market places, at weddings and festivities and funerals and at church and mosques (Mbiti, 1990). Such opportunities to teach and learn will be developed through various methods and channels including rituals, ceremonies, proverbs, riddles, wise sayings, memorising, storytelling, singing, and observation, dramatizing and sometimes writing (Tedla, 1991).

The views of a person in the African context is different from that of the West. In African society,

group identity is more stressed than self-identity. In this process of incorporation and identity formation, indigenous learning plays a crucial role as a transmitter of values and social rules. Tedla (1992:7) argues that indigenous African learning plays a crucial role in the transmission of values considered by Africans as essential in understanding and experiencing the fullness of lifel. In Africa, religious thought and secular thought of values are inseparable from the indigenous education, rather, they are interwoven in the fabric of African life. As Mbiti (1990) noted, there exists no dichotomy between religious and secular thought of values in African society. For Africans, education whether it is formal or informal, is a process not detached from everything else in their life (Tedla, 1991).

The uniqueness of this system with regard to parenting in traditional African communities is that the responsibility of taking care of the child is not the exclusive duty of the biological parents, rather, raising a child is shared by all in the extended family. This is buttressed by the African proverb on parenting which says that, _a single hand cannot nurse a child^{\chi}. -It take a village to raise a child^{\left} (Power, 2013:90), _you cannot clasp in one hand^{\chi}. Adinlofu (2009) has recollected the childhood experiences of Africans: _Most of us went to school on the strength of this system; otherwise we would have been stark illiterate and walking about aimlessly_.

It will also be intriguing to know that this system encourages an elder sibling in the family to train a younger brother or sister and the latter in turn help their younger ones and respect their family members. That is why people say that a child would always have 'parents' when parents are dead. In the African context the extended family is there to 'cushion or parent the child'.

Another uniqueness of this extended family system is that youth stay at home, live with the family until they are ready for marriage. Even if the young adult is staying with the nuclear family, the practice is that the child marries before he/she leaves the house.

According to Gyekye, (1996) growing adults are generally expected to live at home-in the family house and they may leave only after they marry. This is also true in traditional Ethiopia where youth stay with their parents until they complete their education and /or start working to earn their livelihood or getting married until their mid twentieth.

In short, both immediate and the extended family helps the child to develop a strong sense of social responsibility from the early years and gives her/him the opportunity to learn to be a respectful, responsible and supportive member of the extended family and society (Garcia,Pence, & Evans, 2008).

Values of cooperation, inter-dependence and collective responsibility are given much emphasis in the African thinking. These values are represented with the philosophy of Ubuntu with various terms and description across Africa. For example, 'ubuntu' is a Nguni term translated as 'personhood', 'humanness' in Bantu languages, umundu in Kikuyu a language spoken in Kenya; bumuntu in kiSukuma, spoken in Tanzania (Yanga, 1997:13). Parallel to this, with different description, 'Eigna', We-ness, 'Nahn'', We, from Ethiopian and Arabic languages respectively.

Kamwangamalu (1999) provides a description of ubuntu in sociolinguistic term which represents the core values of African ontologies: respect for any human being, for human dignity and for human life, collective sharedness, obedience, humility, solidarity, caring, hospitality, interdependence, and communalism, to list but a few.

These definitions, and the discussions made above have one theme in common: ubuntu which is a value system which governs societies across the African continent. It is a system against whose values the members of a community measure their 'humanness'.

In general, the strong collective orientations in Africa as pronounced in African adage, highlighted earlier, demonstrate how group interests are pursued in the African context. The fact that much of the proverbs in Africa extol communalism does not necessarily imply negation of individualism. Rather, according to Gyekye cited in Kamwangamalu (1999:29), "communalism is the recognition of the limited character of the possibilities of the individual, which limited possibilities whittle away the individual's self-sufficiency". This is clarified with the Ciluba proverb 'Bayaya waya biashala washadilamu' [Lit: 'Go when everyone is going, if you stay behind, you stay for good.'], exalts individual competitiveness without necessarily undermining communalism (Kamwangamalu, 1999). One must admit, though, that as a result of contacts with Western cultures, communalism is perhaps not as much practised in urban Africa as it is in rural Africa (). Having described child rearing practices in Africa, now I turn my focus to Ethiopian context.

2.4. Child rearing practices in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, child-rearing practices are influenced by the history, culture, religion, beliefs, and attitude of parents. This section discusses various factors that influence parenting practices and how parents conceive children in Ethiopia.

Ethiopian parents, as in other African societies, share a collective culture that values cooperation, helpfulness, hierarchy, obedience, harmony within groups, dependence, and interpersonal relationships (Abesha, 2012). Accordingly, they instill disciplinary values, ethics and spirituality that they think are appropriate for their children to respect their parents as creators next only to God. The importance of early years is highly stressed for character formation among Ethiopians. Parents believe that if a child is to have acceptable behaviour which goes with the norms and the beliefs of the society, s/he should be trained how to respect parents and elders while she/he is still in younger age

In Ethiopia children are viewed 'gift from God' and seen as joy, comfort, and strength (Belay & Dawit, 2015). Because of this strong desire to have a child, being unable to bear a child within a marriage is considered as 'doomed', in the community in general and in the family and relatives in particular (Belay & Dawit, 2015). In such conditions, a spouse, particularly a husband is heavily pressurised to divorce his wife and remarry as soon as possible in many traditional societies (Tilson and Larson, 2002).

In Ethiopian tradition, the more children parents have, the more status they have in their community and it is said that 'yemot medihanitu lij mewled new', literary meaning that the panacea for death is to have children' (Tedla, 1992; Belay and Dawit, 2015).

When children grow and become adults, they are expected to be responsible for the care of their aging parents. Admassu (2010) observed that adult children in Ethiopia are responsible to meet the financial, physical, and psychosocial needs of their aging parents. In Muslim community this task takes a unique aspect. In contrast to the western style of treating elders from a distance, the concept of 'old age home', is strange to the Muslim communities, although the trend is changing in some countries due to urbanization. In other words, in a Muslim family, children are taught from their

early stage to be dutiful, compassionate, caring, and humble towards their parents, treat them in a nice manner in their old age under their protection (Hodge, 2002).

Parents in Ethiopia strongly adhere to their religion and consider their culture in their child- rearing practices and seek the support of their extended family networks to reinforce their parenting. The rules and the rituals of the Islamic teaching inform Muslim parents in the principal of their children (Beshir, 2003).

In Ethiopia, as in many African societies, children belong not just to their families where they are born, rather they identify themselves with the whole community and each member of the community has a stake to make a close watch at what a child says and does as part of their socialisation of the child. This relates once again to the widely known African adage "It takes a village to raise a child" (Power, 2013:90).

The existence of conflicts between parents and children is almost never heard of in old days, as children always comply with their parents' wishes and are not allowed to ask questions and express their views often in the presence of their parents. Instead, they are expected to be quiet, shy and unquestioningly obedient (Belay & Dawit, 2015).

As the meaning given to children's behaviours depends on the beliefs and the culture of the society, some personality traits such as shy-inhibited behaviour has been positively evaluated and reflects social maturity and understanding in Ethiopia as in other traditional societies such as China (Chen, Dong, Zhou, 1997:858) and Muslim countries (Stewart, Bond, Zaman et al., 1999). However, this same behaviour has been considered socially incompetent, immature, and maladaptive in the Western literature.

Currently, numerous influences are challenging parents from achieving some of the parenting goals when the child reaches adolescence due to fast socioeconomic and technological changes brought by modernisation and globalisation which have created experiential and ideological gaps between parents and their children (Akyil et al., 2014).

As discussed earlier, wealth of literature indicates that besides parents and family, the influences

from western media, internet, television, and radio are shaping the behaviours and values of adolescents and affecting parent-child dynamics. However, there are a few published studies that consider contextual factors that contribute to our understanding of the experiences of parents transmitting values to their adolescent children in Ethiopia.

A few existing local studies which examine some parenting variables, especially the relationship between parenting styles and various important psychosocial measures of well-being in children and adolescents showed inconsistent results regarding the dominant parenting style in Ethiopia. Early study on child rearing practices among Silte community of parents and children between the age of seven and thirteen, a predominantly Muslim population in southern part of rural Ethiopia, found that children were not supposed to ask questions, participate in family discussion, or do things on their own (Abraham, 1996). Conversely, a quantitative and qualitative study conducted among parents from four ethnic groups and 7th and 8th gradestudents and teachers in urban Ethiopia on parenting styles suggests authoritative and authoritarian rather than indulgent or neglectful parenting styles as the most prevalent parenting styles (Seleshi,1998).

A recent qualitative study (Yishak, 2015) has found a shift in parental practice in Ethiopia. Yishak (2015) reported that changes in Ethiopia have influenced the relationship between parents and their adolescent children which contributed to a change from hierarchy-based relationship to negotiation. Likewise, Abesha (2012) found an authoritative style of parenting style among some ethnic groups he studied in Ethiopia. The combined findings showed that the authoritative parenting style is more common among all the ethnic groups studied.

There appears to be divergence and convergence among the studies discussed above. Berhan's (2016) study exclusively shows an authoritarian parenting style while most parents in Sileshi's (1998), Abesha (2012), and Yishak (2015) study were found to be authoritative. Even though this difference might be brought by various factors, the main source could be attributed to the cultural differences between families who live in urban and rural settings. It may be that parents in urban areas are less authoritarian than parents living in rural settings. The review made, so far shows a paucity of research which explored parenting experiences of families raising adolescent children pertaining to the transmission of values among Muslim families at this period of the family life cycle with the exception of Berhan (2016) which focused on one ethnic group.

In spite of the changing conditions, many parents still use the cultural ways in which they were brought up to inform their parenting, and struggle with the widening generational gap between them and their children. Getnet and Woldekidan (2012) cited generation gap as the main source of parent-child conflict because children are becoming reluctant to readily accept parental demands. This notion is consistent with Grusec and Goodnow's (1994) assertion that children not just internalise parental messages but interpret, modify, negotiate, and sometimes challenge before accepting it.

Recent work by Berhan (2016), who investigated the values and experiences of parents raising adolescent children among one ethnic group noted that parents focus more on shaping behaviours and transmitting their values than building on their positive relationship. Her findingsfurther showed the concern of parents on adolescents' intimacy experiences before marriage and becoming economically independent. Her research participants further described the period of adolescence as a time children show more defiance towards parental expectations and seemed to justify the necessity of more parental control and monitoring. However, religion as an important resource on parenting was not explored in her and/or previous local studies involving parents, to which the current study add to literature base regarding parenting experiences of values transmission to adolescent children in Ethiopia.

As time has changed and the world has become a village with its opportunities and constraints, it can be assumed that parents in urban setting with a good exposure to a modern way of life and some kind of parenting knowledge would adopt a parenting style fitting to the changing situation and demands of the ever changing needs and development of the adolescent children.

In Ethiopia, as in other developing nations, the introduction of modern technology and itsinfluence on parent-adolescent relationships have been felt by many parents (Getnet & Weldekidan, 2012). Although radio and television are the most prominent mass media in Ethiopia for long, adolescents' access to modern technology such as social media, mobile phones, internet are growing rapidly in urban and semi-urban settings. The influence of these media outlets on the behaviour of adolescents have been felt by parents as demonstrated in the public outcry a decade ago which forced the government to crackdown on magazines and video houses where youth practise chewing khat and doing shisha and watching pornographic films in the backyard houses in the city. The availability of and free access to these houses led youth to involve in drug use and risky sexual behavior, resulted in moral decay and alienate them from their roots and social values which remain intact for centuries (Getnet & Weldekidan, 2012).

The magnitude of concern and anxiety on the part of parents draw the attention of scholars as an area of inquiry as the exposure of adolescents to more diverse values systems could lead the former to experience multiple roles, to borrow what Larson et al., (2012:165) referred as " traditional Muslim or Christian values at home, secular values at school, and materialistic values in the media".

In spite of pressures and influences from outside, there are core values which remained and continued to have influence on adolescent and parent relationship in societies known to be collectivist like Ethiopia. Still Ethiopian parents value good manners, honesty, loyalty to authority figures, hard work, sharing, caring for parents in old age, responsibility, and love. The next section discusses the influence of media technology considered as one socializing agency in the contemporary world on the development of adolescents and parenting.

2.5. Impact of Technology on Parenting

The introduction of modern technology, one important sphere of influence and socialization agency, has presumably changed the environment in which children are raised. There are multiple avenues for adolescents to communicate, share, and learn many things in their ecological system at present. The unprecedented access to modern technology plays a crucialrole in guiding youth behave in expected and unexpected ways, which has increased parental concern about how adolescents' life might be affected (Moawad & Ebrahem, 2016).

Adolescents spend many hours a day using technology, and the vast majority of them have access to Internet, cell phones, video games and many other forms of modern technology. Electronic media provide children with a variety of learning opportunities and broaden the range of events they experience. Social media forms have altered how adolescents socialize and learn, and raised a new set of issues for parents, researchers, and educators to consider. In the contextof the mushrooming media landscape, it appears that socialization is no longer restricted to the influence of family, peers, and other people in children's immediate surroundings. In other words, technology and communication about the new technologies have become a part of the dayto-today reality for the parent-child microsystem (McHale et al., 2009).

With the increased role of modern technology in adolescents' lives and their growing appetite to use technology has come the increased concern of parents about how their children might be negatively affected by the pornographic films and drugs they are constantly exposed.

As elaborated in the previous section, parents fear that technology may take their children away from important family/social interactions that develop in-person relationships (Padilla-Walker & Coyne, 2011). As easy access to internet and the presence of internet cafeteria in public spaces in big cities like Addis Ababa made everything easy for youth, from entertainment to pornographic films, parents feel a serious concern that their adolescent children adapt the foreign ways of life and undermine their cultural identity.

In a youth platform hosted by an Islamic TV channel recently, a group of young people who were invited to talk about their experiences of digital media revealed how they were hooked to this platform and the negative aspect of surfing the net. They explain that youths as well as young children, even 4th graders, currently spend much of their productive time on the computer screen at home all night without having adequate sleep by watching images and contents which affect their moral behavior and school performance, and their social relationship. In their narration, they concluded that as young people, they are losing confidence, perceive modern technology an integral part of their life, thus do not want to miss it for an hour (Youth plat form- Africa TV, 2/26/2023).

This age of technology has affected the way one raises one's children and offered a more hands off approach to parenting. Adolescence is a time when a person is torn by conflicting feelings, which places a challenge on 'good parenting' in 'the era of 21st century' (Walker, 2015), in a family life cycle where an individual undergoes many changes. According to scholars in the field, parenting today is to parent in the modern world using timeless parenting skills which are universally effective and which never go out of style (Walker, 2015). In this sense, understanding the impact of technology on the behaviour of adolescents and parenting is critical, given that a warm, loving relationship with parents, along with experiencing effective parenting are key factors

for both protecting adolescents from developing behavioural difficulties and promoting their positive development (Currie, 2014).

Moawad & Ebrahem (2016) looked into its two aspects of media technology- its benefits and pitfalls in the context of parent-adolescent relationship. They stated that although most parents have positive relationships with their adolescents, they now have to compete in their socialisation with the technology which is becoming part of their adolescents_lives. For example, adolescents may be using technology to speak with their peers more often which would likely widen the gap between themselves and their parents. Moawad & Ebrahem's (2016) research, 'The Relationship between use of Technology and Parent-Adolescents Social Relationship among Egyptian adolescents', found high statistical correlation between adolescents' technology usage and social interaction with their parents.

For some researchers, technology serves two different functions for parents. Firstly, the supports parents acquire from new technological outlets in the form of information, advice, practical forms of assistance, can provide them greater repertoire of relational skills, manage life stress, more complex understanding of child rearing, and reinforce identification in their role (Azar, 2003). Secondly, new media technologies can assist parents in increasing interaction amongst families by bringing generations and family members together (Azar, 2003). In other words, it can help bridge generational and digital divides (Khamis, 2017).

Conversely, researchers who looked into the other dimension of media technology are of the opinion that new media technologies within a household can lead to a growing privatization within family life, with individuals increasingly using technology independently rather than collectively (McGrath, 2012).

A wealth of research works has revealed that exposure to various media content can have both positive and negative effects on viewers (Mares & Woodard, 2007; Gentile et al., 2009; Greitemeyer, 2009). Watching prosocial behaviour on television (Mares & Woodard, 2007), playing prosocial video games (Gentile et al., 2009), or listening to prosocial musical lyrics (Greitemeyer, 2009) can all increase prosocial behaviour in real life.

Other research indicated the negative side of media, suggesting that exposure to media violence, more recently relational aggression, can increase subsequent aggressive attitudes and behaviour in some individuals (Dedkova & Smahel, 2019). Furthermore, Sargent et al.,'s 2007) work indicated that viewing films and television programs containing substance use can increase the likelihood of substance use in real life. Likewise, researchers (Brown et al., 2006) found that exposure to sexual content in the media can influence sexual attitudes and speed up the initiation of sexual behaviour for some adolescents.

McGrath (2012) conducted a qualitative study to investigate how new media technologies such as video games, computer games, the internet and e-mail as well as televisions, mobile phones, and other types of modern technology impact social interaction within households. He found that new media technologies are negatively impacting social interaction between individuals within the household including the daily routines of individuals, and leading to increased social isolation and a privatisation of people's lives within the household.

In Guwahati, India, a qualitative study by Das Bijoyeta Ms. (2017) on a sample of 50 parents and 25 college students discovered class differences in the worries of parents about the impact of technology. According to his research, parents from high-class households were only mildly concerned about the way college students used the internet, whereas parents from middle-class families were more worried about how teens used the internet and its negative impacts on their behavior. The study makes additional connections between the various sorts of home environments, children's socialization, and relationships with peers and other family members.

Moawad and Ebrahem (2016) suggest that the more time children spent on television, computers, cell phone and video games the lower the quality of attachment they developed to parents. These researchers indicated that there was a highly statistical correlation between adolescents' technology usage and social interaction with their parents.

Other scholars hold ambivalent attitude towards modern technology (McGrath, 2012; Moawad & Ebrahem, 2016). With the infinite amount of time adolescents spend on cell-phones, computers and numerous types of video games, their attention is absorbed by these devices and this might be one main reason why new technology cause a decline in face-to-face relationships in the parent

- adolescent- relationship (Moawad & Ebrahem, 2016). Support for this assertion comes from literature which states that online interactions are often "characterized as lacking therichness of face-to-face interactions" (Patrikakou, 2016:13) which have been a crucial part of human relations.

Though the media can certainly be a force for good, parents have long been concerned more with children's and adolescents' exposure to negative content in the media (Chakroff & Nathanson, 2008) which could necessitate managing the use of technology by their children in the face of competing sources of value information and its acquisition. Traditionally, media research has focused on three proactive strategies parents adopt to curb children's exposure to media (Walker, 2015).

Parents made the effort to restrict certain media in the home as part of shielding children from harm and bad exposure. Strategies pertaining media use often include setting rules such as 'no violent movies', time allowed 'only 30 min of TV time after homework is done', and placementof' TV in the bedroom', about content to be viewed (Chakroff & Nathanson, 2008). The focus of parents who employ this strategy is to avoid negative media exposure altogether, before the adolescent can be negatively influenced. However, cocooning appears to be more successful with younger children (Nathanson & Yang, 2003) than the older ones. However, there is some indication that cocooning by itself would not be effective with adolescents, as the latter may haveeasy access to and simply view restricted content at a friend's house or public places (Nathanson & Yang, 2003). However, a few studies (Nathanson, 2002), suggest that cocooning works well for adolescents if it is tied with 'prearming' and few parents use only one approach to proactive media monitoring (Padilla-Walker et al., 2010).

Typical prearming in this regard might include parent-child discussion regarding exposure to questionable content in the media, pertaining to why certain content might be more positive or negative to view, how realistic portrayals are to real life, and why certain characters act in the ways they do (Walker, 2015). The aim of prearming is to help the child become a critical thinker of media: one who takes a more active role in their understanding of the media, as opposed to the default 'passive' role that most children experience the media. Prearming in this context is linked with a number of positive outcomes, including, decreased physical aggression after viewing violent television (Nathanson & Yang, 2003), and decreased fear after viewing a violent news

event (Buijzen, Walma van der Molen, & Sondij, 2007).

The literature states that co-viewing, in which parents watch media with their children, is a third type of media monitoring that is frequently investigated. Co-viewing is not necessarily proactive, according to certain authors (Padilla-Walker, 2006). Deference is another tactic parents employ in an effort to show their children they trust them (Denham et al., 2000), despite the fact that it hasn't been well researched in relation to media use. Padilla-Walker, 2006; Padilla-Walker, Christensen, & Day (2010) noted that this strategy is more frequently used with older adolescents due to the perception that family rules are already understood, and therefore behaviour does not need to be regulated. Other studies (Padilla-Walker et al., 2010) however, speculated that parents' use of deference during early adolescence has not been shown to be related consistently to positive outcomes, although it is suspected that older adolescents may benefit more from this strategy.

The above discussion suggests that ICT has a bigger impact on parenting and adolescent lives in both positive and negative ways. Modern civilization has been profoundly altered by the integration of new media technologies. Parents can share information and experiences with other parents online, seek parenting advice, and learn about raising children, all of which help them in their role as parents.

However, given the importance of social interaction and communication as a vital tool for smooth functioning of any household, this social interaction arguably has been negatively affected due to the presence of new media technologies and frequency of internet use which impact family shared activities as manifested in the decline of face-to- adolescent-parent relationship (Patrikakou, 2016)

In the wake of technological advancement and the transformation of human relationship parents are more informed by the religion and inclined to use it as a resource to deter children from engaging in indecent practices by fostering values and norms within the framework of Islam.. The next section reviews literature on how religion influence family life and parenting in general and in particular by the role of Islam in contributing to the development of the family and socialisation of children in particular.

2.6. The role of religion on parenting

Some sources indicate that religious beliefs and practices influence many aspects of life, including family life, and approaches to parenting (Horwath et al., 2008), though empirical research done on the impact of religion on beliefs and practices on parenting adolescents and family relationship is scarce (Horwath, Lees, Sidebotham, Higgins, and Imtiaz, 2008).

The connection between the social institutions of religion and family has drawn the broad attention of sociologists and family scholars. In recent years. Horwath et al. (2008) argue that understanding the influence of religious beliefs and practices on family life, particularly in adolescence, is important as this is the time young people are developing their own religious identity, 'world view' and beliefs.

As elaborated in previous sections, adolescence is a period of change, not just for the child but also for the family as a whole and in the ways parents fulfil their formative role (Horwath et al., 2008). Horwath et al. (2008) noted that religion and religious beliefs provide the resources for parents, especially for those who feel poorly prepared on how to prepare their adolescent children for future adult roles.

Dollahite and colleagues (2004) propose a three-dimensional conceptualisation of religion which entails religious beliefs, religious practices, and religious community. This section focusses on connections between religion and marriage and parent-child relationships by using these three dimensions as a framework to organise and synthesise previous research.

2.6.1. Religious beliefs and marriage

A wealth of literature has shown moderate to strong correlations between religiosity and marital stability, higher levels of marital commitment, and more positive marital adjustment (Lu, Marks, & Apavaloiae, 2012). Mahoney and colleagues (2001) argue that religiosity has consistentlybeen associated with not only marital stability, but also with marital satisfaction and commitment, especially when it is shared between the couples (Mahoney, Pargament, Tarakeshwar, and Swank, 2001). In their review of literature, Mahoney and colleagues, found limitations on studies that were conducted before 2000 on account of their being Eurocentric and exclusively selecting Judeo-Christian participants which according to them are 'distal' to generalise to other religious community.

Previous research noted the importance of religion on interpersonal relationships among family members as these relationships are central to family members' well-being (Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg, 1993; Rossi and Rossi, 1990). These findings are confirmed with large number of qualitative research (Lambert & Dollahite, 2008; Mahoney, 2010; Marks & Dollahite, 2011; Goodman, Dollahite, & Marks, 2013) published in recent years which shows correlations between the two variables of marriage and religion. Marks's (2005) qualitative study examining the influence of religion on the marital relationship found that shared religious beliefs impacted marriage through several channels, including anti-divorce beliefs, similar worldviews between married individuals, and additional marital support.

In the same vein, Burdette, Ellison, Sherkat, and George (2007) reported that commitment to most forms of religious belief is associated with a lower incidence of marital infidelity, compared to those who lack religious commitment. In their attempt to explore the meaning of marriage more closely, Mahoney et al. (1999) found that marital satisfaction and a lower incidence in marital conflicts were associated with couples' perception of their marriage as 'sacred', as well as with their engagement in similar religious activities.

A few literature sources indicate that families that share religion seemed to be more cohesive and the effect would be strong among families active in practising their religions (Pierce & Axinn, 1998). Religions pull people together and clearly promote strong family ties. Stinnett and DeFrain (1998 :) found that 'spiritual wellness' was one of the six most often cited qualities contributing to the wellbeing of the family.

According to two qualitative studies that examined sources of strength in long-lasting marriages, faith is found to be one of the most significant resources in the strong relationships (Olson & DeFrain, 2000).

However, when it comes to the mental health of the male partner, researchers have advised caution when considering religiosity as a determinant for marital pleasure and contentment. According to Sullivan's (2001) study, while religion might increase marital satisfaction when husbands are mentally fit, it might also exacerbate relationship issues when husbands are not.

Having discussed connections between the dimension of religious beliefs and marriage, the part that follows discusses connections between religious beliefs and parent-child relationships.

2.6.2. Religious beliefs and parent-child relationship

Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, the three Abrahamic religions, have placed great emphasis on parenting in their teachings. Religion through its institutions teaches parents to disseminate the idea that positive relationships among family members are desirable.

From a transactional perspective, children can also influence their parent's religiosity as well (Palkovitz et al., 2002). Interviews conducted among Christian families by Garland (2002) found that both parents and children shape the faith of each other. Correspondingly, Marks, Dollahite, & Freeman's, (2011) review study found that both men and women with children tend to be more religious compared to those who do not have children. Furthermore, a sizable portion of the parents sampled in the Garland study reported a sense of responsibility in guiding their children towards religion.

Bartkowski and colleagues (2008) reported that parental, couple, and familial religious involvement were all linked with more positive behavioural outcomes in children (Bartkowski, Xu, & Levin, 2008). By the same token, Dollahite, Layton, Bahr, Walker, and Thatcher_s (2009) and Laird et al.,'s (2011) work stated that both parents and child religiosity during a child's adolescence seemed to promote social, mental, and physical well-being.

Despite the clear evidence of the mutual influence that religious belief and family have on one another, some scholars suggest that belief needs to be embodied by practice to become optimally influential (Marks et al., 2011). As Burr and colleagues, cited in Alban-Lowry (2001) write: -It is what we do with the sacred that matters most^{||}.

2.6.3. Religious practices and family life/parenting

The importance of active engagement in spiritual activities to contribute to a healthy spiritual life has been stressed by scholars in the family field (Mahoney, Pargament, Murray-Swank et al., 2003; Ellison, Sherkat, 1993a; Marks, 2004.). According to these resrearchers spiritual development demands a deep practical commitment to religious practice and activities, rather than a mere

increase in the person's awareness of spiritual meaning over time.

Mahoney et al., (1999) reported that couples who support each other, pray for each other, attend religious services together, and are connected to one another spiritually seem to have better marital quality. Likewise, in a large survey study (1,439) among newly married couples, Atkins and Kessel (2008) found a strong correlation between church attendance and marital fidelity. Shared religious practice also appears to help couples to prevent resolve, and overcome marital conflict (Lambert & Dollahite, 2008).

Conversely, Mahoney and colleagues suggested both positive and negative types of religious coping among couples (Mahoney, Pendelton, and Ihrke, 2006). Whereas, positive coping is one that is used to facilitate healthy adaptation that enables couples to overcome hardship andbecome stronger beings, negative coping is characterized by spiritual struggles that can flow into other areas of life and marriage (Mahoney et al., 2006). In other words, religious practices have been shown to have both helpful and harmful effects depending on the way the couple_s handle it (Koenig, 1998).

Evidence is found to lend support to such conclusion in a recent review work by Marks and colleagues (2011). Marks and colleagues (2011) reported that when prayer is used positively by the couple in marriage, for example when one prays for the betterment of the other couple, it is more likely to result in desirable outcomes. However, when prayer is used in a negative way, for instance asking God to fix or change a partner because s/he is a bad person, it tends to harm the relationship (Marks, 2008). Prayer done individually as well as in congregation serves believers as a tool to communicate and connect, to ask and seek help from God (Burr et al., 2012).

Scholars noted that prayer (Salah) provides Muslims with direct connection with God and it is conceived as a formal worship practice among the five principles ¹³ of Islam, which requires physical purity and cleansing and concentration to achieve the intended objective (Marks, 2004). When a believer starts any of the compulsory five daily prayers, she / he must recite the first chapter (sura) of the Quran that emphasises thanks and praise of God. The believer typically asksGod for guidance along the straight path in his pray. The Quran states, 'For Believers are those who, when Allah (God) is mentioned, feel a tremor in their hearts, and when they hear His signs rehearsed,

find their faith strengthened, and put (all) their trust in their Lord' (Quran 8:2). The Quran further describes such believers to show '.... patient perseverance over their afflictions, keep up regular prayer, and spend (in charity) out of what we have bestowed upon them.... '(they will) have benefits' (Quran 22:35, 33). Thus, one objective of performing Salah with its prescribed conditions is to keep Muslim believers away from committing social wrongs and engage in moral and charitable action.

Some scholars mentioned that prayer opens doors of possibilities and provides individuals with solutions that help facilitate harmony in their life and the sharing of these sacred experiences with other family members is likely to inspire and increase bonds and love between them (Burr et al., 2012).

A quantitative research conducted with religiously devoted couples shows that prayer provide greater experiences of enhanced emotional validation and a sense of guidance from God, relationship between couples, and enriched reconciliation and problem-solving ability which were salient features prayer could provide participants involved in the research (Butler, Stout, & Gardner, 2002).

Evidence to support such assertion has come from a qualitative study carried outto examining the devout Christian, Jewish, and Muslim families' religious observances. The finding has revealed that prayer is a central practice of all the three religious groups that provide promotes a sense of closeness with God and familial intimacy among the family members (Dollahite & Marks, 2009; Franchesse, 2013).

While acknowledging the increasing number of studies that examine the connection between prayer and marital life over the past fifteen years, scholars asserted that there still exist a paucity of research in this relatively new domain of inquiry, to which the present study will fill the gap by exploring religion as a resource contributing to parenting adolescent children (Marks et al., 2011).

¹³ The five principles of Islam are Believing in Allah (God) and testifying the prophet hood of Muhammed (s.a.w), establishing salah, paying zakah (charity) for those capable, fasting in the month of Ramadan, making pilgrimage obligatory for those physically and psychologically and financially able once in a life time are the five principles of Islam a believer should know and practice.

Taken as a whole, this body of theory and research demonstrate that religious practices, especially prayer, would offer substantial support to the marital relationship when used in a positive way. In healthy prayer, individuals and couples typically seek and ask for personal help and support, placing themselves in a position of openness, and cooperativeness. They thereby move away from arrogance, power, and control represented by prayer which asks for a change solely in another person (Mahoney, 2003).

But prayer also affect couple negatively when employed in ways that divide, rather than unite them. The next section focuses on socialisation children in an Islamic perspective.

2.7. Islamic perspectives on family and parenting

2.7.1. Socialisation in Islamic context

Parents and children are bound together by mutual obligations and reciprocal commitments in Islam. For Muslim parents, the acquisition of knowledge, skills and dispositions must be a process guided by the sacred book, Qur'an and the Sunnah ¹⁴ (Rashid, 1988). The knowledge of God_s will and the laws and patterns of his creation represent, in essence, all that can be known. For this reason, Muslims look to Qur'an for their guidance and knowledge while looking for the prophetic tradition (Sunnah) for applying aFbilities and attitude in an Islamic manner.

Islam provides children with an understanding of their purpose in life as clearly delineated in Qur'an - submission to God (6:60) and the means to accomplishing the goal, that is the straight path outlined in the Qur'an and the Sunna of the prophet (May peace and blessings upon him) (Q, 6:153, 37:21). The word Islam has come from two Arabic roots, Silm and Salam, which literally means peace and in its religious sense complete submission of one's will to the will of the creator, God (Saeidi, Ajilian, Farhangi, et al., 2014). Seen from this angle, Hakim (1988:209)argues that western theoretical approaches to socialisation appear to be inadequate because 'it failed to articulate a relationship between the agents and mechanisms of the socialisation process and an ultimate goal of the process itself'. However, scholars are hopeful that 'relativistically minded' western scholars will not get into trouble in conceptualising ultimate goal, as this concept is considered the province of philosophers and theologians for long (Hakim, 1988).

The family is the main building block of the society. In its structural aspect, the Qur'anemphasises the family as a unit of society and cornerstone of Islamic society (Muhammed Ansari.n.d.-a,b). Muslim scholars agree that all aspects of Muslim life, private, family, public, financial and legal in essence are regulated and guided by the Qur'an and the prophetic tradition which they believe lay the solid ground for Muslim societies and ensures the strength and perpetuation to the Islamic family system (Abdel Ati,1977; Ansari.n.d.-a,b; Ansari.n.d.-a; Baker,2011; Hamilton,1995).

Issues of gender roles, relationship and parenting are essential ingredients when family systems function within any given social and cultural group. Within Islam the prevailing stance and principles on issues of marital relationships, including rights and responsibilities of husband and wife, the parent- child relationship, child rearing and even sexual relationship/intimacy and inheritance, marriage and divorce are enshrined within the Qur'an and the Sunna of the prophet. In predominantly Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, Shari'ah courts enforce these rules and principles. However, the presence of differing sociological and philosophical views about the courts, and the interpretation of the holy text by other institutions and these differing views lead to vigorous debate across the Islamic spectrum (Hodge, 2002).

In Ethiopia, Qur'anic education complements the efforts of parents in transferring religious and traditional family values to children. Local Sheks (responsible for teaching the Qur-_an) and the Ulema (the learned scholars) in religious institutions were supportive of parental efforts in shaping their children. This tradition also had the purpose of transferring the norms of gerontocracy for generations.

As indicated in the previous chapter, religious education basically started in rural areas and was diffused to urban centres with a few dedicated ulemas and their disciples. In Ethiopia religious education influences the socio-cultural aspects of the life of the people especially on the personal and family life of Muslims including marriage, spiritual life, conflict resolution, and healing practices (Yassin, 2015).

¹⁴ Sunna, refers to a prophetic tradition, as he said and did things by example, and approved when done by his companions.

He further observes that the religious practices also influence the business practices and enhanced peaceful co-existence and tolerance with other religious groups (Yassin, 2015).

With the expansion of modern /regular schools and the advent of technology, the traditional education has been transformed to embrace various media outlets to reach millions of thebelievers through satellite TV, recorded audios, videos, large gatherings organised by Muslim organisations at present. Transformation from traditional into formal schooling has brought significant changes to the relationships between children and their caregivers. Through modern education, Muslim children are exposed to broader external experiences, requiring parents to learn about child development to better understand their children's development and what may be expected of them at each developmental stage. This learning can be combined with the application of Islamic teachings for successful parenting.

In Muslim families as in non-Muslim households, respect for elders and authority are introduced at home by parents and reinforced by the local mosques. If children respect their parents at home, it is assumed that they will respect teachers and others in the community. Thus, respecting and obeying parents are assumed by children to offer blessing (mirikat, in Amharic) (Belay and Dawit, 2015), a pervasive element used by Muslim and non -Muslim families in child socialisation. It serves as reinforcement to acceptable behaviour, which is parallel to social learning theory (Bandura, 1986), which distinguish direct and indirect reinforcement where the former occurs when the children perform a certain behavior and are rewarded. In contrastergiman (curse) have also been used by parents and adults in traditional Ethiopia to respond to behavior the child exhibits such as when they failed to comply with parental expectation, or resisted to accept instruction,

Islam orders the believers to submit to the oneness of God and raise their children with love and care to prepare them for responsible adulthood. The unparalleled tender love and care of the parents is essential to bring the child from the stage of absolute weakness and helplessness to perfect strength and independence so that children can live by the values espoused by the religion (Hamdan, 2009).

2.7.2. Parent-Child Relationship in Muslim family

Islam regulates the parent-child relationship within the framework of responsibilities and rights. In Islam, parents have responsibilities for and rights over their children. Similarly, children have responsibilities for and rights over their parents (Akin, 2012; Hamdan, 2009).

According to scholars, the unique aspect of parenting in Islam is demonstrated through the reciprocity of duties and responsibilities between parent and the child, as reciprocity is a recurrent theme in Qur_an and the tradition of the prophet, where the child's rights become the parents' duty and their right become the child's duties (Akin et al., 2012; Syed, 2015). The Qur'anic and Prophetic guidelines on child rearing, giving the child necessary care, love, and protection in every stage of childhood is consistent with the psychological approach documented in the literature (Hamdan, 2009).

Providing and fulfilling basic needs, protection from harm, proper education to prepare children for real life, moral education and character education, love and care are among the responsibilities and functions of parenting in Islam (Akin et al., 2012). Children also have the right to kind and gentle treatment and mercy; and parents are responsible to show and modelsuch behaviours for children to adopt (Qur_an, 64:14).

Communicating ideas verbally and listening to children is an important attribute for maintaining strong bonds between parents and their children which is emphasised in socialising Muslim children, although this would not be observed in all families (Hodge, 2002). The Qur_an and the Sunnah provide guidelines on how a parent or an adult treats and speaks to children. For example, the prophet used to advise children by using his words very carefully, in a gentle manner, starting with the phrase 'O my dear son', sharing their interests and talking to childrenin a way they could understand and feel accepted.

Being closer and opening self and giving to and also receiving advice from children is the appreciated way to treat children and to maintain good relationship in the family. As elaborated in an earlier footnote, Shura is one aspect of a communication tool, emphasised in the holy Qur'an which encourages counselling and consultation (Ch 3: 159; 42: 38). Shura was used by the Prophet (Peace be upon him) following revelation from God to consult his companions in worldly matters.

This practice, according to some scholars' opinion seems parallel to the idea of modern democracy (Mubarak, 2016), although, some Muslim scholars, do not see such consultation and modern day representative democracy to be exactly similar, but assert that the idea of modern democracy (but not liberal democracy) and the Qur'anic injunction to consult people may have similar spirit (Mubarak, 2016). Similarly, the Quran mentions shura when it refers to those "who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation" (42:38) in the list of people that will have lasting reward with God. Hence, shura is a binding Islamic principle being adopted as major communication tool (Hamad, 2014).

A few empirical studies are carried out in this area (Ahmedi, Hosseini, Shahabadi et al., 2022; Ahmed et al.,'s (2022) assessment of the role of Shura in dealing with contemporary family issues among Muslim families shows that husbands and wives held shura pertaining to naming a child following the birth of the child, on the education of child, and consider shura to be the most prominent part of the couple's engagement in discussing the morals and how to discipline children. However, this study revealed that shura between husband and wife happened sporadically based on specific need, and the study did not assess whether parents involvechildren in the shura, which future research would benefit from. Some scholars suggest thatShura strengthens the family unit and creates a culture of inclusive decision making. It also nurtures a trusting relationship, bonding within the family which lead to the formation of social capital (Putnam, 2002).

Maintaining 'Family Izzat' (which refers to honour, pride, and self-respect) is an important determinant and motivator of behaviour (Mann, 1994). Given a central place in many cultural settings, family honour will be easily damaged by the inappropriate behaviour of the member of the family (Mann, 1994). For example, in Muslim families as in other religious groups when children, especially a girl does not behave appropriately in the public or appears immodest or found that she is not a chaste woman on her wedding day, it could be a disgrace to her familyand she would be expelled from the house of her husband in traditional Ethiopia, the incident considered as 'Wurdet ametachibin' (literally to mean she brings disgrace to the family). The emotion of shame and the awareness of public opinion are also regarded as central in Muslim community which are part of raising children.

Beshir (2004) suggests the importance of both verbal and non-verbal communicative methods and

being kind and gentle in communicating and allowing children to express their feelings and share their happiness and pain without fear. As Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), was described in Qur'an 'Indeed you are in the best mode of conduct— he is viewed and taken as anultimate role model by Muslims in every day of their lives including raising children. If a child had a problem, he would ask the child to describe the problem, share his/her feelings, and intervene to solve the problem if he/she wants.

Treating children, handling problems and facilitating their development as elaborated earlier require parents to provide unconditional love and care and to create a home environment where the child feels safe and connected. This is because home is considered a proximal environment in ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986) where the child's development is facilitated and behaviour is shaped, a practice parallel to the authoritative parenting styles widely popularised in socialisation scholarship in the west. Hussien (2013), suggests that an authoritative parenting style is typically most effective for religious parents who desire to promote the internalisationand emulation of religious values in their children.

In Islam respect and kindness are virtues that children should adopt in their relation with parents and others: "And do good (show kindness) unto parents, and unto kinsfolk and orphans, and the needy" (Qur'an 4:36). There are many more Qu'anic verses (Qur_an 31 :14) and Hadiths about children's and parents' responsibilities and rights on how one acts towards each other, showing the ideal parent-child relationship. Thus, parents and children are contingent upon one another for proper Islamic practice.

In sum, whereas children are consistently taught to be respectful, benevolent, and obedient, parents in their part are responsible to teach and inculcate such values as kindness, empathy, service, honouring parents and elders and living a modest life through balancing the material and spiritual life. In other words, Islam regulates parent-child relationship within a framework of checks and balances (Akin, 2012).

2.7.3. Role of father and mother

Parenting is gendered in Islamic upbringing as father and mother have a distinct and complementary role in raising their children. Home and family are seen as the foundation of

Islamic society and mothers and fathers have a special place and distinct and complementary roles to play in raising children and transferring values and traditions consistent with the social, cultural, and Islamic principles (Oweis, Gharaibeh, Maaitah et al., 2012). Saktanber (2002) indicated that women are thought of as having been created with the innate qualities of motherly mercy and affection.

As mothers have very strong functional roles to prepare children for the future they are given special status within Islam. Hamdan (2009) stated that in Islam, a Muslim mother_s responsibility is to educate her child/ren on faithfulness, and instill Islamic values, and good behavioural and moral values. Chaudhry (2016) conducted research to study Muslim mothers' experiences in teaching Islamic values and spirituality to their American born children. He foundthat these mothers took pride in teaching Islamic values to their children and saw that the anxietyand stress that come with was a normal part of being a parent who raises adolescent children.

Plenty of Hadith narrations indicate mothers as the most deserving, given preference based on their tireless efforts for the rearing and bearing of their children, their compassion, their service, their pregnancy, and delivery. Scholars indicate the crucial place of mothers and their active involvement in the daily care and nurture of their children, more than fathers. Muslim fathers also have an important role in the lives of their children (Hamdan, 2009).

According to the Islamic values system, a Muslim father is responsible for protecting, providing and supporting his family and children (Hossain, Roopnarine, Abdullah, et al., 2005). A fathers_ role in providing for the educational and financial needs of their children is stressed in the prophetic tradition. One doctrine in the Hadith states that —a father gives his child nothing betterthan a good education!. There are also several Hadiths which outline fathers' behaviour relating to how they should take care of their children and their family members: 'The most perfect of the believers in faith is he who has the best character, and is most gentle towards his family' (Akin, 2012). This shows that fathers are responsible not only for fulfilling family's material desires and instrumental needs but also they are responsible for their spiritual life by being a role model as well.

Although physical punishment by some Muslim parents are adopted as a disciplinary method in some studies, it is not encouraged as an effective method in Islamic upbringing (Dwairy 2006).

When it happened, it would be presumed that Islamic theology and practice seemed to contradict each other in terms of childrearing in those situations.

The above discussed points suggest that character formation and establishing a proper relationship with the supreme power, is defined in terms of acquiring such traits as obedience to God, inculcating virtuous values such as respect for parents, benevolence, patience, forgiveness, courage, firmness in resisting evil, and the discipline that enforces justice in society (Obeid, 1990), to which parents have a greater role to play.

Through this literature review, it has been established that no previous attempts in exploring the values transmission experiences among Muslim parents who raise adolescent children in Addis Ababa have been made. This is an important endeavour for future research and educational practices; within a population that has been under-researched. Thus, further research on this topic may contribute to the existing literature, and attempt to explore an under-researched area. These limitations describe the motivations for the present study.

2.8. Guiding theoretical perspectives

This study has integrated essential components of two corresponding theoretical frameworks, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory and Social Capital theory (Bourdieu,1986; Colman,1986), with particular focus on "Islamic Capital" (Franceschelli & O'Brien, 2014) in relation to their relevance with regard to studying the experiences of Muslim parents who raise adolescent children in Addis Ababa.

2.8.1. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory

Understanding the complex process in intergenerational values transmission requires a perspective that considers psychological and sociological components. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory may fit well to the present study.

Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986, 2005) proposes an ecological model of human development that offers a useful framework for organising the environment into five systems that interact with and impact the development of the child. These are the microsystem; *mesosystem*; *exosystem*; *macrosystem* and *chronosystem*. His theory regards the family as a social unit embedded in the

larger system where one system interacts with another in a meaningful and active manner. The five layers in the system will be used to "describe multiple sources of influence that could help make sense of the intergenerational values transmission process in families within the context of the Muslim family" (Hakim, 1988:215-216).

According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) the microsystem is the first layer closest to the child which constitutes such proximal contexts as immediate family (home), school, peer and the relationship the child has with them. Recent developments in media technology also suggest media and communication as part of the adolescents' microsystem (Walker, 2015). The relationship at this level is conceptualised as bidirectional where the child is influenced by parents and at the same time he has some influence on them in various ways (Brenfenbrenner, 1979; Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). In a Muslim community, in the context of this study, the microsystemrepresents the family, the masjid (mosque) or the madrassa (school) (Beshir, 2004).

The family is the primary agent of socialisation the child first learns early concepts about the world, and grows both physically and mentally, learns basic norms, values, religious beliefs, identity formation, practice, and eventually his/her attitudes are shaped (Ahmadi, Hosseini, Shahabadi, et al, 2022; Monica et al., 2012; Bengtson, Copen, Putney, & Silverstein, 2009). As social and religious values are shaped first by family members, these values will be more strongly transmitted during the younger and more impressionable phase of life, and once established exhibit greater stability over time when compared to gender role attitudes (Tulviste, Mizera, De Geer, et al., 2007). As parents and family occupy the most important place in child health and development according to the ecological system theory (Agneta, Jennie & Charli, 2015), some scholars, such as Hodge (2005) argue that research when research conducted amongMuslim families from an ecological perspective could offer considerable insight into the variety of environmental influences on the Muslim child's development.

A synthesis of Bronfenbrenner and Boykin's (2006) theoretical perspectives will allow researchers to come up with questions related to the different layers proposed in the model. Questions concerning the microsystem which revolve around interpersonal relation, in this case, paren-adolescent relationships could be: How strong, weak or moderate are parents in adhering to the values they hold as required by their religion (Al-Islam)? What kind of school, secular or Islamic

school does the child attend? Is there any congruence and consensus between both parents in the socialisation of values they want their children to espouse? The importance of microsystems in the lives of Muslim parents and families is crucial that parents feel they have the responsibility to teach their children proper education and Islamic culture, to inculcate values and practices normative in their culture and prescribed in the religion as they were themselves taught during their socialisation (Hodge, 2005; Yasmin, 2018). Applying this, one could say that behaviours and teachings by Muslim parents and religious institutions (mosque) will affect the behaviour and personality of the child, which in turn will influence how parents apply their Islamic values and deal with any challenges they face in the process.

Parenting strategies and the structure of the family are important components of the micro system that influence values transmission. In an authoritative family environment values transmission between parents and children would be facilitated in two ways (Roest, Dubas, & Gerris, 2009). As a close and supportive family context promotes the child's desire for compliance with parental wishes, adolescents may increase their willingness to accept their parents' values (Barni et al, 2011).

The transmission that occurred in supportive home environment at an earlier stage would help maintain a similarity of values between parents and their mature children over the life course into middle age (Min, Silverstein & Lendon, 2012). This idea supports the socialisation theory_s basic tenet that children permanently acquire values orientation from their microsystem, particularly from significant others such as parents at critical stages of development. However, a few studies (Barni et al., 2017) noted that the strong stability in values over time does not mean that these values could not be changed in the aggregate over time. Considerable social and economic changes at a global level would influence changes in values across nations, and bringing about new challenges for parents, making parenting more challenging and demanding than in the past (Burns & Gottschalk, 2019; Zahran, 2011).

The fact that parents have time to spend with family afford them to have more opportunity to influence their children than others, and position them to play a crucial role in shaping and guiding the values and behaviors of children (Smetna, Robinson, & Rote, 2015).

The *mesosystem* comprises the interrelations among two or more settings in which the child actively participates. For a child, this layer represents relations among home, school, and neighbourhood peers. For parents, it comprises relations among family members, work, and social life. Questions for the most part in the mesosystem relate to the extent to which the child's social, moral or religious beliefs, values and practices are congruent with his parents andhow these are supported or hindered by settings such as mediating spaces such as the school and peers with which the adolescent interacts. Applying these statements to the current study, it couldbe stated that for the healthy development of a child, there must be compatibility between the child's microsystems like the parents and the schools.

Although some research suggests that perceived parental value congruence more influences adolescents' acceptance of parental values than the actual value congruence between parents, it is still true that a value is more successfully transmitted to the child when it is reinforced by both parents (Kasser, 2011a; Barni et al, 2011). Parents in the current study initially differed in some ways. They had "affected each other's values" over time through mutual appreciation and learning from one another, and they had merged their efforts to produce a synthesis.

The exosystem consists of linkages which involve social settings where the child does not actively participate but what happens in the setting would affect him. Questions concerning the exosystem include: 'What is the nature of the parent's employment?', 'Are they working full time, part time, working outside home or working from home?' 'Is one or are both are stay- at- home parent/s?, 'What is their educational status?' and 'What are the social interactions parents have outside the home which could afford them getting the support they need to affect parent- child relationships and the quality of living conditions?'

These conditions all affect children interacting with their parents at home in various ways and shape their behaviour. In this line of understanding researchers such as Campbell and Gilmore (2007) suggest that class and the work of the parents indirectly affect the time they give to their children and the values they transmit to their children. This could be explained whether parents grant autonomy / independence or stress on other oriented values, so that their children engage in benevolent activities. In a changing Ethiopian social context, there seems to be a tendency

among upper middle class urban Muslim family to value 'self- maximisation' along obedience, the values which have been characteristic of and emphasised in individualistic society. In rural and traditional settings, however, people still maintain more of the traditional values such as conformity to rules and norms and interpersonal closeness, obedience and humbleness towards adults. Applying this theory, Muslim parents, may need extra support, skill and knowledge on adolescent development given the changing global and social environment which require parents get prepared to raise children through training and self-development in accordance with the Islamic framework for raising the contemporary youth.

The *macrosystem*, is the fourth layer which is the largest cultural context in which other systems, micro, meso, and exosystems are embedded along with any belief system, culture or ideology. The macrosystem represents the dominant cultural context in which the Muslim child is being raised. Collectivism and individualism are the two dominant cultural models that are theorized (Hofsede, 1980; Triandis, 1995) to distinguish the West from the East. These constructs are used to explain observed cultural differences in behaviour, values and the way parents socialise their children.

Since one's macrosystem has a role in influencing values and beliefs, Muslim parents may find it challenging to raise children in a community that is different from theirs in religious beliefs and practices and this may require them to seek extra support from the mosque and religious community in order to teach and help their children maintain Islamic tradition in the face of competing values. (Yasmin, 2018).

Questions related to the macrosystem are concerned with the extent to which parents of the child support and are inclined to the ideological and cultural underpinnings of the dominant society. In other words, parents determine whether they stress on collective way of life of Ethiopians and mixing of cultural elements with the mainstream Islamic beliefs or not. Are there parental efforts to promote co-existence with non-Muslim cultures? Do parents promote a view of Islam as a totally integrated way of life or do they see it as a constrained religion temporally, simply observed in a weekly Friday) prayer), and the two Eids (Holiday festivities)? (Hadad, 2002). Youniss (1994) advancing his ideas from the intersubjective model stance concludes that parents are wise enough in recognizing the changing social environment, and thereby tailor their parenting practices in accordance with the new demands of the society.

The last layer in the ecological model, which was added later by Bronfenbrenner (2005) is the Chronosystem, which is considered by some scholars (Pequette & Ryan, 2015) not actually a layer in itself but assumed as a methodology construct. Accordingly, this component, is composed of the cultural values and beliefs, historical events, and transitions over the life course that influence all relationships. It also addresses how the individual is influenced by developmental and social changes over time (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

Evidence in the literature (Elder, 1994) suggests that historical and economic changes would often lead to social change, which, in turn, create formation of large cities, loss of community cohesion and contribute to a reduced pressure towards compliance to long held norms and values in society (Berry, 1994/97?). As discussed elsewhere these social changes, together with the major historical events in the global environment would also contribute to parent-adolescent relationship dynamics, whereby young people incline to individualistic orientation which often necessitate negotiation of values between parents and children.

Researchers (Preto, 1999) further note that the family's developmental change will also play a greater role in the values transmission process. In line with Youniss and Smoller's (1985) research and based on the theoretical vantage view of ecological systems theory, the adolescent period requires parents and adolescents to form a partnership. This partnership and mutuality at such different historical period allow both agents to co-regulate the behaviour of adolescents, where change in attitudes and beliefs clearly manifest itself with adolescents_exposure to the outside world with different needs and expectation.

Since an ecological approach uses a naturalistic metaphor (ecology) to conceptualise complex phenomena in their entirety, the theory would be helpful to address multiplicity and complexity in the understanding of values transmission in the family. The idea that different sub-systems interact through mutual feedback processes while functioning as a whole fits most well as propounded by eco-systemic theory and is in line with the African world view which claims that individuals and different subgroups within a community influence each other to maintain the cohesion of the whole community (Avis, Pauw, & Spuy 2004:221).

To sum, according to the ecological system theory, development can proceed along with many different paths depending on the intricate interplay and mediation of internal and external influences. While it cannot be denied that parents influence the development and shaping of a child's personality and character, the child's interaction with the parent may change the parent's behaviour to some extent. In other words, from a bio-systemic model perspective, children have the agency in influencing their socialisation in one or the other way (Smetana, 2017).

In this way, parents who view themselves as partners with their children in the development process become aware of the reciprocal nature of parent-child interaction, and this is parallel to Islamic teaching which encourage checks and balances in parent-child relationship (Hodge,2006) for which data will be provided later in chapter 4.

2.8.2. Social capital theory

This study is also informed by the social capital theory which highlights the importance of examining the role of social networks in reinforcing and providing support to parenting. The original theoretical development of social capital theory was advanced by Pierre Bourdieu(1980), a French sociologist and James Coleman (1986, 1988, 1990) an American sociologist, who center their theory on individuals or small groups as the units of analysis. Both scholars strongly suggest the benefits individuals or families might enjoy by maintaining ties with kins, relatives, and others, though there exist some variations between them (Portes, 2000). Social capital theorists typically describe family life as the foundation of social capital (Putnam, 1995; Bourdieu, 1993; Winter, 2000). The concept, social capital broadly refers to the social norms, networks, and levels of trust that are found in a social group or society. Essentially, social capitaldenotes social connections and the benefits that may result through these connections (Colman, 1986).

Two types of social capital, financial capital and social capital are distinguished that parents provide to their children in order to promote optimal development in their children (Colman, 1988). Financial capital refers to the provision of basic resources such as food, housing education, and other necessities. Social capital is further differentiated into family social capital, which refers to parents' socialisation of their children by promoting the child's cognitive-social development and community social capital, signifying the contexts where parents try their level best to introduce and connect the child to knowledge and resources within the community at large. In other words,

parents serve as advocates for their children.

According to Colman (1988) the physical presence and attention given by the adults is considered a prerequisite to provide the child access to the adult's social capital in a family. Conversely, the physical absence of adults may be viewed as a 'structural deficiency in family social capital' (Cohen, 1983). Cohen further conceives the single-parent family as the most prominent element of structural deficiency in modern families. For Cohen, the presence of both parents and their active engagement with their children enhances the social capital that comes with their presence during the day compared to families lacking the social capital due to the absence of parents during the day. This is one of the reasons which prompted me to study two families (biological parents) together.

In Cohen's theorisation the social capital that has value for a young person's development will not be limited within the family. He writes that the social capital could also be found in the community, the social relationships parents establish among themselves and in the parents'relations with the institutions of the community, such as the mosque, the church and the relationship they form in the neighbourhood.

Among the multiple functions of social capital *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* are stressed by some authorities (Productivity Commission, 2003). Although their functions seem to be similar, scholars have made distinction among these constructs. According to this source bonding occurs amongst groups who are somewhat homogenous and this serves to strengthen social ties by mobilising solidarity and reciprocity. Within the family system, bonding social capital refers to trusting and mutually supportive family bonds. Both Coleman (1986) and Bourdieu (1986) highlight the role of family social capital in the transmission of human and cultural capital from parents to their children.

The presence of social capital in the family and social capital outside it in the adult community, in the school, shows evidence of their considerable value in reducing the probability of the children dropping out of high school. Coleman (1988) states that parent-child relational ties, often referred to as social capital, influence the educational outcomes of children independent of socioeconomic characteristics.

Coleman (1988:105) writes "all social relations and social structures facilitate some forms of social capital". To him, social capital focuses on a highly interconnected network that helps to form cohesive group norms among actors in the network. In other words, by the virtue of their strong social ties within the family, parents are the conduit through which their children can tap into the broader resources of adult society which could enable them to become successful adults by obtaining access to information and resources in adult society and thereby enhance their future life chances (Schneider and Stevenson, 1999).

While acknowledging the importance of family social capital, Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) extend the concept to school environment by emphasising the role of the school as a social resource for low-income families. Academic help, proper guidance for school programs, and information about the college admissions process, and institutional agents in the school can provide strong network ties that compensate for family networks when students' parents have limited economic and social resources (Winter, 2000).

However, some writers such as Putnam (2006) suggest the declining trend of social capital in American society which he attributed to several possible causes including work-related time pressure for parents, economic hardship, women_s access to the paid labour force and its effects on the family, residential mobility, technological revolution in communications, and disruption of marriage. Of equal importance is that many of these trends if not all, are being witnessed in some form in a relatively intact community including Ethiopia where interdependence was the norm.

Scholars who examined the relationship between religiosity and social capital posits that religions that create the necessary conditions for effective and useful relationships among people are more successful in the formation of social capital (Akbari, 2013). The social capital theory corresponds to an Islamic view and an African world perspective which inform the present study. Both emphasise group solidarity, encourage individuals to maintain a sense of belonging, stress on the community, and family cohesiveness, rather than pursuing individualistic goals and values. However, many theorists have not focused much on religion, although a wealth of literature has suggested that religion offers "a dimension of social support and networks of relationships that can be described as a social capital resource" (Smith, 2001:128). According to

Akanni (2020) religion provides a forum for developing social connections, through which values and norms are transmitted, thus religion should be considered in understanding social capital.

"Islamic capital" a concept coined by Franceschelli and O_Brien (2014) based on their research findings further guides the present research along with social capital. Franceschelli & O Brien (2014:1192-1193) added specificity to Bourdieu's ideas of 'family spirit and cultural capital'. These authors (2014) use the concept of -Islamic capital to explain how Muslim parents in the UK use Islam to meet their socialisation goals. According to them, Islamic capital would help researchers to capture the dynamics between parents and children and to explain how parents use Islam both as content and process for values transmission. Franceschelli and O' Brien (2014:1196) found that parents use Islam to meet two major goals. Firstly, they use the religionto transmit a sense of morality or a 'sense of right and wrong' to their children. By doing this, they are able to convert Islamic teachings into norms aimed to directly control their children's behaviour. Secondly, Islam act as a 'convertible resource' for parenting by increasing solidarity within the family and providing a common platform of values across generations. Support forthis perspective is found from the research carried out on the relationship between religiosity and social capital (Bahman, 2013) which shows that religiosity has a significant relationship with social capital. Bahman (2013) discovered that the religion of Islam provides man with growth and perfection, expands intimacy and solidarity which in turn afford collective spirit and friendship. As such, he saw a parallel in Islam and social capital.

Ramadan and Hussein (2010), among other experts, emphasized that by establishing shared values and uniting the family, Islam fosters a spirit of sharing. According to the notion of social capital, which placed a strong focus on connection and solidarity, Islam did this by enhancing social capital and providing parents with resources like the community, extended family, and the mosque for the socialization of children.

Likewise, Mbigi and Marrey (1995) and Mangaliso (2001), who made parallel between social capital and Ubuntu stated that 'Ubuntu' is an African characteristic and value that has similarities to social capital. According to them, Ubuntu is a "metaphor that describes the significance of group solidarity, on survival issues, that is so central to African communities"

(Mbigi, 1997:1). Different African proverbs and sayings such as 'one cannot clasp in one hand' (Ethiopian proverb), 'one finger cannot crash a grain of wheat on its own' (South African)would all portray the spirit of solidarity and survival in a similar way, which demonstrate abundance resources for social capital in the African context.

Chapter 3 Research methodology

Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the research processes followed in the present study. The chapter begins with an explanation of the world outlook/ paradigm chosen for the research. It is followed by an overview and rationale for the qualitative research approach. Then, an introduction of the philosophical foundations of phenomenology and a brief discussion on the theoretical underpinnings of the interpretative phenomenological approach (IPA) is presented. The section further present the sampling methods and inclusion criteria used to select research participants and outlines the data analysis procedure, which is interpretative phenomenological approach (IPA) employed in the study.

Finally, the chapter outlines the standards adopted to ensure the integrity of this qualitative research and the trustworthiness of the data and its collection methodology. It concludes with the ethical requirements of the study observed within the study, namely, informed consent, safety, privacy, and confidentiality and use of the tape recorder.

3.1. Interpretive Research Paradigm

The importance of having a research paradigm/worldview in the early stages of a research project has been suggested in literature (Slife & Williams, 1995; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Positioning a research project within a paradigmatic framework is a worthwhile task that will lead researchers to 'reflect upon the broader epistemological and philosophical consequences of their perspective' (Perren & Ram, 2004:95). Research paradigms refer to the philosophicalstance of ontology, epistemology, and methodology that underpins a researcher's belief system that ultimately influences development of the research study (Marsh & Furlong, 2002). According to Paul and Elder (1997), paradigms have two important aspects. Paradigms differ in their assumptions about what is real, the nature of the relationship between the one who knows and what is known, and how the knower goes about discovering / constructing knowledge, and they shape, constrain, and enable all aspects of research undertakings.

Ontological and epistemological positions shape the theoretical and methodological approach adopted by a researcher (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). According to Khatri, 2020; Lincoln and

Guba (1985), major components of research paradigms comprise ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology. Understanding these elements become important because they contain the basic assumptions, beliefs, norms, and values that each paradigm holds (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017).

Choosing research paradigm and showing the philosophical ideas behind it will help the researcher explain why he/she chooses a particular method and the epistemological challenges that accompany the process of knowledge construction. Having briefly offered the introduction, now, I will go into more detail why I adopt an Interpretive /social constructionist stance. I opted to draw on the principles of phenomenology as it informs the methodology of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as the selected methodology for this research.

Interpretivism is based on a life-world ontology that argues all observation is both theory- and value-laden and investigation of the social world is not, and cannot be, the pursuit of a detached objective truth (Leitch, Hill, & Harrison, 2010). Epistemologically, the viewpoint of the interpretivist paradigm is that our knowledge of reality is a social construction by human actors (Burrell & Morgan, cited in Leitch et al., 2010). The interpretive research paradigm is characterised by a need to understand the world as it is from a subjective point of view and seeks an explanation within the frame of reference of the participant rather than the objective observer of the action.

Interpretivist researchers discover reality through participant_s views, their own background, and experiences (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). This paradigm further allows researchers to view the world through the perceptions and experiences of the participants (Smith, 2012; Thanh & Thanh, 2015). In the present study, I am interested in understanding the individual experiences of the family and their interpretation of the shared reality that contains social, cultural and religious influences. I acknowledge my role in developing the interpretations and meanings derived from the analysis and understand how my interactions with the phenomenon may influence this process. Developing this understanding concerning the aims of the present study helped me to further reflect on and develop my methodological position. I explored a methodological position that was sensitive to the external influences in my development of interpretations and meanings of the data. The following section will begin by exploring my ontological and epistemological

positions that underpin the present research study. Then the methodological position I have adopted will be explored, where I justify my methodological stance pertaining to the current study.

3.1.1 Ontological and Epistemological Position

Ontology refers to a researcher's view of the nature of reality (Tsilipakos, 2014). Positivists typically stress on the philosophy of cause and effect (Creswell, 2013), with its attempts to 'describe the world, and view knowledge in rational, empirical and objective terms'. Thisparadigm holds the view that the scientific method is the only way to establish the truth and the objective reality (Hughes, 2010; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Krauss, 2005). In this regard, researcher and the participants are assumed to be independent entities, and the researcher to be capable of studying the object without influencing it or being influenced by it (Aliyu, Singhry, Adamu, and Abubakar (2015). For a positivist /realist researcher, only one true reality exists and that all phenomena are objective (Marsh & Furlong, 2002).

In contrast, the interpretivist ontological position assumes that reality is subjective. According to this view, reality is influenced by the individual's experiences, interpretations, and perceptions of the environment and social contexts, thus all phenomenon have diverse interpretations focusing on the subjective "human experience" (Thanh & Thanh, 2015; Cohen & Manion, 1994:36). Hence, interpretivist researchers discover reality through participants' views, their own background and experiences (Thanh & Thanh, 2015).Within this position, I aim to engage in making sense of the participant's experiences. Upon exploring and reflecting on myphilosophical positioning, I believe that the world exists, and the processes of meaning-making occur within a reality, to which I opt to interpretivist ontological position.

Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge and aims to understand what we can know of the world and how we know it (Tsilipakos, 2014). Similar to ontology, two opposite views exist regarding epistemology (Marsh & Furlong, 2002). The first position suggests that objectivity and the ability to gain knowledge about the world without any external influence is possible, similar to the positivist ontological position. The second position, interpretivist-constructivist ontological position embraces the view that the subjective constructions of reality influence observations. In this way this world outlook would help me understand the reality from

participants who own their experiences (Thanh & Thanh, 2015) and could allow participants share their experiences and thoughts from their own experiential knowledge. Upon reflection, I believe that the participants' process of meaning-making may influence the knowledge and understanding gained through the present study.

Furthermore, the participants' processes of meaning-making may be influenced by their cultural, social, religious, and historical contexts. I acknowledge that my interpretations of the data may be influenced by my exposure to similar social, cultural, and religious factors. Accordingly, I place myself in a position to assume that it is not possible to remain objective towards a phenomenon under investigation (Charmaz & Henwood, 2008).

3.1.2 Methodological Position: Phenomenology as a qualitative research method

In the present study, I aim to understand the participants' experiences as they engage with social, cultural, and religious factors (Smith & Osborne, 2008). Muslims in Ethiopia, as in other Islamic context and African society remain highly influenced by community culture, and traditional roles (Klainin & Arthur, 2009; Varghese & Jenkins, 2009) and religion, in rearing children. In the present study, I aim to understand how these factors are experienced and how they influence parental value transmission in the context of Muslim family. Thus, I have chosen a qualitative approach which allows me to explore and interpret the experiences of a particular phenomenon, in this case, Muslim parents raising adolescent children in the family context (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2012).

Qualitative research is associated with the interpretivist /constructivist paradigm where it is believed that people actively construct their reality (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). For the purposes of this study, data collection with the use of qualitative methods aims to be naturalistic, where data is gathered without pre-coding of the participant_s account of the experience or phenomenon (Willig, 2013). Therefore, as the aim of the study is to gain valuable insight on individuals' experiences, (family as a unit of analysis) and to understand the participants' subjective representations of reality, a qualitative methodological approach was adopted within the current study to describe and explain parents' experiences of raising adolescentchildren.(Willig, 2013). In this context, the interpretive paradigm provides me a context to examine the lived experiences of a phenomenon: parental experiences of transmitting values to

their adolescent children (Ponelis, 2015; Smith, 2012). By adopting the interpretivist approach, I believe that the stories of families who are raising adolescent children become more accessible to me. The approach further allow me understand the reality from participants_own experiences (Thanh & Thanh, 2015).

As phenomenology informs the methodology of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), which is the selected approach for my research, a brief description of Phenomenology and IPA will be presented later in the chapter.

3.1.3 Axiology

Axiology, also known as the theory of values refers to the ethical issues that need to beconsidered when planning to conduct a research. It considers the philosophical approach to making decisions of values or the right decision (Finnis, 1980). It involves defining, evaluating and understanding concepts of right and wrong behaviour relating to the research. It considers what values the researcher will attribute to the various different aspects of the research, the participants, the data and the audience to which the researcher will report the results of his research. In my research project, I considered my regard to contexts such as human values of every family participated in the study (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2017). This consideration is guided by the UNISA Policy on research ethics 2013, which outlines the ethics of conducting researchon human beings. These are observed in detail under the section of ethical consideration (see

'Compliance with Ethical Standards'- 3.7) by focusing on four principles, privacy, accuracy, accessibility, and property which I uphold in dealing with participants and data.

3.2 Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), developed and popularised by Jonathan Smith and colleagues as a means to explore the idiographic subjective experiences and social cognitions of individuals (Smith, Harré & Van Langenhove, 1995) is adopted as a qualitative research approach within the present study. This method was chosen as IPA examines an individual_s lived experience and explores how one makes sense of that experience through the process of interpretation (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999). This outlook resonates with the essence and aims of the present research study as the purposes of the study are to examine the

experiential nature of the phenomenon under investigation- of parenting adolescent children in a changing social environment.

As a philosophical approach, phenomenology has influenced a number of qualitativepsychological methods, including interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Smith, 1996). Phenomenology, as a concept is derived from two Greek words "phainomenon and logos", translated as "appearance and reason" and 'word reasoned inquiry" respectively (Stewart & Mickunas, 1974:3). In this understanding, phenomenology can be understood as a reasoned inquiry which discovers the inherent essence of appearances. Hammond, Howarth & Keat (1991:1), understood phenomenology as the study of description of phenomena as anything that appears or presents itself to someone. Similarly, Polit, Beck, & Hungler (2001:214), state that phenomenology is an 'approach to thinking about people's life experiences'. In their understanding, a phenomenologist who is doing research is primarily concerned about investigating the nature of these experiences. Accordingly, the most important questions for the researcher oriented to phenomenology would be to focus on the essence of the phenomenon as experienced by the people and what the experience means for them (Polit, Beck & Hungler, 2001).

As the above discussions indicate, phenomenology is concerned with the description of phenomenon and the subjective experiences individuals have of it at a general level. The most important aspects of the lived experience are the derivation of meaning and its essential structures. Thus phenomenology is concerned with a description of phenomenon and exploration of the subjective experiences of individuals undergoing the experiences (Smith et al., 2012).

For Husserl, believed to be a pioneer in promoting phenomenology as a philosophical movement, reality is experiential and as a result, according to him, we experience the world through a practical and meaningful engagement with it (Breakwell et al., 2012).

Giving emphasis on experience and rejecting the 'presupposition that there is something underlying fundamental than experience, Husserl comments: 'what appears is to be taken as reality behind' and strongly advised phenomenologists to start their investigation with what is experienced (Smith, 2003; Breakwell et al., 2012). In other words, phenomenology is concerned with the primary reality, the thing itself as it appears; that is, the "phenomenon" (Smith, 2003:2). IPA draws upon three orientations, namely, phenomenology, hermeneutics, and ideography (Smith, 2017). As IPA is concerned with exploring experience in its own terms, it is phenomenological. When people are engaged with experience of something major in their lives, they begin to reflect on the significance of what is happening and IPA research aims to engage with these reflections. Some experiences might be a result of proactive agency on the part of the person; some come unexpectedly and are uncalled for. Some will also be experienced as positive, others are definitely negative. What they all have in common is that they are of majorsignificance to the researcher, who will engage then in a considerable amount of reflecting, thinking, and feeling as they work through what it means (Cohen & Manion, 1994).

It is hermeneutics, because it engages in an interpretative endeavour informed by the theory of interpretation or meaning. Meaning in IPA context is assumed to be fluid in that there is room for new insight, revision, interpretation and reinterpretation (Smith et al., 2012). IPA shares the notion that human beings are 'sense making creatures and the accounts provided by participants will reflect their attempt to make sense of their experiences'. While IPA recognises that access to experience is always dependent on what participant tells about their experiences, the researcher has to interpret that account from the participant in order to understand their experience. In other words, "our understanding of the everyday world is derived from our interpretation of it" (Heigger, cited in Reiners, 2012:2).

As IPA requires the detailed examination of one case as a starting point before proceeding to the next for its data collection, it is 'idiographic'. In line with this, I conducted the interview first with one family and took a pause before interviewing the second family to have sufficient time todo the detailed examination of one case after the other (Smith, 2004; Eatough & Smith, 2006). Again this process permitted me to know in detail what the experience for this family understudy would look like, what sense this family is making of what is happening to them in raising adolescent children before moving to the general cross-case analysis for convergence and divergence between cases (Smith et al, 2012).

3.3 Research design

This study adopts a multiple case study, phenomenological design. A research design is the logic that links the research purpose and questions to the processes for empirical data collection, data analysis, so that the researcher can make conclusions drawn from the data (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008; Rowley, 2002; Yin, 2009). In the following section, I present the research design beginning with sample, method of data collection. I will then present the research procedure and data collection methods and justify the inclusion criteria of the research participants. Finally, an exploration of the potential impacts my presence have in the current study will be presented.

3.3.1 The participants

In phenomenological research the exact set rules for number of study participants is not established. However, several methodologists and scholars suggest a small number of participants for qualitative research undertakings (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2013; Willig, 2013).

Due to the complexity of managing and analysing large volumes of data, Yin (2009:162) highly recommends to begin 'with a simple and straightforward case study', in qualitative research. Creswell (2013) postulated that the ideal study for participant number in a phenomenological study was between 5 and 25. Crabtree and Miller (1992) advocate a sample size of six to eight subjects for homogenous samples.

In line with the guidelines of IPA research design, 10 parents, both fathers and mothers from five families were recruited to participate in my research project (Willig, 2013; Creswell, 2013; Smith, 2012), to ensure an in-depth exploration of a small sample of the population of interest. Two families who gave their consent to participate in the research were interviewed in their homes, two at the office provided by the school administrator where they enrolled theiradolescent children, and two couples chose to be interviewed at my residence. Parents were interviewed in Amharic language which is the working language of Ethiopiwhich the participants and I speak fluently.

Among the initially contacted 7 families, 5 agreed to participate in the research or proved to be suitable cases. Participants were briefed about the purpose of the research, the reason why their participation was important, and the involvement that would be required if they chose to

participate. I wrote reflective notes along the interview journey and beyond (Brocki & Wearden, 2006).

3.3.2 Procedure of sample selection

The underlying principle in selecting appropriate cases is the preference for cases that are information-rich with respect to the topics under investigation, which could justify using purposive sampling for my study (Patton, 2002). Thus, I selected participants based on the criteria of relevance (Cresswell, 2014; Smith, 2011), which allowed homogeneous sample and afforded me meaningful insights into the topic under study (Willig, 2008; Creswell, 2014). The inclusion criteria was amended through the process of recruiting participants. Initially, I set the age range for participants at 30-40. However, I have amended these age requirements to extend the participants' age from the age of 35-50, in considering the level of maturity and years of parenting experiences participants had reached, so that they could share their enormous experiences of parenting. Participants' detailed information is presented later (see participants demographic profile).

Purposive sampling method was employed to select participants who share the experiences of a particular condition, event or situation (Smith et al., 2012), in this case Muslim parents living in Addis Ababa. I selected participants who were biological parents for Adolescents children and living together with them at the time of the interview, within the age range of 35-50, and relatively educated and from middle income family.

Eligible participants for the study (five families, both fathers and mothers) from each family were given some time to think about the study and to notify me if they decided to participate in the study.

From a phenomenological perspective, Osborne (1990) outlined two criteria necessary for the selection of participants for this type of research design: To have experienced, or presently be experiencing the phenomenon of interest; and to be verbally able to communicate that experience to the researcher. Thus, for the purpose of this study, Muslim parents who raise adolescent children who can verbally express their views on the topics under investigation were recruited,

so that, within the sample, I examined convergence and divergence in some detail (Smith et al., 2012:3).

The participation criterion for the study was further defined as inclusive of gender- father and mother, in a sense, intact family. The presence of the biological parents and their active involvement in the parenting process particularly during the adolescent period renders a unique experience (Repetti, Wang, & Saxbe, 2009). Thus, the presence of the biological parents and their alliance as defined above was used as a selective criterion.

Parents were recruited with the help of school principals from the two selected private high schools where large numbers of Muslim parents enrolled their adolescent children. Then, along with the teachers assigned to facilitate the research process, two classes from each school were randomly selected, which could be appropriate to call a "randomized selective sample" (Basit, 2017: 20), to secure the list of parents with Muslim names from the school register book.

Once the participant selection process was complete, information regarding the study was communicated via telephone to those interested in participating and sharing their experiences of raising adolescent children. For this particular study, participants did not receive monetary incentives for their participation, except a published book written in Amharic language on parenting as a gift upon the completion of the interview. Participants were asked their consent to audio recording the interview, addressing confidentiality and their rights to withdraw from the study. After the interviews, I engaged in reflecting on thoughts and feelings that appeared while attending to the phenomenon (Willig, 2013). This allowed me to account for the experience of the phenomenon and process the interviews.

3.3.3 Data Collection Methods

Interview is a primary source of data in both qualitative research (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe 1991; Myers & Newman, 2007) and in case studies (Yin, 2009: 106).

In my study the objectives of data collection were to understand the experiences of parents transmitting values to their adolescent children. Semi-structured interviewing method was

adopted to allow participants to have the freedom to explore their experiences through their understanding of the phenomenon (Smith et al., 2012). I opted for semi-structured interviews to keep the interviews focused and facilitate cross-case analysis (Yin, 2009; Carson, Glimore, Perry et al., 2001), but also to provide room to explore new and relevant issues that emerge during the interview. It was further suggested that semi-structured interviews reduce the risk of tailoring the interview schedule to the researcher's assumptions of the phenomenon (Smith, 2010).

The nature of investigation such as the one I have engaged at present necessitated developing a rapport with participants before they were asked questions about the issues salient to the study and to which they are expected to discuss at length. Unlike questionnaires, which do not allow the researcher the scope to probe further areas needing further input and explanation, in-depth, interviews with semi-structured format was chosen for this research to elicit rich, detailed, and first-person accounts of the experiences and phenomena under investigation (Smith, 2011; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012:3).

Interview as a sole method of data collection has been criticised by some scholars on account of the likely distortion in data gathered through interviewing, which according to them could make difficult to manipulate (Marshal and Roseman, 1989:3). However, proponents of interviewstrongly argue that the abundant data should be seen as an asset rather than as a nuisance. Their perspective is that the 'ingenious management' of interview data could illuminate complex phenomena (Basit, 2007).

In the same vein, some scholars reminded that bias is not confined to interviewers. According to them all researchers have subjective position as humans. Regardless of the methods employed the researcher brings his / her experience, thoughts and preconceptions to bear on the study he/she undertakes (Basit, 2017). The idea is that this subjective input should be regarded as an enriching process rather than as a weakness (Basit, 2017). As a researcher, I adopt certain positions that make it possible to respond to a research question in a way that makes sense and is not contradictory or subjective. Therefore, the data sets are important as evidence of different butalso convergent realities. This subjective input according to scholars could be managed through the reflective process which I elaborated later.

This is in accordance with a phenomenological perspective, where the purpose of the interview design is to gain an understanding of the participants' experiences (Smith et al., 2012)]. In line with the aims of the phenomenological perspective and the aims of the present study, myintention is to set aside any preconceived knowledge and assumptions that have been acquired through my literature review or my own personal and professional experiences (Willig, 2013). To minimise such bias, I reviewed a limited literature before going through the analysis which I hoped allowed me to gain insight from each interview into the world of the participants as they experienced it, allowing the essence of the phenomenon to be extracted (Willig, 2013). As the aim of the study is to explore the experience of Muslim parents in raising adolescent children in Addis Ababa, it was valuable for me to maintain this openness and freedom in exploring the phenomenon.

The interview schedule I developed (Appendix A) guide me to formulate questions throughout the interview, tailoring questions to the specific participant interaction. It also guided me in maintaining the focus on the specific phenomenon of interest capturing the context, content, and process with regard to the use of information.

Throughout the interviews, I aimed to maintain an awareness of the participants, ensuring that they were comfortable in answering questions. The semi-structured interview questions comprised a standard set of open-ended questions focused on participants' perspective on adolescence, their socialisation values and goals, their experiences of raising adolescent children and factors that helped or hindered the parenting process of raising adolescent children.

A notable challenge experienced throughout the interviews was the participants' assumptions that I already knew the answers to their experiences, based on my identity as a Muslim with grownup children and with a professional background in teaching family courses at university. At times this limited a few participants' responses- for example, one participant stated within the interview "... I am sure you know what that is like". I often had to ask the participants to expandon their explorations. I felt that my position might have limited the depth of the explorations. To overcome this challenge, I often asked the participants to describe their explorations further. I also maintained curiosity and openness in my interactions with the participants, as I encouraged the participants to explore their experiences further.

In completing each interview, I engaged in reflections, making notes with any observations, thoughts, ideas and considerations. I noted every non-verbal expressions, including physical gestures and facial expressions. I engaged in interpreting the interviews within the analytical phase.

3.3.4 My presence as a researcher

IPA emphasised the impact of the researcher_s presence, preconceived knowledge, experiences, and understandings before, during, and at final stage of the research outcome (Smith et al., 2012).

I set aside repertoire of my previous knowledge and values in adopting IPA methodology (Chan, Fung, and Chien, 2013). This is because in the context of qualitative research, a researcher's position to identify with the population being studied has been widely debated.

I endeavour to reflect on how my presence, which is the knowledge, beliefs, values and experiences I have had might impact the interactions with the participants throughout the research process of designing the present study; before entering the data collection and analysis process.

Dwyer and Buckle (2009) explored the implications of the "insider" and "outsider" stances of researchers. They found that there are both "limitations and strengths to be an insider" or an "outsider", in engaging in qualitative research. They suggest that the middle ground between an insider and outsider status allows for an understanding of the other and an understanding of the self. Within the present study, I aimed to hold this position. I see myself as an 'insider', where I am an Ethiopian citizen born and raised in Ethiopia.

Similar to the participants, I am a Muslim adult and parent with young adult children, following the religion of Islam, living in the same city, Addis Ababa, speaking Amharic language participants speak fluently.

This information may have influenced the participants' regard towards me, where they may have assumed that I had similar experiences as a parent with grown up children. This may also have benefitted the depth of the relationship with the participants, where they may have felt better understood and felt acknowledged within the interactions, which could enable them to relate better to me. My experiences are also similar to the participants as I am married and have personal experience of raising adolescent children long time ago.

As an outsider, though my age was not revealed, it was apparent that I am elder than the participants. The fact that I raised my adolescent children a decade and half ago and the unprecedented global and social change which affect parent adolescent relationship at present differ from the experiences I went through in significant manner. Holding this outsider perspective perhaps allowed me to maintain a curious stance to understand the current dynamics that is essential in IPA methodologies.

Prior experience in working with parents and having a comprehensive knowledge of the field particularly with adolescents contribute to interpretative stage of analysis and the credibility of the research. It is also suggested by scholars that the experiences, background, and beliefs of the researcher contributed to and were integral of the interpretative process which finally allowed for a meaningful perspective of experiences to be gained (Smith et al., 2012).

I was open to developing an understanding of the impacts that technology has on the experience of parenting adolescent children at present. This balance between holding an 'insider and outsider' perspective in the present study conceivably served to benefit me, where I was able toconnect with the participants, understand their experiences, and maintain curiosity and opennessconcerning the phenomenon of interest.

To explore the influences of my identification as an insider and my position as an outsider, I was engaged in reflexivity throughout the research process. It is essential for me to consider how I may impact or influence participants. This is in line with the IPA research design that acknowledges the challenges in interpretations particularly when the researcher holds previous knowledge pertaining to the phenomenon of interest.

3.4 Analytic process

This section provides a scope of my research strategy and stance within the analytical procedure. It demonstrates the literature and philosophy that guided me within the analytical process. The following section will aim to present the analytical procedure through a clear and transparent manner. I will describe the steps I engaged in to develop the findings of the study. Through the analytical engagement, I follow on the four stages/ steps provided by Smith et al. (2012); Cope (2005) and followed Sharma's (2019) additional level where she considers the data collection and recording process as the first level of analysis (Level 0) as discussed explicitly below to guide my analytic process.

3.4.1. Conducting interviews (Level 0):

In qualitative research, the process of inductively analysing data commences as soon as the researcher starts collecting data, that is, during the interviews (Shaw, 1999). For this reason, scholars recommend that the researcher (s) conduct all interviews whenever possible. They also encourage researchers to consider the impact of the social setting such as interviewer's background, experience, and the physical setting, as well as the impact of language use on the interview, for example, the use of terminology with which the interviewee is unfamiliar (Alvesson, 2003).

The face-to-face interviews were conducted over a five-week period with additional time allotted to telephone conversation and interview with two families again in subsequent month. Each interview lasted about one hour and a half on average and the face-to-face interviews helped me to establish rapport, build trust, and to identify any nonverbal cues that warranted further questioning. All of the interviews were conducted in Amharic, one of the working languages in Ethiopia, both participants and I speak fluently based on the preference of the participants. The participants were both male and female. Interviews were conducted at the participants' place of residence and school setting, except in two instances where participants requested that interviews be conducted in my home. The first 5 to 10 minute of the interview was spent to discussing my background, the reasons for conducting the research, and what I hoped to achieve in detail. This discussion allowed me to discuss informed consent including confidentiality, anonymity, and voluntary participation, the option to withdraw at any point and details on the university's approval of my research (Appendix C- participant information sheet).

3.4.2. Reading and Re-Reading the Text

I first listened to the interviews (from the audio tape) to familiarise myself with the data and make initial notes about aspects of the data which appear to be interesting (Howitt, 2010; Smith et al., 2012). I reviewed all my notes immediately after each interview, added additional notes for clarity and detail. As recording the interviews and producing a verbatim transcription of it is a highly recommended task in IPA, I produced a verbatim transcription of it. I transcribed the interviews in the same order that they were conducted (Peräkylä, 1997, cited in Ponelis, 2015; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014) as soon as I returned from fieldwork as part of the process of converting data from one form to another. Once transcribed, I reviewed the transcriptions and audio recordings to ensure that the transcripts were accurate and further made the transcription and the audio available for my colleague at university to validate its accuracy.

Then, I engaged in the reading-re-reading of each transcript and capturing set of the detailed notes several times to highlight potentially significant issues and experiences (Patton, 2002). I also engaged in taking notes of any expressions, changes in tone or tempo within the interviews. I then began the process of reading the text multiple times to become more familiar with the material (Smith et al., 2012) and use the left margin of the transcript to underline text which appears important and the right margin to turn notes into themes, where I made my interpretation (Smith et al., 2012). This stage further allowed me to explore areas of the text that evoked powerful thoughts, emotions, or assumptions (Smith et al., 2012; Willig, 2013). This actually set the stage to how I developed the themes through reading and re-reading, and listening to the audio.

The initial thoughts were then considered in identifying and labelling any emerging themes throughout the texts. At this stage, I focused on content, language use, context, and initial interpretative comments (Smith et al., 2012).

3.4.3. Identifying and labeling emerging themes

The second stage of analysis, guided me to 'identifying and labelling emerging themes'. This stage involves making notes of the major themes which emerge from the interview data. I summarised these initial themes in a few words in the right-hand margin within the interview

transcripts (Appendix E), against the appropriate texts which relate to the themes (Howitt, 2010; Smith et al., 2012; Willig, 2013). By engaging with the essential quality and meanings the transcripts provided, I identified emerging themes throughout the individual participants' scripts. This stage required me to take into consideration the essence of the phenomenological approach, and refer to themes related to the nature, quality and meaning of the participants' experience throughout the process (Smith et al., 2012; Willig, 2013). The aim of this stage is to transform notes into emerging themes. I tried to formulate a concise phrase which may refer to a more psychological conceptualization, although this is still grounded in the particular detail of the participants' account (Smith, 2004).

IPA insists on taking care of the existing theory not to influence this type of analysis; I feel that my knowledge, epistemology, and views may have been of influence. To counteract my personal views, I engaged in a reflective diary to note the potential influences surrounding the emerging themes. This further helped me to understand my potential influences in the interpretation of the data. I engaged in these reflections to help bracket such influences in developing the meaningful clusters of themes.

3.4.4. Arranging Themes into Meaningful Clusters

The third stage of analysis required me to arrange emerging themes into meaningful clusters by looking for connections between, grouping them together according to conceptual similarities and providing each cluster with a descriptive label. This stage of analysis is concerned with cross-case comparisons to seek out what is common and what is particular in the cases (Stake, 2005). This level of analysis can result in a unified description across cases, themes that conceptualise the data across all the cases (Merriam, 2009). This is rather a more challenging aspect of the exercise. In this process I printed out a sheet entitled 'The Emerging Themes lists' for each transcript. I then reviewed each participant emerging themes list one at a time, which ultimately led to the development of the meaningful clusters. In creating a list of emerging themes, I was able to organise the clusters more efficiently. Through this process, I continued to reflect on how these meaningful clusters were developed based on my interpretation of the data. Inclusive titles which are reflective of the underlying content are assigned to the themes. In this stage I engaged in identifying important themes and patterns in the data: 'explore for quotations

or observations that go together, that are examples of the same underlying idea, issue, or concept' (Patton, 1987:149). At this stage, I proceeded with the interpretation of the data.

3.4.5. Systematic presentation of table of themes

The final stage, 'systematic table of themes' (Howitt, 2010) deals with writing up the narrative report of study according to the requirement of an IPA (Willig, 2013). As highlighted in 3.5.3, in the third stage analysis involves the 'clustering' together of findings (Hycner, 1985) without the use of any relevant theoretical literature. Here, in stage 4 the findings are discussed in the context of extant literature, and the outcome of this level of analysis is the interpretation of the findings.

In my study the themes identified in the final table were written up one by one. I described and exemplified each theme with extracts from the interviews, followed by analytic comments. The table of themes open up into a persuasive account that explains to the reader the important experiential things that have been found during the process of analysis (Smith et al., 2012). Unique participant experience was underlined in an attempt to reflect the subjective experiences of the participants. This was documented in a diary reflection, where I also highlighted any cultural, religious and societal factors that may have influenced the participants.

3.5 Measures taken to ensure trustworthiness of the study

As any research of the quantitative nature requires ensuring validity, qualitative research, too requires ensuring trustworthiness of the study. The criteria used to evaluate findings generated by qualitative research differ from those of the quantitative research which has different epistemological roots to quantitative methodology (Smith, Harre & Van Langenhore cited in Osborn and Smith, 1998). Researchers (De Vos et al., 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) recommended the following different criteria to assess the quality of qualitative research. They suggest that qualitative research is more accurately assessed according to principles of trustworthiness.

Creswell (2014); Lincoln & Guba (1985) suggest multiple mechanisms to ensure the trustworthiness, which is whether the factual accuracy of the participants account has been maintained in a qualitative study. Numerous frameworks have been developed to assess the trustworthiness of qualitative data (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), and strategies for

establishing credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yardley, 2000; 2009; Yin, 2011).

3.5.1 Credibility

The criterion of credibility used in research located within the Interpretivist paradigm refers to the extent to which data and data analysis are believable, or authentic (Guba, 1981). In other words, how well the researcher's portrayal of participants matches the research participants' perceptions, which corresponds with the positivist concept of internal validity (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008).

In my study, the collaboration we maintained (the researcher and participants) contributed to privileging the views, perspectives and opinions of the participants as well as to enhancing the trustworthiness of this study. First the transcripts were independently reanalysed by an experienced colleague (Guba, 1981) at the university and re-checked by me, before the start of the preliminary analysis. Furthermore, prolonged engagement with the data and member checks are the steps I followed to increase the credibility of the present study. The fact that I met each of the families of participants in face-to-face interviews on three occasions and via telephone, as well as two families in person (again) following the first interview provided participants the opportunity to become more familiar with me and thus feel more comfortable to share their accounts as they recalled later.,

Participants' willingness to get their voices recorded also provided me the opportunity to save, check, and recheck the accuracy of interview which helped me produce the emerging themes. As a verification, preliminary findings were presented to the participants to obtain feedback about the accuracy of the interpretation of their experiences. This process is regarded by scholars as "the single most critical technique for establishing credibility" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989:239). All parents indicated the themes/findings captured their lived experiences accurately. I also used audio recorder to enhance the credibility of the study (Cruswell, 2014).

Yardley (2000) further accounts for the sensitivity to the social contexts in assessing the credibility of research studies. With regard to the relationship between the participants and me, I aimed to ensure a power balance within all interactions between the participants and me, pertaining to our relationship. To consider any influences of power imbalance, I constantly assure research

participants their rights, both in terms of confidentiality and use of data. I made every effort to be humble and courteous to the participants by demonstrating respect for them.By adopting such an ethical and considerate stance, I hoped to mitigate any power imbalances within the participant interactions.

3.5.1 Transferability

Transferability denote the extent to which the research findings apply to other contexts. In qualitative research, scholars (Henning et al., 2005) conceive transferability as alternative to external validity or generalisability for quantitative research. Lincoln & Guba (1985), explain the criterion of transferability to represent the researcher's efforts to ensure that they provide enough contextual data about their research so that others can relate those findings to their own context. It should be noted that in qualitative research, the purpose is not to generalise findings to a similar population, but rather to describe the phenomenon or experience of the population of the specific study. Hence, in qualitative research every attempt has been made to provide a thick description of the research process and the findings by providing a detail-rich description of the context and circumstances surrounding the phenomenon being studied, in order to facilitate a full understanding of the phenomenon (Geertz, 1973).

The present study has demonstrated the use ofthick description by providing a clear rationale for the use of theory and methodology in exploring the parenting experiences of parents. Furthermore, a detailed description of theparticipants has been provided with substantial verbatim narrative from the participants together with an interpretive commentary, as well as a clear description of all attempts to establish thetrustworthiness of this study. The verbatim quotes were presented as an attempt to represent and include all the voices and interpretations of the participants' experiences.

Furthermore, I endeavoured to ensure the unity among the research question, philosophical stance, methods, and analysis adopted within the present study (Yardley, 2000). My supervisor provided feedback throughout the research process to further ensure the transparency maintained throughout the research undertaking.

3.5.2 Dependability

Research findings are considered to be consistent when the same results are obtained had the study been repeated with the same subjects or in a similar context. This implies stability of data (Gay et al., 2006:405). In this study detailed records were kept of all the steps in the process, including challenges that arose and the reflections of the researcher.

3.5.3 Confirmability

Confirmability is considered parallel to objectivity in a quantitative study. While objectivity would be concerned to ensure the results of quantitative study, this, however, would not be possible in a qualitative study of this nature. What would be possible, though, is the repetition of the research process – even if it may reveal different findings.

In order to establish confirmability, a rich description of the research process has been provided. In the present study, every attempt was made to humbly honuor the voices of the participants, remaining as "faithful as possible to the phenomenon and to the context in which it appears in the world" (Smith, 2006:27). Smith (2006:27), suggested researchers' greater role to 'capture as closely as possible the way in which the phenomenon is experienced within the context in which the experience takes plac'.

In summary, various attempts were taken throughout the process to establish trustworthiness in this study; I reflect on my perception of the process. I kept a reflective diary to assist me in the explication process. The research participants were consulted regarding the accuracy of the researcher's understanding of what they had said. The interviews were also audiotaped and transcribed and the transcriptions were checked by a colleague, professional conversant in qualitative research.

3.6 Compliance with Ethical Standards

Research has become an issue of ethics in many domains of research practice. Questions of how to protect the interests of those who are ready to take part in a study have repeatedly drawn research ethics to the foreground. Principles of research ethics require researchers to avoid harming participants involved in the process by respecting and taking into account their needs and interests.

The ethics committee of the University of South Africa (UNISA) outlined the requirements to be observed by researchers when undertaking research, which include informed consent of participants, avoiding harm to them, not invading their privacy and not deceiving them about the research's aims, having respect for cultural differences, justice, and calling to fairness and exercising objectivity (Policy on research ethics, 2013). Researcher's competence, ability and commitment to research are also the requirements to be observed in conducting research.

The widely accepted four overarching philosophical principles: Beneficence, Non-maleficence, Autonomy, and Justice were strictly observed in my research. Within the present study, I sought ethical clearance (Appendix- D) from the Institutional Review Board UNISA, to conduct the research and the ministry of education granted me permission to allow and facilitate my study by recruiting participants among Muslim parents who enrolled their adolescent children in two selected private schools in Addis Ababa.

Participants gave their informed consent verbally and made aware of the purpose of the study and their right as a participant. They were also informed that their information would be kept confidential and that their identities would be kept anonymous. In addition, participants were informed about the nature and purpose of the study, nature of their involvement and freedom to withdraw from the research at any point of the research process, so that, they will be able to make an informed decision about participating in the study.

To ensure whether participants are willing to give permission to video-record their interviews, verbal consent was also obtained from each couple participated in the study.

Following UNISA guidelines, confidentiality and anonymity of participants were ensured by appropriately maintaining participant data. This was done by coding participant names, encrypting and storing identifiable information securely. Furthermore, the records of this study, including transcripts and audio recordings, will be destroyed once the purposes of the study are complete (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Willig, 2013). To ensure that data are protected, all the data was kept in a locked case during transportation and later stored in a locked filing cabinet. Data that was transported included recordings of the interviews and notes made during and directly after the interviews. I ensured that I keep a pseudonym for participants before the interviews.

In pursuing ethical research, the study did not require the use of deception and written informed consent (as culturally asking to sign in the paper often create uneasiness), and full disclosure was obtained from each participant. Participants were taken through the consent form verbally. They were taken through the purposes of the recording transcripts and were assured of the ethical storage, purpose, and rights of their shared information. Health and safety risks had been considered prior to engaging in the study (UNISA policy on Research Ethics, Section 2: 3.3 Risk category). In instances of distress or risk to either the participant or myself, I informed participants that the supervisor would be contacted and provide guidance.

I was mindful of any risk concerns regarding participant safety, the safety of others through the course of the interviews and felt confident in consulting with my supervisor for guidance had anything would have risen in the process. Although these precautions were considered, during the interview process no concerns pertaining to safeguarding was happened. Reflecting on these ethical principles and potential areas of concerns helped to establish a protocol for the present study. This ensured the safety of those involved in the study and guided me to practice to a professional and ethical standard.

The next chapter (4) will be presentation of the data in which the outcomes of this methodological design are explicated.

Chapter 4 Data analysis and presentation

Introduction

This chapter provides data analysis and presentation based on the in-depth interviews with ten Muslim parents from five families with regard to their lived experiences of values transmissions to their adolescent children in Addis Ababa.

The chapter is divided into two sections. In line with multiple case study phenomenological design which involves a conscious attempt of resisting objectification but encouraging the subjective experiences from its source (Willig, 2013), section one begins with the introduction ofresearch participants (Table 1), as couples to create the context of their lived experiences in multiple case studies that could help the reader connect their observations to the real people and circumstances that gave rise to their accounts. It summarises the demographic profile of participants who raise adolescent children followed with the brief narrative of each family who participated in the study. The text is structured along descriptive categories to provide a consistent sketch of each family for ease of reference.

Section two presents the themes emerging from the data analysis (see table 2). Each theme will be extended with sub-themes to give deeper explication in the section that followed. Each of these 10 parents from five homes shared their stories and their lives as a family unit with me for three months through face to face interviews as well as via telephone conversation as part of my prolonged engagement/ immersion to explore the parenting experiences of Muslim parents.

4.1. Introduction to research participants

Ten married couples constituting five families participated in this study shared their experiences of raising adolescent children. The age of the male participants ranged from 42 to 52 years and the females' was from 35 to 48 years. Participants were from middle income families with educational status ranging from high school diploma to postgraduate studies. The number of children in each family varied from 2 to 4 children (see Table 2). In sum, three fathers and three mothers (in three families) had adolescent children from both genders while the two families had either girls or boys. All participants were in their first marriage and were biological parents to their children. Couples

were interviewed together. All participants were eager to share their experiences of rearing adolescent children. As a researcher, I had the responsibility to present thestories they shared with me as accurately as possible to answer the research questions. Rapport was established between the participants and me via telephone before the interviews and it was maintained during the actual interview which created a psychological atmosphere for interview sessions to go smoothly in a collegial atmosphere.

Pseudonyms are used in this thesis to protect the real identity of the families. Using the interview as data collection method gave me a unique opportunity to enhance my critical understanding and analytical skills, which I would not have been aware otherwise.

Table 1: Demographic profile

# of Younger Children		# & Age of Adolescents		Age & sex of parents		Educational level of parents									
								Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	М	F	М	F
								-	-	19	15	48	45	BA	BA
1	1	17	15	52	35	BA	School diploma								
1	1	18	16	42	35	MA	College Diploma								
-	-	16 &	-	52	48	School diploma	School diploma								
		19													
-	-	-	13,16	49	45	BA	MA								
			& 19												
	Childr Boy - 1 -	Children Boy Girl 1 1 1	Children Adoles Boy Girl Boy - - 19 1 1 17 1 1 18 - - 16 & 19 - 10 19	Children Adolescents Boy Girl Boy Girl - - 19 15 1 1 17 15 1 1 18 16 - - 16 & - 19 - - 16 & - 19 - - 13,16 -	Children Adolescents Boy Girl Boy Girl M - - 19 15 48 1 1 17 15 52 1 1 18 16 42 - - 16 & - 52 - - 16 & 49 - 52	Children Adolescents Boy Girl Boy Girl M F - - 19 15 48 45 1 1 17 15 52 35 1 1 18 16 42 35 - - 16 & - 52 48 - - 16 & 49 45	Children Adolescents I I I I Boy Girl Boy Girl M F M - - 19 15 48 45 BA 1 1 17 15 52 35 BA 1 1 18 16 42 35 MA - - 16 & - 52 48 School diploma - - 16 & - 52 48 School diploma - - 16 & - 52 48 School diploma - - 13,16 49 45 BA								

Yassin (family 1)

The first interview was held with Yassin and Meryam aged 48 and 45 respectively, who are raising two adolescent children with the age range of 15 to 19 at the time of the interview. This couple has been married to 20 years. Both of them are university graduates majoring in Islamic education/theology from an Islamic university. The female is currently engaged in a professional job as a journalist at an Arabic TV channel and the male is working abroad at the Ethiopian Embassy in Saudi Arabia (KSA) for a number of years.

The couple are earning income through their jobs. I conducted the first interview with the female participant and later with her spouse, who was abroad during the interview. The morning of my first interview, I felt prepared, yet a bit anxious about the session as the participant was the female without being accompanied by her husband due to his absence from the city for some time. The school office for the venue of interview was chosen by the participant where she enrolled her children. The school arranged the meeting room and a staff member served us tea and water. Having conversation with the opposite gender in a private room without the presence of a male guardian (mehrum)¹⁵ gave me some uneasiness. However, the presence of a female staff next door, and the fact that the venue was chosen by the participant herself and arranged by the school gave me comfort to conduct the session. The interview lasted 1 hour and 15 minutes with the female participant and 1 hour and 10 minutes with the male participant. Participants were contacted for a second time via telephone as part of a follow-up interview to solicit some information I felt was missing and to give them opportunities to add and explain what they felt are important to the study.

¹⁵ It is sensitive to speaking to a female Muslim as a strange male in private without being the former accompanied by a male relative according to Islamic tradition and local culture which will be frowned upon. It is a recommended religious practice to accompany a girl or a woman by close relatives when she goes out far.

The male described his overall experiences of raising his adolescent son as distant and at times confrontational, while the female characterised it as normal with a few challenges. The female described her elder son as being more challenging than her daughter during his middle adolescence, when he turned16. Generally, she described her two children as obedient, religious, and their grateful of what parents have invested in them.

The male participant expressed his gratitude candidly to his wife for shouldering much of the responsibility in raising their children in his absence. While he regretted for not being able to raise his children along with his wife, he stated that he managed to connect the family via telephone regularly to complement her parenting effort.

They are satisfied with the character of their children and attribute this to praying and supplication they made through invoking God (Allah) persistently. The female stated that she supplicates often because of her fear that adolescence is a period of turmoil.

Essa (family 2)

Essa and Seada, aged 52 and 35 years respectively have 17 and 15 years old adolescent children at the time of the interview. The husband is a businessman while the wife preferred being athome mother throughout the children's upbringing. The family livelihood depends on the income of the male. The couple were born and reared in the rural part of the country and moved to Addis Ababa. The male earned a university degree while the female completed high school education. The interview took place at the participants' home at a place and time convenient to them. The interview took 1 hour and 30 minutes. They hosted me courteously and served me with juice and biscuit before and during the interview. The female smiled and laughed at every moment while talking about her experiences of raising their adolescent children. She reported occasional conflict with the son and greater connection and attachment to her daughter. She attributed the reason of conflict to her son's resistance to obey instruction at times and her insistence on enforcing rules.

The father consistently discussed about managing them and smiled when talking about their physical growth and the changes he observed. The father described his teens as pretty good but

felt disappointed in his adolescent children on account of not meeting his expectation pertaining to their school work.

The Essa family stated that they held 'Shura' ¹⁶ (consultation) in their home intermittently to bring parents and children together and discuss issues relevant to the family and help them maintain their connection as family. This couple aspire to see their children achieve in their academic performance and particularly their elder son to succeed so that he 'could be a model to his siblings' to follow suit.

Bahiru (family 3)

Bahiru and Sitina have been married 19 years and have four children, among them two are adolescents. The female was 35 years of age; the male was 42 years age. The female was born and reared in Addis Ababa while the male was born in rural area and came to the city 19 years ago. The interview took place at my residence which was the request made by the participants. As the choice of the venue was made by the participants, it created an ease & comfort both to participants and myself. They came along with a gift ¹⁷ as a gesture of respect and humbleness.

The male possesses holds two MA degrees in information technology (IT) and business administration, and the female is trained in teaching KG with a diploma qualification. Although trained as a teacher, the female has chosen to be an 'at-home-mother' throughout her children's growing years and at the time which coincided with the time of the interview. The length of interview was 1 hour and 45 minutes. Couples emphasised the importance of success in education, both religious and secular to their children in order to prepare them to be self- supporting and contributing citizen. They have expressed their appreciation of positive traits which they see in their adolescents.

Parents held shura at home to discuss issues relevant to the family through which they entertain ideas and concerns of their children and the family issues.

¹⁶ A concept used In Islamic practice to making consultation between parties /bodies to reach consensus with the aim of

reaching a win-win situation where all involved feel their ideas and perspectives are taken into account. (ref)

¹⁷ A practice common in traditional Ethiopia when people go to relatives, seniors, acquaintances to visit at their home.

They reinforced positive behaviour and addressmisbehaviour through various means such as reprimand and pointing out possible consequences of certain actions. They emphasise the on moral and ethical behaviour and grant freedom and provide opportunities for their children to be assertive and succeed in their education and future career.

The family's livelihood depends on the income of the male. While their livelihood depends on the male, the woman raises their children by giving all of her time. Both of them aspire to have well-rounded children with religious knowledge and practice, who excel in their education. They discusse their experiences freely with much humour and excitement often mixing laughter, particularly by the female participant.

Although they answered all the questions and provided me with very valuable information, the male participant exceedingly articulated his experiences in a sophisticated manner in discussing the topics under discussion instead of sharing his lived experiences. To mitigate this, I made clear that the interview was not something which would assess the knowledge of parents in the area but which would explore the experiences parents went through as they parent their adolescent children.

The exchange of ideas between the couples during the interview clearly shows differences in the handling and use of discipline methods in managing their children and their struggle to work out their differences through negotiation. In much of the interview session, the female participant expressed her experiences with laughter and sometimes admitted her claimed shortcomings in dealing with her son. The couple realised that the mother was more controlling and the father prefered backing down by choosing proper time in a calm environment to talk with and teach their adolescent children.

The couple describe their experiences of raising their adolescent children as a 'symbiotic relationship' in which, they collaborate and exchange emotion and enjoyed their children's companionship. However, it was apparent in their discussion that the female participant expressed some of the emotional burden she experienced with the son which has been challenging in some respects during the absence of her husband from home.

Participants reported that they were prepared in advance to raise adolescent children and were not

taken by surprise when their children reached this stage. But also acknowledge the fact that they had observed some changes such as difference in character and temperament between the son and daughter which they did not expect to happen.

Mussema (family4)

The Mussema family (family 4), Musema and Zeinab are born and reared in different regions of the country, the former in Addis Ababa and the latter in the Southern part of the region. The male was 52 and the female 48 years of age at the time of the interview. Both have completed secondary school education. They lived much of their years in Saudi Arabia and got married in diaspora. Both contributed to the family income, the female work in school and the male engage in business working from home.

They have two adolescent children, an elder son who is 19 years old and the other, 16. The elder son is a 1st year university student and the younger one enrolled in one of the secondary schools chosen by the parents.

I was picked up by the male couple from a nearby place close to his residence where we had an appointment to have the interview. We made a chat on our way to his home which I believe helped us establish rapport before entering their home to conduct the interview. The couple were so warm and hospitable that they served me with tea and biscuits and juice to drink. They made their salon/living room free from potential distraction that could affect our discussion. The family lived in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, for a longer period and their children were born and reared in Jeddah for much of their childhood.

The couple came back to Ethiopia 6 years ago. During my briefing of the purpose of the study, I noticed some uneasiness on the part of the female, out of curiosity to talk about her experience or uncertainty on how to present what she is expected to narrate. However, as soon as we started the conversation, conditions changed and she became enthusiastic and started talking about her experiences freely. The interview took 90 minutes and in the process participants remained fully engaged until I notified them the conclusion I reached and allowed them to say if they had issues to be covered in the interview. A follow-up interview was held through telephone conversation with the male participant which afforded me with relevant inputs regarding their experiences.

The couple complement each other in discussing their experiences and reported their intimacy throughout their marriage in raising obedient and disciplined children through adolescence. The female appeared meticulous in her parenting and allow her sons to play, chat, and exchange ideas with her as part of her way to protect them from outside influence which could show her resolve not to repeat what she had 'missed' as adolescent from her own parenting.

In general participants express their experiences of raising adolescent children in the strong positive light and characterise their adolescent children as obedient and compliant to the demands of parents.

The male broadly discussed the time and effort he has invested in raising their children during the absence of his spouse due to outside work. The male performed things traditionally assigned to females, and talked about how he and his wife complement each other. The female recognise her husband's engagement in major role of caring; bathing, feeding children and ironing their clothes in her absence.

The couple viewed their adolescent children as considerate and reported their son's indebtedness by appreciating what his parents have done for them. The female participant reported that she closely watch her elderly adolescent son and talk with him the relatively untouched and seemingly embarrassing topic such as youth sexuality by asking him whether he has a girlfriend and the kind of interaction he has with females in school. Parallel to this, while the male participant did not directly chat with his son issues or topics related to sexuality he encourageshis son to read books to get informed about developmental issues.

They talked about the support they sought from their relatives. They insist that the way members of family treat their children and their expectation and encouragement also contributed to their adolescent children_s healthy development.

Musema's family feels content with their children's choice of friends and the school in which they have enrolled them with confidence that these environments help their children grew and protected from potentially bad influences coming from outside.

Ahmed (family 5)

Ahmed, aged 49 and Fozia, 45 years of age are married for twenty years and are raising three daughters, the elderly 19 years old 1st year university student, the middle one 16 years old and the younger sibling 13 years teenage girl at the time of the interview. Both of them are workingin professional fields and contribute to the family income.

The interview took place at my own home with participants' choice to volunteer willingly to participate in the research. They seemed strongly eager to share their story and took me through their experiences of raising their three adolescent children. They came a long way driving their own car to my residence apparently to ease my burden considering that I do not have a vehicle to drive to their area of residence.

Participants outlined the values they prioritise and seek to flourish in their adolescent children. They instill such Islamic values as benevolence, empathy, compassion, responsibility, and self-directed behaviour. They further reported that they expect their children to accept Islamicvalues and willingly implement religious rituals such as praying and fasting in the month of Ramadan without being forced to do. They also describe how they inculcate habits of reading, self-control, and conscientiousness. Parents endorse collectivist values of duty and relatedness, obedience, unselfishness, and respect. They wish their children to be successful in their career and committed to community services.

The couples described the various strategies they employ to transfer their values to their children and the discipline approach they follow to reinforce positive behaviours and correct negative ones.

They reported that they allocated three times a week to learn Qur'an with the support of the Imam (leader) of the local mosque as a family to help foster Islamic values in their children. They expressed that their children practice the religion and one of their daughter was a good reciter with melodious voice. They have a weekly shura in their house to discuss issues relevant to them and their children and which they say, allow children express their ideas and concerns freely.

Participants complemented each other's idea in much of the interview session and paused

sometimes to disagree and throw a few contradictory ideas on some issues which could show family dynamics in real time. They discussed their experiences freely with much humour and excitement, mixing laughter occasionally which brought excitement to me as well.

Although they have shared their experience of incidence of deceptive behaviour with their youngest daughter, the couple felt content with their children's outcome and characterise their parenting practice as warm and responsive. They also described their adolescent children as disciplined and obedient.

In narrating their experiences, participants acknowledge the contribution of elderly sibling in modeling behaviours to younger ones and creating opportunity to learning and correcting each other and helping one another which they hoped complemented their parenting efforts. Participants recount their own adolescence by making reference to an Ethiopian adage which says

"nobody passes (childhood) without having eaten candy", as a way to overlook some of the mistakes children commit at times.

They described the competence and behaviours they expect from their children and feel that they achieved their socialisation goals. They sought children who are able to stand in their own feet, are able to successfully navigate through the transition and hold their principles and having lived by it. They also expect their children to accept their values and hold onto them as their own. They also pointed out some of the traits and good sides of their daughters which they found deserve their appreciation.

Participants in their conclusion affirmed their commitment to equipping themselves with parenting skills on adolescent children based on their experiences and from the new insight they got with their participation in the study. While they acknowledged the importance of modern technology they are alarmed by adolescents' obsession with films. The female participant asserted that work pressure prevents her from giving her daughters sufficient time they deserve. They express their certainty that if they fail to do their job others can do it against their wish.

4.2. Analysis

This section presents the themes that emerged from the interviews with ten parents, both father and mother as couples regarding their lived experiences of raising adolescent children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The qualitative data for the study were collected through in-depth face-to-face interviews during the months of June through September 2020.

The main research question which guided the analysis is 'What are the experiences of Muslim parents who transmit cultural / religious values to their adolescent children' in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with the following sub-research questions to generate qualitative data for the study.

- What are the experiences of Muslim parents who transmit cultural /religious values to their adolescent children in Addis Ababa?
- How do (process) Muslim parents transmit their core values to their children?
- What are the personal and social resources that help Muslim parents in raising their adolescent children?

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) technique was used to analyse the data generated from the interview. As discussed earlier in chapter three - the methodology, the interview allows for exploration of the personal and social world of the participants in great detail. IPA is a two-stage analysis process, also known as a double hermeneutic (Smith & Flower & Osborn, 2009). Firstly, by engaging with their experiences, participants try to make sense of it. Secondly, the researcher makes sense of the participants' understanding of their experience (Smith & Osborn, 2007). IPA further allows the researcher to detect issues which the participant does not make explicit or which they are not aware of during the interview which was applied during the data analysis process.

Based on the analysis of the interview transcripts, 5 main themes (see table 3) emerged in response to the main research question. The narrative report followed the chronological sequence of the main research question and the three sub-questions under it.

The emergent themes described in the chapter are illustrated by direct quotations from participants in order to reflect the true voices of the participants. All excerpts have come directly from the verbatim transcripts with changes and omissions only occurring where necessary to increase clarity and readability. An example of an interview transcript with one family is attached as Appendix 1 to show the process followed to develop themes. I used pseudonyms to conceal the identities of the participants as a standard ethical practice in social research.

Themes and sub-themes which offer new insights are reported in greater detail than those themes and sub-themes which reflect common ideas in the literature. I use signs to make reading and comprehension easy for its reader. Thus, text in brackets indicates explanatory material added afterwards. Clarifying information appears within square brackets []; three ellipsis points (...) indicate a pause in the flow of the participant's speech, and four points (....) indicate an editing cut.

For each theme, where appropriate multiple examples from the excerpts are available andselected to ensure that all participants' voices from each of their interviews were heard where possible throughout the various themes to demonstrate either convergence or divergence of experiences. The 5 family groups are signified by Fam, and F refers to female and M denotes Male as identifier. I provide a detailed exploration of the main themes and subthemes and the results therein within the following sections.

Main themes	Theme 1:	Theme 2:	Theme 3:	Theme 4:	Theme 5:
	Prosocial Values	Multiple modes	Experiencing	Parental anxiety	Parents' own strength
	&	of value	highs & lows in	concerning the digital	and social resources as
	Self-oriented	transmission	parenting	era	strength/social capital
	values				
Sub-themes	Obedience and	Positive role -	Companionship	Benefits and pitfalls	Knowledge of the religion
	honesty	Modeling		of technology	
			Sense of		Family and siblings
	Religiosity	Communication	fulfillment	Peer influence	
		/Negotiation			Mosque and Madrasah
	Family -		Ambivalence		
	connectedness	Monitoring	towards		Reciprocity within couples
			understanding		
	Serving		adolescence		
	Community	Befriending			
		children	Bewilderment &		
	Academic -	Transforming	disappointment		
	Achievement	self as parent			
	Independence,	Punishment &			
	Self-confidence	Reward			

Table 2. Main Themes

The following sections provide a detailed exploration of the themes and subthemes. 4.2.1 Theme 1: Prosocial values & Self-oriented values: "Developing self and community"

4.2.2 Throughout the interviews the parents discussed important family values they want to foster and develop in their children. Under the theme of prosocial and self-oriented values, six subthemes emerged. Among them, obedience, honesty, religiosity, connectedness, and community service are categorised as prosocial values, while self-oriented values constitute education/achievement along with assertiveness and self-confidence. For the purpose of clarity and to capture nuances in the participants' narratives, prosocial values and self-oriented values are treated separately with their sub-headings each.

4.2.2.1. Obedience and honesty: "Never lie"

The obedience and honesty sub-theme under prosocial values capture the desire of parents to raise humble, well-mannered and disciplined children who could be productive in their private and public life. Decency encompasses the value of honesty and it is largely concerned with the avoidance of illicit behaviour with any reference to negative behaviour like smoking, swearing, sexual intimacy, dishonesty. Proper demeanour refers much to obedience, embraces more of the relational aspect.

The interview excerpts from Yassin (family 1) vividly explain the importance parents placed to the values of obedience and honesty by making reference to moral and ethical behaviour underpinned by religious values:

Islamic moral and ethics (adabs) first importance (for us) which emerge from the religion.... Being a Muslim and part of community, I expect them to follow the religion. Islam instructs respecting family, community, neighbors, obedience to parents, praying. If they comply with these, we (parents) feel comfortable that they will be protected from sin. (This would) give them the impetus to perform well in their education and contribute to family and the public (M).

A most crucial thing in the Maryam_s socialisation goal similar to her husband is teaching her children honesty. She stated that she inculcates:

".... honesty (I) want them not to cheat in any form.... even for fun from their childhood through adolescence, praying, knowing their creator, and being thankful to Allah (God) as He created us" (F).

In a similar manner, Essa (fam 2) stressed the significance of obedience and considered it a virtue necessary to strengthen parent-child harmony.

"(We) require them be obedient ... Need them to be active socially", go in a direction which we direct them" (M).

The significance of obedience and honesty was echoed by the other family, Bahiru (fam 3) when they shared their perspective pertaining to decency and proper demeanor within the framework of the religion: From the start we inculcate virtues such as obedience and accepting what we tell them.... go in a direction which we direct them ... to be honest, our aspiration is to inculcate the religion (in them), seek them know and understand the religion from their early stage, so that they would not go astray, and be able to develop good personality (M).

I insist on telling the truth, I advise them to tell honestly (being trustworthy) (I would say).... "whatever thing you do and the mistakes you commit do not lie", I also tell them Islam forbids telling lies. Always advise them to do that (F).

Mussema (fam 4) expands on the values of obedience, and honesty as the most valued virtues they nourished in their adolescent children as shown in the following excerpt:

Yeah (laugh) What I want is good behavior, obedience Never to be secretive, not want them to lie^{||} (F).

Fostering both honesty and obedience was conceived by these families as a stepping-stone which could afford children as well as parents, respect and regard in the community. In the participant_s own words:

"Their akhlaq (moral and ethical behavior) is very good, everyone who knows them would appreciate... they are always closer to us. Do not go far away, only they go to school Just comeback" (F).

As adolescents develop new interests, widen their social interaction and meet new friends, and spend more time away from their family their parents fear that children will deceive them or hide some issues such as relationship with the opposite sex, experimenting drug and their whereabouts. Adolescents' exposure to outside influence might also necessitates the virtue of Akhlaq¹⁸ more important for these parents to work on and expect from their grownups.

¹⁸ The term Akhlaq constitute wide range of Islamic manners and values as honesty and obedience (decency and proper demeanor), benevolence, being helpful to the needy, avoiding illicit sexual activity/ bad behavior. Among the moral virtues mentioned in the Qur'an, honesty/ trustworthiness, compassion, generosity, moderation, modesty and chastity, justice and fairness, reconciliation, responsibility, supplication vastly discussed. Trustworthiness in Islam refer to moral uprightness, a quality of being fair, truthful which is considered a universal moral value applicable to an individual and a nation. Adherence to this moral value brings respect, regard and prosperity in this world. As a result this concept of trustworthiness is much more in Islamic perspective in that a Muslim is accountable to Allah (God). Muhammad Abdullah & Muhammad Junaid Nadvi, 2002, Understanding the principles of Islamic world view. The Dialogue, 4 (3), 289-287.

4.2.2.2. Religiosity: "Expect him to be imam..."

This sub-theme refers to parents' attempt to foster religiosity in their children with the aim of preserving family and religious tradition in the socialisation of children. As briefly discussed in the preceding section, parents placed religious knowledge (content) as the most preferred value they inculcate in their children. The present study suggests that parents use religion both as a 'tool' (process) for transmission and as an 'object of transfer' (content).

In the following excerpt, Yassin (fam 1) conceives religion as the most important value parents aspire to inculcate in their children to produce well behaved children.

.... As I inclined heavily on the religion, I often remind them about the companions of the prophet Muhammad (peace upon him) and persons with proper demeanor in order to help them learn the religion in depth and become religious (F).

Similarly, Bahiru (fam 3) stress on religious knowledge in teaching children to adhere to religious values so that they stay away from immoral acts such as cheating and engaging in corrupt practices as these are considered sinful acts and bring wrath from God.

"We inculcate in their mind the (importance of religion) and the idea that a Muslim not cheat, steal and doing bad things.... (F)

For parents such proactive stance would deter young people from embracing bad peers and subscribing to media appeals ".... a decorated world with full of temptation.... alluring to young people". From the participants' perspective, religion appears to be a pervasive element in upbringing their children. Musema (fam 4) described that his family placed religion on high regard they exerted the time and effort to inculcate religious knowledge in their elderly son:

Quran is a crucial thing (to us). Islam, how (can I say), to me a child who knows and understands Islam ... nothing will affect him; it will deter him from bad We encourage him by expressing his place (in the future) as "Imam" (Leader of the grand mosque)...., we invest a lot on him to facilitate his recitation of Qur" an (M).

Parents' perspective is that imparting religious knowledge is a "crucial" thing they are entrusted with, so that their children would be able to have a deep understanding of the religion in order to lead a decent life by practising what is ethically and morally right and protecting themselves from sinning.

Yasin (fam1) expressed their strong desire to have adolescent children who adhere to the correct belief and commandments of God, through: ".... *praying, knowing their creator, being thankfulas he created us*".... (*F*)

Participants' ambition to see their adolescents become religious has multiple reasons; religion deter from sins, motivate to personal success and community contribution. Yassin (fam 1) furtherholds the idea that religious education contributes to academic success and community contribution:

"....If they conform to these (religious instruction) we feel comfortable, that (they) will be protected from committing sin and evil things It would also enable them to performwell in their education and contribute to family and the public at large".(M)

To sum, parents' endeavour to foster the spiritual development of their children encompasses education of moral and ethical behaviour (akhlaq), as they are aware of its significance in building the foundation for moral education and religious life with the intention of seeking a "prosperous life" and a psychological well-being for their children.

4.2.2.3. Family connectedness: ".... Follow our footsteps"

The family connectedness sub-theme is concerned with parents' regard to family ties and smooth interaction with their adolescent children. This section describes why they value connectedness and the meaning it provides for them.

In the excerpt below, Yassin (family1) stress the significance of maintaining family tradition in the face of the changing social environment which they perceive as a negative influence on adolescents.

"We expect them to follow our cultural norms.... to be family oriented, responsible... not want them follow European way of life" (M).

Musema (family 4) states how connectedness creates a sense of togetherness and enablessharing emotion among family members in the following excerpt:

"Our endorsement of strong family connection made our children fast enough to notice a slightest increase in our tone of voice at a time of disagreement (between parents)" (M).

When asked about their hopes and expectation for their adolescent children, some participants wished the latter establish family of their own and raise children in a manner they observed at home thus be able to maintain family values and keep the lineage. For example, Maryam (fam 1), pointed out:

"....to be honored children, continue to hold unto our values and cultivate the values we inculcated in them (and) lead a prosperous life" (F).

And Sitina (fam 3) added that she wishes their children to:

".... engage in marriage and follow our footsteps" (F).

Their perspectives suggest that a healthy family environment could nurture connection, and they expect that the more children become connected to their parents the better they would maintain values cherished by the family. Participants_ hopes and dreams to have children connected to the family also extend to the larger community, which will be elaborated in the next section.

4.2.2.4. Community contribution: "seek them to think beyond self"

This sub-theme, refers to parents' aspiration to have children engaged in acts of altruism and benevolence that could benefit others. Essa (fam 2) expressed the expectation the family hold towards their adolescent children. The extract below illustrates this:

"Our aspiration is to have them think beyond this (fulfillment of their material needs) and to do things which could benefit the family, community be role model for their young siblings, leader for the group ... " (M)

"I need them to be successful in their religious (as well as).... academic education. I feel very happy to see them responsible and contributing member of the community... These are (our) goals" (F).

Similarly, Yassin (fam1) reported their determination to prepare their teens to be industrious and do things beneficial to the society:

"We instill such Islamic values as benevolence, empathy, caring to others" feelings, taking responsibility (for) one"s own actions, being self-directed" (F).

"My goal as well as my wife"s expectation to our children is to be a contributing member of the society.... productive in their work as well as being independent (in their pursuit to develop) (M)

The expectation of children to have a social responsible disposition along with self-development emanates from the parents_ high regard to self-transcendence which encourages young people to acts of benevolence and good deeds more, in a sense to -think beyond selfl (fam2), for the betterment of society with anticipation of a sense of accomplishment and psychological satisfaction.

4.2.2.5. Self -oriented values "..."Want them unlock their potential."

Self-oriented values entail self-direction, achievement, assertiveness, and self-confidence which are thought to be expressive of independence and autonomy.

In the present study educational aspiration refers to parents' ambition to have children successful in their education.

Yasin (fam 1) placed academic education as their priority value and invest time and money to achieve such a goal, as illustrated in Maryam's ambition to educate her children:

"I always aspire, and invest (on education) to see them successful (in life) by neglecting my own interest. We made decision to leave everything in favor of their education.... up to doctorate (level)...." (F)

Similarly, Ahmed (fam 5) embraced education as a priority for their children. They foster selfconfidence in their children as a crucial element to enable them to unleash their potentials and discover their talents in pursuing a particular field of study or interest of choice:

"We made our expectation of academic success clear. Cognizant of difference in their ability and inclination we expect different outcomes, but not impose our own wish. I want them unlock their potentials".

The reason and intention behind stressing on academic achievement might differ from one family to the other. For some, like Zeynab (fam 4), seeking high achievement from theiradolescent children could be a compensation for what she missed in adolescence. She revealed her regret for not being able to pursue her education, but hoped to achieve it through her children:

I would say (always).... had I been well educated I would have never go outside (to work in foreign land)This pushed me to educating my sons up to higher level.... I do whatever they want me to do. I do not want them lag behind (their friends) and I want them to excel in whatever area they aspire to pursue (F)

For others, such as Bahiru (fam 3), education, both secular and religious ¹⁹ is an instrument through which their children could pursue high level careers so that they understand their religion more through their exposure to scholarship which is oriented towards Islam. , Parents further express their hope that education provide them opportunities to share those knowledge with their community, families, siblings and peers.

(Our) children ... have many opportunities to strive and develop and serve at present. For example, the daughter inclines to be a physician, we encourage her, I advise her to pursue (in that direction) and provide opportunities and create enabling environment that would help her continue in her pursuit (M).

This aspiration of personal growth for their children, particularly performing well in school work may also suggest parents' awareness of the current social environment which requires young people to get equipped with the necessary knowledge and professional skills in the face of the tight job market to increase their chances of getting employment and earn a living.

Bahiru, Essa and Ahmed (fam 3, 2, & 5) from the three families encourage independence and confidence parallel to the seemingly emphasised values in individualistic society as a bid to promote self-growth in their children. For instance, Sitina talked about her desire to foster assertiveness in the strongest term, in her son, whom she considers pretty shy and unable to assert himself. In her account she sought her son to become:

¹⁹ Islamic teaching emphasizes on gaining beneficial knowledge, both secular and religious which could afford one to benefit with and serve others, discouraging education which does not have psychological, material and spiritual benefit, but just pursued for the sake of fun or mere entertainment.

"Not get carried away by others, assert himself, not dependent on others, (should) claim their rights, I mean (emphatically), (of course) not to violate the rule of the school, (but) abide by the law".

The idea of being assertive in the mind of the parent entails acts of expressing self, actively involving in issues affecting self and not being passively manipulated by others at the expense of self.

Similarly, Ahmed (fam 5) recognised the importance of granting autonomy to enable their children develop strong personality and achieve their ambitions, as evident in the following quote:

"(*They should*) *Learn to stand on their own two feet and be fully responsible for their own decisions*" (*F*).

The family further demonstrated how the self-confidence they fostered in their daughter produced a positive outcome in her decision to join a university far away from the capital, where many girls are reluctant to go and parents are scared to send:

.... she was the one who choose whether to go to the area [located far from Addis Ababa] where she was assigned. We just said to her this is under your jurisdiction to decide. This is the value we wanted to inculcate; self-confidence. This self-confidence [also]made her preserve her Islamic values (M).

Bahiru (family 3) expanded on the importance of satisfying the psychological needs of autonomy at home to encourage children to strive in their personal growth particularly school work.

We permit them to follow their natural inclination.... develop themselves, allow them bring their agenda for discussion at family meeting, to say their own ideas, give comments on the outcome of the discussion upon its completion. Confidence building is the one (value) which we constantly strive to foster (in them).

Further explication of the data, however, revealed inconsistency between couples in granting independence to children in some families. Bahiru, admitted such inconsistency when it comes to allowing independence to their children:

"I tell her (the wife) that she did not allow them to be independent, grant responsibilities, I

tell her such things (being strict) will discourage them from developing self-confidence, hinder them from curiosity to find out things by themselves...."

To sum, parents foster prosocial values, secular and religious education, and connectedness as their socialisation goals. They desire to raise humble, well-mannered, and disciplined children who could be productive in their private and public life. These values are conceived by parents as important traits through which their children could be *productive in their work*, lead decent life by practising what is ethically and morally right, and contributing to the development of society.

The different strategies and approaches participants employed to transmit these values and traits to their children are discussed in the next section.

4.2.2. Theme 2: Modes of Transmission:

This theme emerges from the interviews and it encompasses the various methods parents employ to transmit their cultural & religious values and shape the behaviour of their children. The theme comprises five sub-themes: positive role modelling, communication & negotiation, monitoring, befriending children, transforming self as parent, and punishment & reward, to which I now turn to describing each in detail.

4.2.2.1. Positive role Modelling: "They learn love from us"

The modeling appropriate behaviour sub-theme refers to parents' regard to teaching children by example to achieve their socialisation goals. The actions participants considered to have a modelling effect on their children include love between couples, serving the needy, admitting mistakes, and being considerate to each other as couple.

Mussema (fam 4) made emphasis on teaching children by example, as a major strategy, although direct teaching such as preaching and advising remain important in their teaching of values and disciplining children. The following excerpts exemplifies the potency of modelling in shaping behaviour:

"We teach them in a manner they could imitate us ... we (couple) are intimate, love each other, and understand each other ...Our love and intimacy teach them...." (F)

I participated in community services, religious activities. I do not miss Friday congregational prayer and I serve the community (there). They observe me providing

services to the needy freely. When they listen to Azaan (a pray call from mosque) they respond instantly by going to the mosque to Pray (M).

Mussema was of the opinion that encouraging teens to acts of benevolence through hands-on practice inspires them to own such virtues and do it themselves once they are exposed to it:

".... I offer them (children) something to give to the needy so that they can learn and own this trait (virtues of charity) by doing it themselves" (F).

This phenomenon of setting an example teach children was mirrored across participants. In the interview quote below, Bahiru (fam 3) described how they foster important values such as honesty, loving each other, and keeping promises in their children, as embedded in their family values:

.... (to) instilling such values (honesty) we do not lie to them by any means. Our interaction also.... (teach) them....We live by our deeds. We keep our promises, if we are unable to keep it we tell them why we failed tothen they accept and forgive us. This is one reason why they maintain this value of honesty (M).

Yassin (fam 1) and Ahmed (fam 5) expanded on this idea of modeling behaviour in the following excerpts.

"To instruct them to pray, we show it first by praying "(F).

(I) Teach them about emotion by modeling (how) I control my reaction during my encounter with a stranger" (M).

For these participants, setting an example first by praying and keeping ties with relatives has a religious basis as further shown in the following excerpt:

"We visit our relatives every two months because it is required in Islam to maintain ties with one's relative" (M).

The importance of teaching children by being a positive role model is further found in the interview excerpt illustrated by one mother (fam 1 and fam 3):

We do not allow cheating in any manner even for fun from their childhood through adolescence. I am careful in that aspect. I teach them (by example) in order to keep

them not to pretend what they are not (F).

.... The other thing is we inculcate in their mind the idea that Muslim should not cheat, steal and do bad things so that these virtues stick in them. We open ourselves to them to prevent them from looking outside (F).

The idea of 'not allowing children to lie even for the sake of fun' suggests parents' determination to see children internalise the values of honesty and earn its reward by practising it in their everyday life.

Correspondingly, a mother (fam 3) asserts the significance of modeling to effect behaviour by asking,

"If I am not reading, how can I encourage reading"?, and concluded "we have to be a model first before we expect them to do" (F).

Although parents considered themselves as the primary agents of values transmission, they admitted that adolescents' behaviour and attitude would influence parents in some ways. For example, Ahmed (fam 5) appreciated behaviours and competency they saw in their daughter's and envy to integrate those virtues into their own values system:

We take good virtues from (each of) my daughters (am avid for) the way she (the elder daughter) uses her potential. We appreciate our younger daughter''s reading passion and ability to read 80 books (in a shorter period). (we) cherished that. From her we develop more passion in reading we integrate it to our life (M).

Participants_ accounts suggest that they take good sides of their children as strength and assets and are in some way influenced by it, to the extent where they were keen to "emulate some of thetraits /behavior" (fam 5) they thought deserve their appreciation.

These accounts suggest that growing in an environment where children observe their parents live by what they preached would inspire children to imitate those very behaviours and strive to ground in their values system and pattern themselves on the parental model. 4.2.2.2. Communication & negotiation: "Strict order not work..."

This sub-theme, as a constituent part of transfer strategy encompasses reciprocity and negotiation adopted by the participants as an important communication approach to dealing with disagreement/conflict and maintaining smooth relationships with their grownups.

Maryam (fam1), following her encounter with her son over curfew changed her communication style later from control to negotiation in order to handle her adolescent children, in her own words:

Instead of maintaining (the previous) control, I started conversation, knowing that strict order does not work in this period. As a matter of fact, my son is innocent (yewah new).... I abandoned my communication style which was based on such controlling stance as ,,do this, do not do that" (F).

Bahiru (fam 3) shared this view and illustrated the road he travelled to bring his adolescents closer to parental terms:

They usually try to convince us to meet their objectives, they are smart. We made conversation with them and try to explain why we do not provide them (mobile phone) at this time, not by getting angry but through reasoning.

Similarly, Zeynab (fam 4), when asked how she entertains her adolescents when they pursuetheir argument, she said that she would listen to them with good terms:

"I often say, ,, it is parents who know what is appropriate and good to children.... he (the elder son) would say, mum vou don''t know what our peers are doing around (class mates'' preferences) ... "

In their accounts of the events surrounding differences of opinions, some participants adopt reasoning with their teens and accept responsibility when they err. Ahmed (fam 5) illustrated how the couple use reasoning as a bid to negotiate in their communication with their children:

(We) Make them understand the reason behind our action (which) give them meaning.... We recognize that at the end one idea will prevail we talk, make negotiation to reach consensus (F).

Children question; when they see something wrong.... they would argue and ask the reason, (for instance]) when we fail to be punctual (we) allow them to correct

mistakes.... including ours (M).

Although adolescents did not participate in the current research to get their voices heard on their experiences of being parented as this is beyond the scope of the thesis, anecdotal records and personal communication suggest that adolescents desire to be heard, complain about their parents treating them 'always like a child', viewing them as 'immature' and not considering their 'pointof view', to which some parents within the study agree (fam 1 and family 3), thus adolescents use their own strategies to get their complaint get across and achieve their goal.

In sum, participants use negotiation and reasoning as their method of communication. Parents who did not find the communication approach adaptive to developmental stage of adolescence, understand the need to adjust their parenting practices to keep parent-child relationships smooth and harmonious. This will be further described next.

4.2.2.3. Transforming self as parent: "Embracing leniency"

As signposted in the preceding section, participants in the study talked about the reason and unique circumstances which made them adjust their parenting practices. Understanding the developmental needs of adolescents and transforming as parent was one strategy parents found adaptive to managing adolescent children. Zeynab (fam 4) recounts her own adolescence as a major factor which prompted her to change the parenting approach she had experienced. In her own words:

I aspired to form a family (of my own) to behave differently (than my parents), (by) being closer to my children as the one I have formed at presentWe didn''t have humor time with our father. As far as fulfilling basic needs he was ok. I am happy (now) you know.... Sometimes you get what you aspired to get, Alhamdulilah (praise be to God).

Parenting children jointly for an extended period of time and 'appreciating the efforts and perspectives of one another' enable some couples to pause and reflect on their parenting practices, their strengths and shortcomings before changing their parenting approach. Bahiru's (fam 3) story illustrates how they were transformed as parents.

Previously, yes we came in conflict with each other.... (on account of) his leniency towards them. I fear that he will spoil them. I insist on strictness, and I was resentful of the way he

was handling them, but later I realized the negative side of being strict and controlling all the time. I began adopting his way of handling them (F).

After reflecting on their practices and changing their thoughts and attitudes, parents in this family considered methods suitable to their grownups which they said helped them to reform their interactions and expectations. The extract from the interview data illuminates this:

"(as time passes) we came to realize that both (parents) reacting to (children"s) faults with same emotional tone will not help [us]" (M).

To them, responding to 'children's mistakes simultaneously in a rough manner and in emotionallycharged tone' does not help to achieve their intended outcome, which necessitate chang of their practices.

In the same vein, after experiencing disappointment and contemplating about the pros and cons of pursuing the same thing in a -nagging manner a father (Essa fam 2) realized that the previous approach does not work and thus he requires a strategy befitting to the developmental stage of adolescents which later helped him retain a healthy relationship with his children. He explained how he finally made adjustment to his parenting practice:

(they) do not inform (us) their school progress without being asked repeatedly. I am ignoring some issues now.... Backing down from asking similar questions on school progress (now and then) and (begin) discussing issues in a calm environment. In this condition things become normalized....

Such perspectives were commonly shared by participants. *Maryam (fam 1), alluded to the fact that* she realised:

".... control would not work for this generation. I learnt (it) does not work as it was in the environments we were reared.... You cannot bring back the past" (F)

Similarly, Bahiru (fam 3) further went to insist the need for balance pertaining to parental expectation and children's needs which he declared helped them to change or transform.

".... it may not be the way I wanted, but somewhere in between is good".

The narratives from participants indicate that transforming oneself as a parent has a temporal dimension which is subject to change: according to the demands of the social environment and developmental change of the child.

Parallel to her husband Bahiru (fam 3), and in line with the idea of Essa (fam 2), Sitina illustrated why she abandoned or changed the previous discipline approach and finally adopted her husband's way.

I myself started backing off from repeated anger in order to avoid the kind of things occurred to my aunt"s grandchildren. (These children) abandoned their religion.... converted to Christian (nity), deviated and do smoking and drinking I learned from her (and become cautious of handling them) (F).

From the stories of the participant, taking account of adolescents' perspective and understanding their developmental needs seemed to allow parents to reassess and modify the parenting approaches they maintained through the childhood period. Two families (Essa, fam2 & Yassin, fam1) put in their proposal the kind of transformation parents would consider during the period of adolescence:

"Being on their sides. Talking (and) ... negotiating with them, being equipped (with knowledge & skill on parenting).... (and having) patience".

Taken together, parents explained that they changed as a result of living with the new generation who grew up in a different cultural context than they brought up in, transformed by learning new ways of thinking and behaving, transformed as parents to adapt to their children, and they transformed as families which differed largely from their family of origin.

4.2.2.4. Befriending children: "Avail ourselves to them"

Befriending children was the other strategy described by parents which enhanced parent- child relationship and enabled parents to foster a sense of family connectedness. Mussema (fam 4) talked

about how befriending children has helped maintain intimacy in the family.

.... you may not believe they are mother and children when you see them playingtogether. When.... I lie down on the rug and invite them to come they come together instantly and surround me in circle [to that extent]. We are close (to each other).

Bahiru (fam 3) considered instilling a sense of family connectedness as parental responsibilities and talked how befriending children worked for them:

"I encourage my son to openly disclose himself and she (wife) also has similar expectation to her daughter. We befriend them.... This has worked (for us).... although perfection is impossible" (M).

The father further reported that he brings his adolescent children closer to him and expose them to experiences beyond home by spending time with them.

"Occasionally (I) take them out, to allow and help them understand and widen their perspectives about the outside world".

Mussema (family 4) agreed with the idea of getting children closer as a parental duty tostrengthen the bond and nurture the value of connectedness.

"The other duty (of parents) include ... opening ourselves and get them closer to us to prove that we give them attention...." (M).

Similar to the ideas of Bahiru and Mussema, Maryam (fam 1) stated that she valued the importance of family connection and the means she adopts to maintain such bond in their family which they believe further helped them prevent the child from bad exposure:

I, accompany them along with their peers on Sunday''s to watch films (to create a sense of connection) and to deter temptation.... I feel] I should satisfy those needs in advance (help them watching films containing healthy content) to prevent them from missing classes

in favor of watching films.... experimenting drugs (F).

The perspectives of these families suggest the strong ambition they have to maintain a cohesive family where their children feel accepted and willingly adhere to family values to meet parental expectations.

In parents' views intimacy between the couple seemed to contribute not just to adolescents' acceptance of parental norms and values but also extends to siblings relationship as well. This is exemplified with the participants' quotes from fam 4:

"I think our love and closeness towards each other make them accept (our values) and conform to our instructions" (M).

In their account the love and care family members provide to one another enhances not just parentchild attachment as exemplified in the following quotes.

In Ahmed's (fam 5) words:

"The elderly daughter guide and shape the younger siblings" behaviors. The intimate relationship between the elder and younger daughters has positively shaped the behavior of the latter" (M).

Interestingly, the family further elaborated this theme by explaining the meaning family connection has to them and how they maintain such connection:

"We do not get involved with events that do not involve our children to avail ourselves to them (though), it has limited our social relationships, (as a matter of fact) we both give them unconditional love" (F).

To sum, being aware that adolescents have their own ideas, opinion and mindsets about relationships with adults, parents in this study have shown a keen interest in bringing their adolescent children closer by setting aside to spend quality time together, having a chat and having fun and occasionally entertaining them at a hotel upon their academic achievement.

4.2.2.5. Monitoring: "Follow every step of movement"

Monitoring, as one constituent part of the strategy refers to parents' efforts to make sure that their children are safe and protected from negative outside influence. Participants' monitoring activity entails two broad aspects: the first one is allowing adolescents to go out with conditions, structuring their environment, and talking with teachers periodically; the second one is taking a controlling stance in their monitoring.

One mother's (Ahmed, fam 5) description of her monitoring activity would exemplify the structure parents put in place to fill their three daughters' out-of-school time with extracurricularactivities - gym on weekends.

As I am familiar with things which could affect them more, I believe it is necessary to engage them with (such) activities that help them breakaway from watching films (keeping them busy). You have to create an alternative (instead of prohibiting all things) to it (F).

Bahiru (fam 4) reported that their children do not choose other places to go (after school) and find themselves at home at a fixed time and (only) watch films at their spare time from the channels approved by parents (M).

"our children not know anything except going to and back from school".

The account of these parents suggest that children's time is structured in such a way that they are either at school, at home or at a place their parents approved of.

Choosing the neighborhood in which to live and selecting the school where to enroll children was also conceived to have a protective and monitoring function by parents to ensure the children's safety and well-being. The example of this will be found in Bahiru's interview excerpt:

To counteract this (bad exposure coming from outside), we had chosen our neighborhood and selected the school where we pay a lot, creating environment to our children where they come into contact with peers similar to their (religious) background. Likewise, Mussema (fam 4), talked about the effort they exerted to find the ideal neighborhood to live in and the learning institution where to place their children:

We searched a school which can meet our standards, expectations, and have Islamic environment. Because we have decided to live here (inhabited by predominantly Muslim population with the mosque around).... we chose this (name school) finally which we thought was suitable for them (M).

Bahiru further recognised the benefit that the neighborhood and the school they have chosen provided for them as well as their children.

.... my daughter was assigned to a lady (a person they came in contact through the school) voluntarily coaching group of girls on religious values on a weekly basis. And similar platforms are created for (our) boys. These children are protected as a result and it eases our fear.

For parents making periodic visits to school and staying well-informed about all that is going on in their adolescents' daily life is part of their monitoring activities. Sitina (fam 3) elaborate this:

.... (I) go to school and ask teachers about their progress, their days and converse with them how they spend and do their school work".

Maryam_s experiences have similarities with Sitina_s in that she asserted the following,

".... closely supervised them by attending "school open day" and talk with their teachers about their behavior and academic progress".

Despite variations on the particular areas of focus, some participants (Essa fam, 2 & and Bahiru, fam3), were inclined more to strict control, as one area of their monitoring activity, which is often demonstrated in a prohibitive measure.

".... not allow them to watching TV Playing games even I grab the equipment when they play games. (and) I didn't permit her joining the group (a party organized by classmates" (F). This is a time they should be controlled. (Surprisingly) I would reach and found out what parents do not imagine in other households Sometimes I did not allow him (son) to go outside. When I let them go it was with conditions. I would give them ultimatum and they meet those terms (F).

Sitina further elaborated how meticulous she was in her controlling stance in her own words: *"Because I am at- home mother, I follow every step of their movement...."*

Bahiru (fam 3) gave an example of their experiences of limiting children's exposure to technology with condition as part of their monitoring activity:

"We decided not to offer them mobile phone for some time with fear that they would use it for the wrong thing. (Later) We made agreement (with them) to provide them a cell phone upon their completion of high school."

For this family, letting children to do what they like "give them a chance to come back with some negative experiences". However, these parents admit that the way they structured the children's time schedule put constraint on the children's "physical movement".

Parents who conceive adolescents as not being mature enough to make wise choices, due to fear of outside influence, tend to engage in prohibitive action which could trigger conflict with their children. Adolescents would complain on their parents' constant monitoring and perceive it as an intrusion to their privacy, areas they often consider should be within their personal jurisdiction.

Two mothers (Essa, fam 2 & Bahiru, fam3) elucidate this fact:

"I don"t allow them to watch and even grab the equipment when they play games they

complain and appeal to their father" (F).

"... for them (adolescents), they are old enough and wise. For us, they are still children as we are (their) parents, we know the dangers and naturally want to protect them (F).

As adolescent' social environment widen, they develop their own interest, habit and preferences due to outside influences which affect their behaviour in both positive and negative manners. As a result, parents realize that their ambition to monitoring their grownups would not always be an

easy task. Parents' monitoring might not be received warmly by adolescents when they consider it as an intrusion of their personal affairs.

Participants' account suggest that monitoring and control are conceived as parental legitimate duties next to fulfilling the emotional, material and safety needs of their children, although prohibitive measures such as strict control will not necessarily be received by adolescents positively.

4.2.2.6. Punishment & Reward: "I take them out to lunch..."

Punishment and reward sub-theme encompasses methods parents deploy to shape behaviours and convey their expectations to their children. Participants' experiences show variations in their use of incentives and punishment to instil compliance or convey their messages and correct misbehaviour. The tangible incentives they employ include offering prize upon good academic performance and buying and offering books as presents, the intangible one entails verbal appreciation of the child's considerateness and persistence. Examples of the incentives parents utilise to encourage their children will be vividly shown in the following extracts from Ahmed (fam 5):

"We appreciate persistence of the elder in words and actions, valuing considerateness in the other daughter, expressing our charm upon recitation of Qur" an in melodious voice (by the other daughter)" (M).

A mother (Mussema, fam 4) stated that she takes her sons out for lunch as a compliment to encourage her children to keep up their performance.

"I invite them (lunch) at a hotel when they perform well in academic performance".

Correspondingly, Bahiru (fam 3) talked about the way their family reward their adolescent children to develop and excel in their academic progress, as manifested in their expression along with emotion:

".... we put money for them in their account in a small box (laughter) placed somewhere in the living room (as) an incentive for their performance".

'Meriqat and Ergimana' (literally to mean blessing and curse) are the other aspect of cultural-

backed practices which are employed by Ethiopian parents parallel in some aspects to reward and punishment popular in mainstream psychological literature suggested to shaping behavior. Such method of discipline is an old and common practice among Muslim parents as well as non-Muslims to shape child behaviour.

Although parents did not mention the terms, curse and blessing explicitly as a method of punishment and reward for reinforcing behaviour, which is widely practised in Ethiopian society they talked about the use of physical and psychological punishments to discourage what they consider misbehaviour or to correct mistakes and reward to reinforce good behaviour in children. They expressed the use of the psychological punishments such as taking on umbrage, getting angry, admonishing, and disallowing the child from play when he/she commits mistakes and when he/she occasionally talks back.

Essa & Bahiru (fam 1 & 3) reported that they utilise psychological punishment more often than other family groups as a discipline method. For example, a mother (Bahiru fam, 3) asserted that she takes umbrage when the child has failed to comply with her instruction:

When he asks me to go outside, I would not allow him and this create disagreement between us I got angry (and at times) show contempt with no apparent reason (just) to create an impression that I would be ,, serious if in case they slip (F).

Similarly, Seada_s (fam 2) story shows similar stance pertaining to the discipline approach she practises.

"I usually take umbrage and got angry to warn him (son) when he spend time on computer, instead of engaging in his school work".

However, Seada admits that she abandoned the way she handled her son and retreated to:

"Avoiding confrontation with him in order to retain smooth interaction"

The mother attributes her backing down to the fear that her son might —run away from home if he perceives her continued prohibitive stance as nagging.

Conversely, Sitina talked about abandoning taking umbrage as a discipline method for health

reasons.

".... halted taking umbrage on account of his (the son"s) exacerbated migraine...."

However, she insisted that "taking umbrage by the father worked well", as children feel scared when their father shows contempt.

Seada's account suggested some gender dimension in raising adolescent children. While she described her son as difficult and not approachable, she talked about her daughter in a positive light. She made distinction in terms of their closeness to parents:

"He is sensitive and easily angered than his younger sibling. She (daughter) is smart and closely attached to me"

From the participants' account, only Mussema (fam 4) appeared to employ both physical and psychological punishments during this period of a family life cycle.

"Occasionally I use physical punishment at adolescence, (even) flogging him to make sure that he remains obedient".

The interview data further illuminate the participants' consistent use of religion as a tool to reinforce good behaviour and enhance their parenting efforts, to deter unaccepted behavior from happening and help children stay on the 'right path'. The excerpt in interview (Yassin, fam1) vividly illustrate this fact.

"Had it not been the protection and help from Allah (God), it would have been difficult to manage (adolescents).... It also needs patience" (F).

From the parents' perspective, success in parenting was much attributed to divine help; for them raising adolescents could have been a tough and difficult enterprise to carry on without the help from God. As religion was described by parents as an asset and a strength (see theme 5 for detail), parents consistently use prayer for invoking God to mobilise their resources in socialising their children.

To sum, parents talked about the strategies they used to transmit the values they wish their adolescent children to acquire. Positive role modelling, communication, befriending, monitoring emerged as the most significant strategies. Unlike their own parents, participants put effort into communicating with their children, trying to chat with them. Most parents expressed their conviction that teaching values happens better when it is spontaneous rather than through the didactic methods.

4.2.3 Theme 3: Experiencing highs and lows in parenting: "Proud of them, Allah be a witness"

This theme refers to positive and challenging experiences of parents in raising adolescent children. The theme consists of 4 sub-themes: ambivalent attitude towards the period of adolescence; the experience of companionship; a sense of fulfillment; bewilderment and disappointment.

4.2.3.1. Ambivalent attitude towards adolescence: "Lose sight and direction"

Parents were asked their understanding of adolescence and the meaning it gives to them as a starting point before they narrated their experiences of raising adolescent children. The response to this question shows ambivalent attitudes of participants towards adolescence, both in affirmative and negative terms. The following are examples of the negative perception participants hold towards adolescence:

"A difficult period to manage, they are not prepared to listen" (Essa, fam 2).

Another parent also described the period as:

"A challenging period to parents and themselves, Things revolve around them" (Yassin, fam 1).

Bahiru (fam 3) stated that:

"Raising adolescent is a difficult job, requiring control"

A mother (Ahmed, fam 5) also shared their positive regard to this period of the family life cycle:

"It is a time they (adolescents) become helpful in many ways" (Ahmed fam 5)

Similarly, (Bahiru, fam3) acknowledge the positive side of adolescents:

"....there are adolescents who are smart and good in their behaviour..."

Parents' perception of adolescence and the meaning it gives to them is embedded in the culture where they come from. The following are examples of some responses that explain the meaning adolescence gives to parents:

—When we say Goremsa (a term used in Amharic language) we mean the child reaches that stage to rebel a challenging time It is a time teens presumably lose their sight and direction (Ahmed, fam 5)

Similarly, parents (Mussema fam, 4) expand how they view adolescence and the undesirable behaviour they expect to observe at the turn of adolescence:

"I expect (laugh) what is locally presumed "mefendat", (laugh) (literally to mean a child exhibit physical and behavioral change manifested in talking back and refusing to conform to parental instruction....I expected it to happen (but not occurred). It was my great concern".

Their perception about adolescence would be informed largely by what they are observing from other adolescents behaving badly and from the news they hear in the neighbourhood and relatives and, of course partly with their own experience in rearing their children.

It should be noted that although participants perceive adolescence in an ambivalent manner, their perception of the period differs from their actual experiences which was demonstrated through their largely positive accounts in their parenting trajectory.

4.2.3.2. Experiencing fellowship: "Accompany them on weekends"

This sub-theme captures one of the positive aspects of parents' experience of raising adolescent children. Yassin (fam 1) describe how fellowship provide the family a sense of pride in the following excerpts:

.... they openly disclose what they have done, did not lie to me. They never keep things to themselves, whatever thing happened.... The other thing you may be surprised is whenever *I* give (my son) money to spend he often gives me back (merely spending a portion of it (F).

Similarly, Mussema's (fam 4) pleasure in reporting such a period exemplifies his and his wife's joyful and delightful experiences with their adolescent children:

.... you may not believe they are mother and children when you see them playingtogether. When I (myself) lie down (on the rug) and call them to come (they) instantly gather around me in circle (to chat). We are closer to each other" (to that extent).

Fellowship occurs in a context of healthy and smooth parent-adolescent relationship where each dyad feels intimate with each other. The interview excerpt from Sitina (Bahiru fam 3), shows how mother-daughter close relationship drives her daughter to provide advice to her mother pertaining relationship with her neighbors:

".... my daughter at times would remind and question me "mum why don't connect with the neighbors"?

As discussed under 'family connectedness', companionship also manifests itself through the sharing of knowledge and activities and spending time together. Ahmed (fam 5), gave their account of the family maintaining companionship through their children's development:

"We do not get involved with events which does not involve our children, (of course) it limits my social relationships, we both give them unconditional love" (F).

Fellowship would also occur when the seemingly distant adolescent who 'take for granted' parents' investment in raising them come back again to a parent to declare his/her positive regard when he/she feels relationship with parents are smooth and not dismissive. In the following quote, for example, Mussema (fam 4) reported that he was astonished when he heard words of appreciation from his son:

One day my son (come closer) and embraced me and says ".... dad you are a special father". I was surprised to listen this, as this was not a common remark made by teens except asking (parents) their needs to get fulfilled. At first, I thought he was kidding". (I learned later).... that one day my son observed a unique thing on his way home with his two classmates and their father driving a car. He was astonished that their father and his classmates didn't chat while travelling, either not greet each other when they met first. In that day he also noticed that when one of them call their father and he picked the telephone.... they anxiously murmur, ".... O" he picked it up"! they were in a state of uncertainty and fear.... He told me that upon observing such a relationship, he made contrast and started to understand the difference (between his parent and his peers) and begin appreciating how he was treated by his parents.

During the adolescent phase of the family life cycle, fellowship allows parent and adolescent to be open to one another which would inspire some parents and adolescents to discuss and share such information and topics as reproductive health and sexuality, considered to be a highly private and sensitive issue in many cultures and societies including Muslim families. An excellent example of the importance of opening oneself to sharing such sensitive information is found in the quote from Zeinab_s (fam 4) interview:

.... because I see him having a chat with a girl I discuss with him (elder son) about boys & girls relationship in school. ... I asked him whom he was chatting with and what relationship he had with her. He said "Wellahi (invoking in oath), "mum we do not have anything except being classmate, supporting each other". In another occasion, same girl gave him a scarf as a gift on his birth day. One day he told me that he wanted to reciprocate on her birth day.... I purchased a gift for him to give her as a present.... I often ask him how their relationship unfolds

Taken together, the teenage years provide parents with a level of companionship that they were not accustomed and previously capable of.

4.2.3.3 Sense of fulfillment: "Their virtues brought us happiness"

Contentment refers to a sense of parental fulfillment over child outcome in their parenting

trajectory. Participants in the study identified specific traits and behaviours / competence they appreciate in their adolescents which brought them a sense of accomplishment. The quote from Sitina (Bahiru fam 3), elaborate this:

... I admired her confidence and am happy with my daughters. Regarding the boy ... I recognize his effort and talent in writing brief poems with his own calligraphy using short Qur "anic phrases and put it on piece of papers and freely hand it to others... (F).

Zeynab (Mussema fam 4), talked about her experience by pointing out a range of behaviours and traits she thought her adolesecent children had developed:

Their akhlaq (moral and ethical behavors) draw attention and appreciation of everyone who knows them. They are always closer to us. Do not go far away, only they go to school ... (and]) comeback. These are the virtues I feel most happy with them (F).

Similarly, discovering the positive traits and virtues of their adolescents has enhanced parents_ sense of fulfillment. Yassin (fam 1) said his contentment with reference to their adolescents_ behaviour:

"They listen to us to a great extent, particularly the daughter; they implement what I have advised them to do...." (F).

"If not (seen) as bragging, my children, Alhamdulillah are in good shape, they are not defiant.... Not interfere in adults" (affairs)" (M]).

Mussema (fam 4) made contrasts between their children and the adolescents in other families who are insatiable with the resources and provision their parents provide them as one reason for appreciating their children that gave rise to their content in the child outcome:

"... Unlike other adolescents who grumble over food and clothes provided by their parents.... they (our children) eat (and accept) whatever we provided them. This also add to my happiness" (F).

Counting on the good side of their adolescents; areas of their strength, behaviours, preferences, and hobbies gave parents a sense of accomplishment/content in positive development they observed in their children.

Ahmed (fam 5) defines areas of strength they discovered from their adolescent children and feel content as parents:

(There is) good and virtue from each.... we appreciate persistence from the younger one, discipline (self-control) from the second daughter which we regard as positive and deserve our appreciation. I also appreciate and valued considerateness of the other daughter, I shade tears upon her recitation of Qur"an in a melodious voice (M).

While seemingly contradictory to the previously discussed themes (for example, sense of fulfillment), the challenging aspect, however, is reported by participants as a real component of their experiences. The next sub-theme builds on such dynamics.

4.2.3.4 Bewilderment and disappointment: "... Got confused"

The two overlapping constituent parts, bewilderment and disappointment (with the child) capture the challenging aspect of being a parent who raises adolescent children. Bewilderment was one aspect of a challenging experience reported by participants who raise adolescent children. Seada

(Essa fam 2) for example, described her experiences of bewilderment when her son turns 16.:

"e. e. e. their growth, the change [physically] give us sense of pride, good feeling, but previous behaviors and relationship change communicating them becomes hard (laugh). Their behavior turn in to a difficult one, their state of obedience would increasingly decrease" (F).

Maryam (Yassin fam 1) recollects the event that led to her experience of both bewilderment and disappointment when her son turneds 16.

Ket yalew tizaz altemechewum....bezih gize gaa alebigne, gaa alin Hultachnim (literally to mean the strict order did not give him (the son) comfort, and both of us got confused in this period), he started complaining about the curfew.... in one occasion he talks back, using the word I think (something like)... "none of your business"..... "Doesn"t concern you".... to which I felt confused and disappointed and retreat to my class and wept there.... and ask myself ,, is it a child who come out of my belly now going out of my grip"?.... I never anticipate such resistance to come from my child.

Parallel to Seada and Maryam, Zeinab (Mussema fam 4) indicated her experience of bewilderment when she observed some characteristics of adolescence in her elderly son to whichshe did not prepared and anticipated:

"Previously when we say certain kind of style is good and propose something for him he accepts it readily, but now he would like to follow the day"s fashion. I think only such a condition did remind me the period of adolescence" (F).

From the participants' account bewilderment and disappointment were experienced most potently with the first adolescent boy except the one family who experienced disappointment with their younger daughter. It is with the first child that parents enter a new territory and start encountering the previously unknown phenomenon and finally gain experience and sense the children's bid for declaration of independence.

Participants in the present study shared their experiences of disappointment largely with regard to boys although there was a slight indication of disappointment experienced by a few parents in relation to their own self which I found not rich enough in content to discuss it. There were many distinctive expressions of disappointment with adolescents, their specific behaviour, and their attitudes; but only a few (were) expressed by all participants. This section will deal with these few most commonly shared disappointments pertaining to school work.

For Yassin (fam 1), his elder son's earning of grade points in secondary school leaving examination was short of expectation" and disappointing because he felt his child had the potential, but did the least. In his words:

I expected him to excel in his education.... he has a potential to unleash He earned merely 500 I reminded him ,, had your effort been put in place you would have got better result which could open better opportunities to you, this is short of my expectation (of school performance).... this is not your result".

One of the participants provided an explanation for the propensity to feel disappointed with one's Adolescents child since it was evident enough. Essa (fam 2) stated that as a parent, he had a picture in his mind for his child, one that includes the following qualities:

"A committed leader, understanding and practicing the religion, and succeeding in education."

Unfortunately, the father said, he uses this ideal as a yardstick by which to judge his children—especially his son—and finds that they fall short of it. Finally, the father says:

"As a father I wish they had a comprehensive knowledge in all affairs of life from organizing themselves (to) taking responsibility, being socially active.... in their educational pursuit.... But that was not realized".

His remark was reinforced by his wife, Seada, when she talked about her disappointment with her children with reference to failing to meet some of the parental aspirations. Seada indicates in her own words:

".... they are not active in socializing with family members and guests coming to visit us as I expected them to be. (I) need them to be socially active focus on their school workThey did not meet my expectation".

Parental disappointment in this area might not be something unexpected given the tendency of adolescents to push boundaries to achieve what they aspire or test whether the parent is willing to submit or yield to their demand. In this regard parents may find that the adolescent child asserts himself and becomes more expressive of his will than during the childhood years, and unwilling to listen or accept parental viewpoint on a rational ground was. For instance, Maryam (Yassin fam1), illustrates her experience of disappointment with reference to her son_s sense of self-righteousness.

On our way to our destination I was telling him (the son) not to rush as I was looking at the dash board which indicates the speed. He insisted telling me that he was driving not fast, and continued telling me that what I read from the gauge was not correct He said "Mum, it will only appear to you, that you perceive I was driving fast". They do not accept that he/they are wrong. You will not win them ...They never bend

Parents who participated in the study feel scared that their adolescent boys have more chances to outside exposure and join peers outside home and consider this a challenging aspect of parenting adolescents. While fathers acknowledged and felt pride upon their sons_ physical growth, similar to their wives they also shared the challenges they encountered in this particular development of the family life cycle, as Essa (family 2) noted:

The change they show give us pride, happiness. With his growth we got excited, saying to ourselves he grew, comes nearer to adulthood, but the behavior part is a challenge.... their obedience decreased when they grow.... especially the boy.... The challenge is (they) distance themselves from us as much as possible.... Locked in his room not to listen to me.... (M).

Sitina (Bahiru family3) made distinction between her son and daughter's behaviour at adolescence compared to their childhood period where both of them complied with the parents demand without resistance,

"Previously he submits to our demand but now resists to accepting and beginning to question us...." (F).

Explication of the data further suggests a gender dimension in the parents' expression of gender roles. For instance, two mothers (fam 1 & fam 2) allow their sons to socialise by going out while constraining/ restricting their daughters to stay indoors. The following excerpts indicate the common stance shared by the participants:

".... because we expect her to come back before megrib (sun set) and the son after megrib prayer... she cried and expressed her contempt "you allow him but tend to restrict me". She is sensitive to listening to such words as" (name son), because, he is a boy " (F). ".... I disallow her participating from the school party (organized by students) and she would complain and say "you detached me from my friends" (F).

Explication of the interview data suggests that a few participants openly talk about sexuality in 160

broad terms without mentioning the term sex explicitly. Two mothers' (Bahiru fam 3 & Mussema fam 4) account exemplify this:

We do not encounter major conflict, except in one occasion, it came to our attention that he (son) sent letter to a girl when he turns 14 and we asked him privately....(his reply was) "I want her, I love her", (to which we reply) "you are yet to mature, you will reach that stage....(F,fam 3).

.... do not hide from me if you have any thought in your mind to get married. He laughs and said "mama are you kidding"? I consistently ask him how their relationship unfolds.

... [to my inquiry] do you want to get married? He replied "yes, but not now, as I have a big goal that I should pursue (F fam 4).

However, the parents' perspective suggests gender neutral attitude in much of the values they foster as they set the same goals for their sons boys and daughters particularly on education and moral behaviour. Emphasising equal educational opportunities is not very surprising, as the country values education regardless of gender at present due to rapid political, cultural and social change.

In conclusion, parents of adolescents reported two important aspects of their positive experiences in raising adolescent children: the joy of companionship and the sense of accomplishment. According to parents, children, during their Adolescents years provided them with a level of companionship that they were not able to do during their childhood. At the same time the experience of parenting adolescent children is a time Parents also observe children accomplish something independently- symbolic adulthood, a means through which they feel a sense of accomplishment and content in child outcome.

The challenging aspect of parents in their experiences of raising adolescent children was anxiety related to bewilderment and disappointment. When parents observe their child showing new behaviour, notably their sons, they experience confusion and could not find explanation to it or unable to fully understand it at the spot or for some time. Some of them feel disappointed when they find their adolescent child not meeting the expectation, notably school achievement, and in

this context the parent would wrestle with the question 'why is my son/daughter working against the achievement of this goal (?)', while he has the potential to excel'.

4.2.4 Theme 4: Parental anxiety concerning the digital era: "It disrupts family interaction" The fourth theme that emerged from the interview data was the underlying concerns and anxiety experienced by the parents over their children's exposure to modern media and peer influence. This theme entails two sub-themes; ambivalent attitude towards modern technology and parents' view of peer influence.

4.2.4.1. Ambivalence about media technology: "Countering competing values" The technological media and social environment to which adolescents are exposed are high on the parents' list of concerns. Muslim parents' perspectives on modern technology were categorised in terms of their perceived benefits and pitfalls.

When asked about their views and the challenges they face pertaining to adolescents' use of media technology, the parents poured out their hearts and described the challenging aspects/ its pitfalls. The concerns and anxiety they raised include children's access to the internet, viewing offilms and the potential exposure to bad habits and behaviours through these media outlets.

Yassin (fam 1) stated that the family feels scared of the various media outlets, such as internet and computer to which adolescents have access and are exposed and their consequences on their moral behaviour and interaction between parents and children:

"They are coming in contact to bad habits such as pornographic films, addictive substances and early sexual debut which could affect their relationship with family" (F).

Furthermore, Yassin expressed his strong concern of the impact of technology in diverting the focus of adolescents from their academic pursuit.

(These) Adolescents are not inclined to reading; they spend much of their time on internet....To my understanding he (the son) has the potential to unleash and I tried to tell him not to spend much of his time (on technology). In this we have a challenge (M).

Couples' perspectives suggest that they are increasingly aware of the youth becoming familiar to a wide range of media environment where they can access information, get socialised and engage in virtual interaction with peers, and spend much of their productive time on entertainment music and films containing bad images and contents. Such concern and anxiety trigger the family to contemplate the measure they could take to deter the ill effects modern technology would have on decency and the religious values of their children.

*"We do not like them get preoccupied with the technology as it distracts them from their work, expose them to pornographic contents, (and) take them away from Allah(God)".*Due to their uncertainty about the effect of technology on adolescents' values, behaviours and development of adolescents, Ahmed (fam 5), talked about the negative influence constant viewership brings to their behaviour:

"I fear that Bollywood movies contain sensational materials and images in their content and I am scared that repeated exposures to such movies affect their behavior".

Essa (fam 2), shared such a concern when he said:

"... I am worried much when they browse the internet I don't like when they chat on the internet..." (*F*).

These parents, particularly Essa, was personally challenged by the impact of modern technology as was discussed earlier. He alarmingly follows up his son's watching of films at home. For the father, watching film consumes a child's time from engaging in his school work for which he is expecting much. He feels a sense of defeat that he couldn't stop his son from watching films despite his relentless effort to convey his concern to his son repetitively. The quote below shows such a challenge:

"I always tell my son to stop watching these films.... Tactfully (I tell him).... The negative side of Internet, [watching] pornographic films... and the consequences of it [on] behavior but he doesn"t listen to me" (M).

The perspectives of some participants on the influence of technology suggest their strong inclination towards protection and control due to their uncertainty about the online realm which could have been stemmed partly from their own lack of experience working on computers. One

mother (fam 2) described her fear of the use of technology by the youth and the measure she took to protect her adolescent children:

"... Many things which are easily available would distract them from their duties. I fear that they may be highly influenced by the technology. Am scared that watching TV will change their behavior.... At times I would grab the equipment out of their hands" (F).

The above account suggests that although parents recognise the importance of technology and conceive it to have "....many benefits if used properly" (fam5) for the purpose of learning and acquiring knowledge, the assumption behind their anxiety and prohibition was the potential power of media to change the behaviour of adolescents in an unpredictable manner and its distractive effect in consuming much of the adolescents' time. Parents perspective is frequent exposure to modern technology could lead youth to ignore their homework, and hinder from engaging in some house chore activities to help parents and hamper the normal parent- child interaction parents enjoy during their childhood.

For some of the participants, anxiety over media technology comes not directly from their child_s exposure and real danger he/she experienced, but from the hearsay and the information they received from the school personnel and their close friends and acquaintances. Mussema (fam 4) expressed their concern about the information adolescents receive due to exposure to modern technology and its harmful effect and highlighted their prohibitive stance to avoid such danger.

"I've heard so many bad things about the Internet; I don't even really like to see them on the computer/Internet" (M).

However, some parents distinguished among the host of benefits and harms this technology provides for adolescents; they see minimal negative effects from certain media sources compared to others. Maryam asserted her willingness to let her son play games:

"I often let him play with video games, assuming that it will keep him stay away from other devises which have [more] detrimental effects on behaviors of adolescents as we see it today".

Although a common occurrence among parents to grant their children cell phones (without putting conditions) these days, a few of them appear reluctant to get their adolescent children have cell phones, and more cautious before providing the apparatus and making internet accessible to them. Bahiru (fam 3), who specialised in information technology (ITC) for example, elucidated the conditions the family put in place and the negotiation they made with their children before granting mobile phones to them.

It happened that we decided not to offer them mobile phone for some time with fear that they would use it for the wrong thing.... (Later) We made conversation with them and explain why we do not provide them cell phone this time [around] through reasoning. They highly insist [especially son] to possess it. We asked them to promise use of technology properly before offering it to them. With this understanding we made the internet accessible in my office (and) gave them mobile phones....

Another recurrent aspect of parental concern reported by participants of the study was the use of technology by the present generation, its effect on their values, development and on parent-child relationships. Essa (fam 2) made a contrast between the previous generation and the present one with reference to resources and the accesses available for young people and parents and its their influence on family relationship.

.... in our time there was no technological equipment; no mobile, no desk top or lap top to occupy our time now the technology disrupts everything in every household (It) takes off their time.

The interview excerpts from two families (fam 1 & 5) illustrate the extent of parental fear of whether decent children could survive in the midst of the rapid social and technological change without being continually monitored and guided by parents and adults: Maryam (fam 1) stated her concern:

.... is a serious concern. Not sure whether my daughter continue to remain modest when she reaches 18, for now, because the school is closer I do not have much problem when she reaches that stage [referring to her son] she may show similar behavior nobody *knows for sure what will happen next. Time is changing, outside influences are growing.... (F).*

Fozia (fam 5), noted the generation gap and commented on the importance of parental support and guidance:

Globalization has a toll in their development. We (parent) remain in the 20th century way of thinking yet raising children living in the 21^{st} century. They have a lot of access; the Internet; Phone and others, but nobody is around to guide them when they go on the wrong direction....(F).

Both parents, (fam 5) noted the benefit of technology and empowered their adolescents to use the modern media outlets for the right purpose and in the right manner, to which they feel comfortable.

As they socialize with peers and encountered with flood of information (from media) they manage to develop the ability to filter it and use what is useful to them .They delete those media channels which appeared to them indecent and not beneficial (*M*).

Bahiru (fam 3) alluded to the idea that technology facilitates performance, but stressed on mediating media use of adolescents:

We know that TV, computer have advantages as well as disadvantages and we concluded that forbidding them (to use) is not a good option. So started choosing media channels appropriate to their age (moral development) and made it accessible to them ... (to) avoid improper channels which could lead them go astray.

Essa (fam 2) conceive mixed ideas on technology: s good side as well as drawbacks: Thanks to technology, everything (now) is under their fingertip, they just click on it. I think it has also a problem... They do not critically read, they merely touch the equipment, and down load and do copy and paste and finally submit (to the teacher).

At the back of parents' mind denying access to technology could 'create more temptation since computers are available everywhere', thus, choosing not to categorically disagree with its benefit. Instead of prohibiting access, some parents preferred to mediate the media use of their children, cautiously allowing their adolescent children to use it with knowledge and purpose as part of their monitoring activities.

The data show that while a few of the participants acknowledge the positive side of technology when used properly and for the enhancement of knowledge, they shared the same kind of concerns and fears related to the negative effect of the modern media landscape. They are not sure what their children do on computer and internet, as a result they fear much that their children's moral behavior will be negatively affected and that they may lose their innocence, and undermine parent child relationship.

As the sphere of socialisation of adolescents widens, the concerns of parents pertaining to the influences of peers become also apparent as the latter play a crucial role in shaping the behaviours and attitudes of adolescents, to which I now turn, to capture the perspectives of parents on peer influence.

4.2.4.2. Peer influence: "Succumb to friends wishes and whims"

This sub-theme refers to the views of participants on the influences of peer group in the development and behaviour of adolescents. Their perception of peer influence entails bothpositive and negative aspects.

Maryam reported peer influence as her major concerns and described her anxiety on the broadening of the social interaction of adolescents and the influence it has on their behaviour.

.... yeah ... misleading friends... Peer influence is the most concern. This is not the time you choose friends to him [son], you can do it during their childhood. Now you don't know what he is doing.... peers have their own way of being socialized or doing things.

Maryam's perspective signifies the way group influence their peers to come to terms of the groups, that is with their habits and thinking. As the quote from Maryam clearly shows, peer groups use their own expression to win the heart and mind of the would-be members and attract their mates by using phrases and words to influence them, which become a cause for parental anxiety.

.... they consider and call member of their peer who does not behave the way they do and espouse to their lifestyle as "faraa" [literally to mean uncivilized, lag behind his friends] I fear that he will adopt their way of life.... succumb to their whims and desires (F). Parental concern over peer influence did exist even in a relatively cohesive family due to the generation gap. The quote from Zeynab (fam 4) exemplifies how an obedient child is occasionally inclined to follow some aspect of the peer culture which parents might find difficult to accept:

Previously when we say certain kind of style is good and appropriate for him he accepts with little Argument, but now he would like to follow their [peer] fashion. I think only such occasion did reminded me the period of adolescence (F).

She further elaborated the way group influence shapes the attitudes and behaviour of adolescents:

"One time.... I resented about his hair styleand he said , mum you are in 80th and 90th.... [and he further said] if you see those [classmates] in school, mine is nice".

Although some parents did not observe their own adolescent children showing acts of behaviour that could warrant parental anxiety, their concern did emanate from their observation of what other children did, the way they cut their hair, the fashion they follow, and the information they get from other parents, school administrators, neighbors and media outlets.

Sitina (fam 3) established that,

"I didn't observe bad things with them so far, but I fear from the hearsay [that] other teens [in the neighborhood] are affected by it".

Similar to acknowledging the good side of modern media outlets, participants in this study had their fears and concerns on many aspects of peer influence, although they saw the positive side of socialising with peers.

The data show divergent views on peer influence within and across research participants, from prohibition to letting, on grounds of various concerns. Essa's (fam 2) for example, have different attitudes towards peer interaction in terms of its positive and negative influence. While the male encourages peer interaction, the female discourages peer socialisation. He acknowledged the multiple benefits peer socialisation could afford adolescents and testified his will to encourage his son and daughter in this aspect, although he regrets about his son's "lack of interest to socialize".

.... I consistently encourage him (to) interact with his peers... playing out door, allowing them to connect to community, I encourage them to go down town to socialize (to) help expand their perspective. When they interact with their peers I believe it would give them opportunity to learn from each other.... I assume it will contribute for their academic performance.

Sitina (fam 3), while initially encouraging her children to socialise with their peers her account later appeared to contradict her previously taken stance as shown in the quote below.

I instruct my children help their peers to come to goodness I encourage them to mix with them. I grew up with them [with Christian children in the neighborhood] playing and enjoying freely during my childhood. But they do not mix.

"I sometimes do not allow him to go outside Even when I let them go it was with conditions. I do it with ultimatum and they comply with those terms".

Taken together, participants embraced mixed views on peer group influence; some of them recognise the benefit peer socialisation has in terms of sharing ideas and learning from each other and broadening their outlooks through their interaction, others feel scared and worried that the broadening social interaction between adolescents affect Adolescents behaviour negatively, thus being inclined to restrict their interaction and maintain control on them.

4.2.5 Theme 5: Parents' own strength and social networks

This theme refers to the resources parents considered as a strength that complemented their parenting: helped them to teach their adolescents virtuous values and foster moral behaviour. Knowledge of Islam; support from family and relatives; couples' reciprocation; mosques and available Islamic educational programs are the four constituent parts of the main theme.

4.2.5.1 Knowledge of the religion: "helped us guide behavior"

One constituent part discussed by participants as their strength was their knowledge of Islam. Parents shared that their Islamic knowledge and religious beliefs and practices helped them to raise their children in accordance with their cultural and Islamic values. Yassin (fam 1) identified the knowledge of Islam as their strength in helping them foster family values:

"(Knowledge of) the religion helped us a lot; to teach them virtuous behavior and impart how the religious practice protect them from indecency and engage in virtuous behavior that could stick in them" (F).

"The teaching [Islamic] enabled us foster the values we want to see in them and guide and shape [our] them in a direction we aspire them to be....the din [religion] plays this functional role for us" (M).

According to Bahiru (family 3), they prepared for adolescence to carry out what they saw as parental responsibilities:

.... we got prepared for it [parenting knowledge and the religion] which enabled us to teaching them the religion from their early stage, so that they observe their salat [prayer] strictly, not go astray, and be able to develop good personality and embrace the values we espouse them....

One mother (fam 4) described how her knowledge of Islam led her to cultivate religious values in her children and anticipated the reward they receive through teaching p children to be able to recite Qur'an. Zeinab's words prove this fact:

"We wanted them to recite Qur" an from the start.... [with anticipation that they] would elevate our status in Jenna (paradise)".

4.2.5.2. Family and siblings: "Siblings guide one another"

Participants in this study considered the support they got from relatives and extended family members as strength which reinforced their parenting endeavour. Yassin (fam 1) stated how the support their relatives provided them complements the values he and his wife instill in their children.

.... a younger sibling of my wife is committed herself to teach our youth, cultivating values of independence, motivating them to succeed in academic achievement and develop a healthy personality.... (she) complements (our parenting effort) ... at a time of declining community support in child socialisation. I am indebted to her (suppor). She is the major actor.

Correspondingly, Mussema (fam 4) illustrated the support they got from their relatives from time to time as assets:

My brother (always) is around to give advice, telling them (children) about how successful people attain their goals by pointing out their names... I do have support from my cousin as well. They [children] give him respect. He instructs them to read books which he considers relevant for them (F).

Although my father had passed away and mother is weak and too old to [influence much] ... mother in-law contributes a lot by giving advice, conveying messages, [reminding them] the sacrifice we paid as parents in their upbringing..... She did this as part of her effort to make our children grateful [to us]. Other members of family [also contribute] validate and reinforce children's endeavor by pointing at their good quality, [using such phrases, as] "you can do this and that".... "You are the one who can accomplish this"(M).

Participants also regard the presence of cousins and elderly siblings as assets /strengths contributing to their parenting efforts. The following quotes suggest the common response of participants in this regard:

Essa (fam 2) illustrated his expectation of the elder son in teaching the religion:

"....Want them learn the religion in depth, and expect him to (so that he) convey it to his siblings"

Ahmed (fam 5) echoed this stance:

"Their closenesshelped them learn from each other.... the elderly guides and shape behaviors of her younger siblings.... as a result (the latter) develop self- confidence...." (F).

One mother (fam 2) further elaborats how her cousins support one another and consider it as adding strength to parenting of adolescent children.

".... initiate things (the daughter) and striving more to learn from her cousins, going to their house and calling them occasionally to help each other on doing assignments" (F).

Although not strongly mentioned in the participants' account, a few parents indicate some sort of

help they draw from closer friends which they consider were helpful in their parenting, although in general the collective responsibility to rear children which was encouraged in Ethiopianculture in previous generations has been on the decline in the cities.

Parents' perspective suggests that they sought their strength through family su*pport and* viewed siblings and cousins as very important agents of socialisation in the Ethiopian child rearing landscape by playing and complementing parenting; reinforcing good behaviour, and becoming a model for their younger siblings, and thereby reinforce parental effort.

4.2.5.3. Accessibility of Mosque and Madrasahs

Research participants expressed that having mosques in their locality and the presence of Islamic TV channels in recent years helped them to teaching their children the correct belief (aqeedah) and understanding of the religion and maintaining their Islamic values.

(we) sent our son to madrassa (a school teaching religion) on long vacation to recite *Qur*" an and learn to speaking and writing Arabic(M).

The benefits listed through such resources include; their children attend a learning circle, listen to Qur'an commentaries and hadith, and socialise with their fellow Muslim youth.

Parents stated that they also sought support from sheks, Imams, and tutors²⁰, to reinforce the religious development and values of their adolescent children. The excerpt from Yassin (fam 1) and Ahmed (fam 5) represent examples of parents benefitting from these sources to reinforce their socialisation efforts.

I sought the help from a shek to teach my children adab and ahklak [moral and ethical behavior] and sira [history of the accomplishment of the prophet] In their limited time, he teaches them such important values as honoring parents, respecting teachers, developing good behavior and live by the religion (F).

"The Imam from a local mosque comes to our home three times a week and help us study Qur"an and ahadith to enhancing [our] knowledge and enabled us to fostering Islamic values in our children".(M). 4.2.5.4. Reciprocity within couples: "Appreciate her being strict"

Parallel to the support couples sought from each other's family of origin, which was largely community-based, parents reported that their strong relationship and cooperation and opening self to one another helped them keep their family intact and contributed to deterring their adolescent children from bad exposure and outside influence. The example of this experience was found from the interview transcript across the participants. Bahiru (fam 3), for example illustrate how they, as a couple collaborate and discuss issues pertaining to parenting their children and agree on the right approach to follow to guide their children:

When we commit mistake I would discuss with her (wife) to back down and accept those mistakes sometimes we arrange a platform to discuss issues.... Negotiating with my wife, [to] taking modest approach ... I appreciate her strictness, at the same time am concerned that being always strict will disconnect them [from us], that is why I insist being in between [moderate] so that it would work for us (M).

.... my relative used to hide everything about children from her husband Finally they engage in deviant behavior; got addicted to chewing chat, smoking and go astray.... (this) led me to discussing every issues and concerns with him (F).

Similar to Bahiru, Yassin (fam 1) talked about the reciprocal appreciation they have developed as couples, which opened doors to learn and benefit from the wisdom of the other in their parenting journey.

.... The gap[between father and children] created during my absence from home in terms of our interaction was bridged by her [wife] ... I negotiate with her on ways of reconnecting them I appreciate her commitment and zeal in raising our children during my absence.... (M).

He put trust to and depends on me and reinforces my way of raising our children (in distance)... We chat on telephone and exchange ideas about our family whenever need arises in good terms (F).

²⁰ These are a learned clergy, leading prayer at mosque, a knowledgeable person in religion who mentor youth in small groups on moral and ethical behavior respectively under the framework of Islam.

According to Mussema and Zeinab (fam 4), the reciprocal appreciation children observe in their parents makes them accept their values.

"The mutual understanding and closeness we maintained as couples make (our) children obey instruction and accept (our) values".

We did not say this is your job, this is mine... we support each other.... During absence of her [his wife] for outside work, I did bake Injera (indigenous staple food widely consumed across the nation) myself....Children learn when we reciprocate....(M).

Shared environment and similarity of couples' values were one factor considered by some participants as an asset they benefitted from in raising their adolescent children. For example, Zeynab illustrates this in the excerpt that follows:

"(we) were raised in similar social context, we know each other, we share values $\dots(F)$.

Although the strength participants got within and outside was highly supportive and helped them complement their parenting effort, explication of the data reveals low support of the larger community at present.

When the participants were asked about the kind of support they sought beyond their immediate family and relatives with reference to parenting, a few of them expressed their regret and concern of the eroding community support and family interaction with reference to raising adolescent children at present. Essa (*fam 2*) made a contrast between the past and the present to show how a changing social environment led to the declining community support.

"Not only is (difficult) living in the contemporary world.... In the fast paced world people are preoccupied with their own livelihood. For some people it would be out of reach to survive...."

Taken together, participants sought support from their family networks, mosque and extended family in the socialisation process of their adolescent children. The knowledge they acquired through Islamic teaching, the relationship they maintained as couples through their frequent interaction and mutual appreciation further helped them to reinforce their parenting endeavour.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the experiences parents went through in the course of transmitting values to their adolescent children. Through the explication of the interview data, five themes

emerged. These are, prosocial values and self-oriented values, multiple modes of values transmission, experiencing highs & lows in parenting, parental anxiety concerning the digital era, parents' own strength and social resources as parenting assets.

Together with the inherited collectivistic values of obedience, honesty, connectedness, and religiosity, parents embraced and nurtured assertiveness, self-orientation and self-confidence in their adolescent children with the conviction that these values have become more functional among the new generation currently. They promote independence and self-confidence in an effort to encourage their teens to unlock their potential as a bid to enhance their chances of academic achievement and success in their professional career.

Participants experienced a strong interest in both influencing their children's behavior and values as well as responding to their children's developmental interests. In the participants' expressions, parenting techniques aimed at promoting adolescents' development were frequently used. Many participants characterized their key parenting responsibilities as setting example to good behavior, making friends with children, keeping an eye on them, disciplining them when necessary, and monitoring their behavior. Some families took a more controlling approach.

Religion appeared a recurring theme as a point of reference for participants in instilling honesty, obedience, and family connectedness in their children. Although some aspects of modern technology are viewed in positive terms, most of the participants are scared of modern media technology and worried that it would undermine the values cherished by their family and community due to the competing messages and values adolescents are exposed to through the various media landscapes.

The participants reported that the reciprocity and mutual appreciation they developed as couples enabled them to adopt each other's values and ways of managing adolescent children. Participants described the resources they sought from within and outside as a strength that helped them in their parenting endeavour.

Parents' experiences showed that they enjoyed the comradeship they have maintained with their grownups in the overall child outcome in this period of family life cycle, with some disappointment

and sense of bewilderment in their experiences of raising adolescent children. Parents transformed themselves in their thoughts, attitudes, expectations, and parenting behaviors through reflection, mutual negotiation, in order to engage their children and effectively interact with them.

To conclude, the experience of parenthood during the adolescent period of the family life cycle is distinct from the childhood period of parenthood. It is a complex undertaking involving many changes both in the parents' perception of the child and in the relationships they share. This is a period where adolescents are exposed to competing messages and values from outside and begin to question parental values, norms, and expectations which they readily accept during their childhood. Parenting adolescent necessitates a change in both parents and children, moving away from control and prohibition and toward mutuality, increased dialogue, and consultation.

The information presented in this chapter will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five in order to capture the essence of the participants' experience of the values transmission process in raising adolescent children.

Chapter 5

Findings and Discussion

"Parenting is pleasures, privileges, and profits as well as frustrations, fears, and failures". Marc H. Bornstein

Introduction

The current study has attempted to highlight the experiences of Muslim parents as they raise adolescent children, which fall under the broad category of parenting.

Chapter four has imposed structure upon parenting experiences using the rigorous qualitative methodology of IPA, thus enabling a rich account of the experiences of parents. These experiences of parents can be described as multi-faceted, with a mix of different emotions of both positive and challenging dimensions. In this chapter, I present the central findings of the research and discuss them based on my interpretation of the data. These findings are values to be transmitted, means of transmission, moral and ethical behaviours, social cohesion and religious identity, highs and normal lows in parenting experiences, Digitality, contemporary parentalconcerns.

The 6 main findings are structured around five main themes explained in chapter 4, which constitute the content and nature of parenting adolescents. As discussed in chapter 2, ecological systems theory (Bonfenbrenner, 1978, 1986) and social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1988, Colman, 1986) with focus on "Islamic capital" coined by Franchelli and OBrien (2014) will be used to interpret the findings.

I present the findings in accordance with the process of IPA, and the main aspects of the results are discussed and interpreted in relation to the theory and the extant literature. These will be elaborated below in greater detail.

This chapter revisits the main aims of the study, the research questions and outlines the key findings from the research. The research has sought to answer the following research questions:

- What are the experiences of Muslim parents when they transmit cultural /religious values to their adolescent children in Addis Ababa?
- How do Muslim parents transmit their core values to their children?

What are the personal and social resources that helped Muslim parents who I raised their adolescent children?

These research questions will assist in understanding parental experiences and fears and anxiety in an age of uncertainty, a phenomenon among Muslim Ethiopians, which is an area arguably not often been subjected to critical investigation.

The elements and constituents of participant experiences in reality would be interrelated and could overlap with multiple and subtle nuances. In order to highlight significant meanings and differences within and across participants, and to make the discussion more accessible to the reader, this section of the chapter integrates the main findings and sub-headings where appropriate.

5.1. Finding 1: Parental aspiration/Value priorities

Under this finding, first it will be discussed what kinds of values parents cherished dear and why they place a high value on education. It talks about the two key value priorities and aspirations that parents in the study adhere onto their kids, which are secular education and religious knowledge.

Parents placed high importance on both secular and religious education and viewed it a parental duty and responsibility to prepare their adolescent children morally, socially, and mentally for responsible adulthood. Based on the themes (theme 1) and empirical evidence produced in this study, for parents the purpose of education is personal growth, security, and contribution to community.

Participants' explicit mentioning of their decision and choice to place their adolescent children in private schools with an overwhelmingly Muslim student enrollment shows their aspiration of educational goal for their children. Their perspective was that their children would find asupportive learning environment where sound moral values and habits are encouraged through strict school discipline. Their thought was their children have more chances to socializing with peers who come from similar background and adhere to similar values.

These parents have a concern for shaping their adolescent' self-worth and independence which they regard as important to enhance their moral and character development and academic attainment in an increasingly demanding social environment. Their choice to sending their children to private schools where they pay high tuition fees was informed by their desire for quality education for their children, both for academic and moral development.

The fact that parents prioritise academic and religious education as their socialisation goal was apparent in their account exemplified in their commitment to education. For instance, twoparents in two families demonstrated their commitment and involvement in the education of their adolescent children by "investing time and money, neglecting their own interest in favour of the children's education up to a doctorate level" (Yassin fam1), "aspiring to have grown-up children who are socially capable with a comprehensive knowledge that could lead them to prosperous and smooth life" (Bahiru fam 3).

The importance of both secular and religious education²¹, was cherished by parents and considered a tool through which their children would be able to pursue high level careers so that they understand their religion in-depth more through their exposure to scholarship which is oriented towards Islam. This in turn provide them opportunities to develop intrinsic values such as self-growth, connection and serving their families and community (Lekes et al., 2016).

The parents' description of the multiple benefits that education could provide in terms of the moral as well as the material aspect for child upbringing is consistent with a previous study by

²¹ Islam emphasizes on gaining beneficial knowledge, both secular and religious which could afford one to benefit with and serve others, discouraging education which does not have psychological, material and spiritual benefit, just pursued for the sake of fun or mere entertainment. The importance of knowledge has been emphasized repeatedly in the Qur_an as the ultimate source of guidance for Muslims. The Qur_an treats knowledge as a means to reaching Iman (faith) for all Muslims, to becoming true believers (Mamoun, 2009), as demonstrated in various Qur_anic verses. |Allah grants wisdom to whom He pleases and to whom wisdom is granted indeed he receives an overflowing benefit (2:269), and with a verse which challenged human intellect to 'distinguish between knowledgeable and illiterate'- "Are those equal, those who know and those who do not know? It is those who are endowed with understanding that receive admonition" (39:9).

Franceschelli (2013) which suggests the capability of good education in enhancing moral development and serving as a key route to social mobility that will open up opportunities and making life more meaningful by providing clear goals. Franceschelli (2013) in her research among Muslim parents and adolescents in London found that education was viewed by parentsas a means to an end which opened up opportunities for young people in terms of career and life chances. She further noted both formal and religious education to be important components of the contemporary ethics of parenting. Likewise, scholars (Hamdan, 2009; Gulen, 2012) conceived education as a crucial component for Muslim parents hoping to support their kids' intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and physical growth while also developing strong, knowledgeable, and healthy Muslims.

The reason and intention behind stressing on academic achievement seemed to differ from one family to the other. Through their children, some parents wanted to make up for what they had missed. Others want to keep the status quo and beyond, as one participant expressed "we do not want them to lag behind their friends and want them to excel in whatever area they aspire to pursue" (Mussema fam, 4) by providing instrumental, emotional and functional support consistently. For some parents, awareness of the "high professional knowledge and skill" (Bahiru fam, 3) needed youth to get employed in the tight job market in Ethiopia prompts parents to invest more on their education.

As detailed in Chapter 4, the families who participated in the study were from middle class socioeconomic background and relatively educated, therefore, it is not surprising that they mentioned /prioritised values of education and encouraged "self-confidence and independence" (Ahmed fam, 5) to enable their children to have a choice over their education and career, by creating an environment in their micro system where children feel loved and cared and supportedby their parents and teachers.

At the back of the minds of parents, the schools owned by Muslim entrepreneurs would arguably serve a protective function: the fact that these schools are predominantly populated by Muslim students provide opportunities for their children to share similar values and norms and thereby protect them from negative peer influences, it also afford them get further support from teachers at a time of need.

On this issue, for example, Colman (1988) and Grusec and Goodnow (2000) suggest that parents make specific choices to invest in their children's development by choosing private schools to place their children to ensure transfer of knowledge, with the hope that such investment creates the mechanism via which children are socialised, which is more than supervision or control. Support for this result comes from a study by Grusec, Goodnow, and Kuczynski's (2000) which shows that parents restrict their children's encounter by selecting school or neighborhood whenthey feel the surrounding social environment pose competing values for children and influence their behavior negatively.

Likewise, Basit (2012) argues that a loving, caring and supportive environment could give young people the agency to excel in education regardless of the social class in which they are brought up. She extends the theory of social capital to "aspirational capital" to understand the relationship between education outcome and supportive home environment. Within this study, parents' consistent use of their narratives to present their own experiences to motivate their children to pursue their education successfully is in line with Basit's (2012) study which shows parents who even had little education themselves motivate their children to attain educational qualification by telling their stories how they left school and made mistakes, advising them not tomiss opportunities available to them. This supports previous literature (Navara, 2006) which suggest those who were brought up and learned in a supportive home and school environment, that is replete with cultural and social capital were enabled to focus on and enjoyed studying and choosing the subjects that they were good at.

Explication of the data further shows that being economically secured at home gave parents, particularly mothers, the opportunity to be 'at home mothers', although some of them are trained professionally to work outside, so that it enabled them to be closely involved in their children's development. This could be interesting to note that if circumstances allow, mothers with professional qualification preferred to stay at home in favour of raising children even at a time when a growing number of females join the work market leaving children behind to relatives and housemaids. This is in accordance with previous works which suggest that parents who do not

experience economic difficulty were able to be closely involved in their children's growth (Larson et al., 2002).

This study indicates the existence of the link between economic security and parental involvement in a child's education, as evidenced by the engagement of the husbands and two of the mothers in professional work that enabled them to contribute to family income and earned them to enroll their adolescent children in private schools where they pay relatively high tuition fees on a semester basis.

For parents who participated in the study, imparting religious knowledge to their children was a "Crucial thing" they are entrusted with, so that they learn, understand and practise the religion as described and taught in The Qur_an and the prophetic tradition. From the parents' perspective, by not knowing and understanding the correct aqeedah ²² (creed/belief) of the religion they feared that their children could not resist and stay away from groups and individuals who have vested interest with some ulterior motives which would finally lead them to "…succumb to the whims and desires of others" (Yassin fam,1). The shared concern reccurring in parents' discussion revolves around proper religious knowledge with understanding. Examples of responses converging on the importance of religious knowledge include "for us religious knowledge is a crucial thing, if they fear Allah, they will protect themselves from bad exposure such as adultery, sexual abuse, and pornography" (Essa fam, 2) and "we assigned a shek three days a week to teachus Qur'an and hadith in our home to reinforce the values we espouse to our children' (Ahmed fam, 5). The recurring focus by participants on the need for religious education highlights the strong desire and commitment to encourage their teens to study The Qur'an

²² Aqeedah (the Islamic belief system) is built upon six basic pillars: belief in Allah (God), the angels, the prophets, the books revealed to all prophets without distinction between them, and the day of resurrection and the hereafter, and divine decree. Parents fostering firm Aqeedah and eeman in the hearts of their children from the early stage prepare their children learn to have fear and love of Allah simultaneously made trust in Allah. It is said that a child who has developed eeman and piety will makethe job of parenting easier one, the choice that a child makes will come from within, with love and fear of Allah, rather than having to be imposed externally (seemed to be parallel to a psychological concept of - internal locus of control). Although similarto modern psychological concept of reward and punishment which focuses on application on consequences for behavior they are not foundation of parenting in Islam. It is argued that if parents assist their children in developing internal strength, these techniques will rarely be needed, if at all. Bukari, cited in Hamdan (2009).Nurturing Eeman in Children.

beyond the traditional recitation to allow them to understand the meaning of The Qur_an and its application in their daily lives by practising what is ethically and morally right.

From the analysis of the interview data, it emerged that the participants' ambition to foster religiosity in their children serves a variety of protective functions, including keeping kids away from sin and demonstrating the link between religion and success in both this world and the next (Hamdan, 2009). Their perspective is that the children's sincere obedience to Allah (God) will extend itself to respect and obedience to parental guidance, lead them to acts of benevolence, and inspire them to "think beyond self", which prepares them to engage in activities that benefit the community.

Muslim parents' experiences of values transmission to their adolescent children seems to focus on fostering pro-social values and self-oriented values which could explain parental hopes and goals to see their children morally upright and academically strong and successful in their future careers.

5.2. Finding 2: Modes of Transmission

Parents discussed the several techniques of transmission they adopted to transfer the cultural and religious values they believed would help them maintain their impact on their adolescent children in addition to explaining the values that they fostered in their adolescent children under theme 1.

In this section, I will discuss the modes/the strategies that Muslim parents adopt to transmit their values to their adolescent children. Emerged from theme 2, these strategies were brought together into four overarching communication methods - described as modelling appropriate behaviour, monitoring & control, negotiation/dialogue, and befriending children, which were central in dictating the parents' day to day actions and formed the finding under this section.

5.2.1. Modelling /teaching appropriate behaviour

Parents teach their children both through direct and indirect means. While they adopt preaching and admonition as direct approaches - verbally they are inclined to and depend more on indirect methods such as modeling behaviours to influence the behaviour of their adolescent children and transfer their values and norms to them. The means they use to demonstrate the importance of virtuous values, for example, include setting example through the love they show each other as couple's, fulfilling /keeping promises, giving out charity to the needy, strengthening ties with relatives to exhibit the importance of connectedness, and engaging in benevolent acts. Parents are informed by the religion to set example of good behaviour to nurture good conduct and character in their children.

In other words, parents must establish clear standards for behavior and boundaries on the values they cherish and communicate those values to their adolescent children through their consistent behaviors.

The finding from this subheading suggests that parents conceived the idea that —before telling children to do something, we should do it first ourselves! (Yassin fam, 1 and Essa family, 2), considering that their actions are far more powerful than their words. As it will be elaborated later, for parents, being a role model is the most effective way to transfer a sense of family connectedness and other values they have cherished the most. Evidence is found in the literature to suggest that modelling outweighs didactic methods such as preaching and admonition in effecting attitude and behaviour change. Likewise, Bandura's (1977;1986) social learning theory stipulates that parents who model supportive behaviours increase the likelihood that their children will, in turn, adopt those behaviours with their peers, teachers, and others. Goodnow, Miller, & Kessel (1995), suggest that parents' use of modelling serve an effective socialisation method and enhance bonding and relationship.

When parents behave in a consistent manner their children witness, learn and acquire a wide range of behaviors, feelings and attitudes through observing (Santrock, 2011) and that these observations form an important part of their development. The next sub-heading discusses the other strategies parents adopt to communicate and convey their messages to their adolescents.

5.2.2. Communication / consultation / dialogue

In the course of parenting, parents realise that the relationship between parent/s and adolescents requires a new form of interaction, that is from vertical relationship, where parents command and children simply obey and conform to their expectation to a horizontal one a more collective

discussion-based decision-making style (Sheridan & Peterson, 2010). Parents utilise both verbal communication and symbolic communication when communicating their children, while the former is expressed in dialogue, the latter is symbolic and indirect, as elaborated earlier where teaching often occurred through modelling.

Participants frequently highlighted shura (consultation/negotiation) (see to footnote 2) in the context of parents being "tolerant and liberal," communicative, and compromising with their adolescents.

Instead of having the last word as they did during their childhood, parents in this study were aware of the adolescents' need for autonomy, and were inclined to employ a combination of communication approaches which involve conversation and negotiation, and advice. Participants in three families expressed that they held shura (consultation) on weeknights on a regular basis and two families held it intermittently. Parents described the benefit the family got from such family platforms and its objectives. "They ask and express their ideas, present their own agenda "(Bahiru fam, 3), "we have weekly shura to discuss issues freely and they (children) would argue and even correct mistakes during the discussion" (Ahmed fam, 5). The finding is in line with previous research which outlines the benefit Shura provides for reaching consensus on issues salient for those engaged in it (Ahsan, 2022; Aziz, 2017). Ahsan (2022) reasoned that Shura within the families strengthens the family unit and creates a culture of inclusive decision making, cultivates confidence and nurtures a trusting relationship and bonding within the family, which is in line with Putnam's (1991) theoriztion that these elements are important prerequisites to the formation of social capital.

A prior study that emphasizes the importance of family time in nourishing and building bonds within the family (Izzah Nur Aida Zur Raffar et al., 2021; Covey, 1997) is supported by parents' perceptions of the benefits of shura. Izzah Nur Aida and colleagues (2021) stressed on and encouraged parents to cultivate the idea of Shura (consultation) and mutual deliberation (mushawarah) with their children and adopting reprimand and punishment occasionally to manage the behaviour of children within the framework of the religion.

Steven Covey (1997), in his seminal book, 'The 7 Habits of Highly Effective Families', explains principle-centered family relationships and promotes having family time that is focused on being a family once a week. According to Covey (1997), Family time fosters connection, increases the family's "emotional bank account," and makes everyone "feel invested" in the family. Phrased differently, family time provides parents the opportunity to teach basic principles of life by sharing their experiences which enable everyone in the family to feel content with what othersin the family are doing during the week.

What is emerged from the findings is that children are sometimes allowed to express their ideas, even to argue, as some parents indicate, which may be contradictory to the parents' own experiences of childhood when they had no voice. Parents' perspective was that participating in the Shura, created the impression that children's voices got heard and afforded parents with a "middle ground position" (Bahiru fam, 3) to maintain a smooth relationship within the family. Similar to the interpretations made in this subheading, Akyil, (2012) suggested that parents negotiate with their adolescent children to find the middle ground and become satisfied with partial compliance to balance relationship with autonomy. The findings in this section contribute to the existing literature by providing the meaning and the benefit shura provides in the family context.

Some scholars observe a protective role of consultation for parents who practise it in the family in terms of helping children to feel grown-up, responsible and trustworthy (Hamdan, 2009), deterring youth from engaging in risky behaviours such as less involvement in tobacco and alcohol use as they are closely attached to parents and listen to their parents' advice (Goldberg- Looney et al., 2015; Tobler & Komro, 2010).

Furthermore, having positive parent-child communication is specifically essential for adolescents' healthy development and academic success (Hill, Witherspoon, & Bartz, 2016).

These findings which emerged from the communication mode theme suggest that as children got physically and psychologically matured parents realised adolescents' tendency to try to 'push the button' in their bid to autonomy, to show that they are matured and feel independent, which require parents to transform themselves to accommodate children's perspective on one hand and make sure that they are in control on the other hand. The perspective of participants within this

study alludes to the fact that they consider parenting as team work, their adolescent children as partners in the parenting trajectory (Hill, Bromell, Tyson, & Flint, 2007).

The participants' perspective is that parenting is not a reproduction of their own experiences as adolescent, but rather conceived as a critical engagement with their children in light of the ever changing circumstances and social milieu in which adolescents are raised. Much of this can be attributed to the participants' level of education, which influenced their worldviews and how to adjust to conditions in a technologically advanced age.

However, for parents who were brought up in a different social and cultural environment where obedience was a primary goal of parenting and an important trait, it seemed reasonable to think that it would take parents time to reassess and readjust to what is working at present. The changing condition, however, necessitates parents' awareness of the developmental needs of adolescents and their continued interest in equipping themselves with knowledge and skills on parenting, through workshops/trainings (see footnote 3), attending seminars commissioned by schools. Furthermore, parents continued interest to understand religion pertaining to proper child rearing practices apparently led some of them to adjust their parenting practices within the framework of Islam.

The present study shows that parents influence children's psychological and social development significantly through their quality of communication and closer interaction at this period of the family life cycle. This is in line with the ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986), which considers home as proximal environment, which plays a crucial role in influencing the development of children.

5.2.3. Befriending children

Another method parents use to keep their families together and help their adolescents feel connected to one another is becoming friends with kids and spending time with them.

Befriending children is demonstrated in different ways within the study. Some participants reported that they spend time with children "by taking them out and entertaining them at a hotel" occasionally as a bid to show their attachment and care for them. Others, "accompany them

along with their peers on Sunday's to watch films together", yet a few of them spare weekends to be with them by declining to accept invitation from friends, and reading Qur'an together.

From their perspective parents assume that being friends with their children and getting them closer would strengthen the bond and nurture their development and strengthen family connection. It appears that befriending adolescent children would serve multiple benefits for parents and children. It *encourages adolescents to openly disclose* themselves to parents, accompany them to mosque, receptive to parental advice "….. you may not believe they are mother and children when you see them playing together" (fam 4). This finding is consistent with the tend-and befriend hypothesis (Gunnar, 2017) which posits that 'maternal emotional tending' may shape children's ability to cope with mental health issues such as daily stressors.

5.2.4. Monitoring & control

The subheading of monitoring & control explores parents' efforts of gaining knowledge of their children_s behaviour and the way they supervise them to make sure that they are safe from exposure that affects their moral behaviour and development. The results from this subtheme has highlighted monitoring and control as parental legitimate duties after fulfilling the emotional and material needs of their children.

Parents' monitoring activities include knowing the child's activities inside and outside of home, the TV programs they watched, the websites they serf and the amount of time they spent on the computer, whether homework is completed before watching TV, periodically visiting the school to track their school progress and attending 'open school day' event to talk with teachers on the yearly academic results/ attainment. Such parental monitoring, support, and control stance is in line with the research findings which suggest parental proactive practices, such as attempting to pre-empt potentially conflicting values messages coming from outside that become more prominent during adolescence (Padilla-Walker & Thompson, 2005; Padilla-Walker, 2006).

Fear of bad exposure to outside environment and concern for their wellbeing and the safety of children made some of the parents to conduct monitoring in a more meticulous manner than others, as remarked by one mother (Bahiru fam, 3), "I follow every bit of their actions, did not allow him to go outside at times". When the mother allowed him, it was with conditions.

For parents who participated in the study, fear of letting children to do what they like would partially emanate from the view that they " come back with some negative experiences" and partly this will be a result of conceiving adolescents as 'immature and still children'.

Although parents are naturally inclined to take the responsibility to protect their children, some parents later realise that the way they structure children's time schedule would "constrain their physical movement". These parents, adopt alternate approach to fill their adolescents' time in some activities, for example by placing them in –gym on weekends (Ahmed fam, 5), instead of blocking their movement entirely. By doing this parents feel (which they later) appreciate " that their children "breakaway" from watching films that occupy their productive time and ease parents' anxiety arising from constant viewership of films and satellite TVs.

The finding, namely "monitoring and control," expands on literature findings examining the need for parental control over technology use and peer association as an effective way to keep children from "losing their path" (fam 2, 3, 5), which is to say from becoming involved with people, lifestyles, or circumstances that could "distance them from their tradition and Islam" (fam 1). Not "going astray," in the eyes of parents, grew to include more than just abstainingfrom drugs, alcohol, and other vices; it also implied honesty in one's words and deeds, as well as a particular attitude that represented "modesty" (fam 1).

Interestingly, parents reported that their children stay away from bad companionship, come home at specific time and perform daily rituals such as doing prayer on time. The study did not speak to children to determine whether they observed the obligatory prayer in school or outside the school yard on time, given that children spend the majority of their day at school and encounter many distracting circumstances in their environment, so it could be argued to take the words of parents at face value and consider their claim necessarily 100% true.

The present study is consistent with a previous study which suggested the importance of monitoring as a key element in effective parenting and the most consistent predictors of both positive child development and the avoidance of problematic behavior (Crouter & Head, 2002). Likewise, Dishion, Patterson, Stoolmiller, and Skinner (1991) have documented in Darling(2007) the association of parental monitoring with reduced levels of problem behaviour and

higher levels of adult approved activities. Conversely, low parental monitoring is associated with membership in high-risk peer groups.

From an ecological systems theory perspective, the benefits of monitoring are amplified for two parent families (two biological parents), where mothers had more than high school education (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). For Bronfenbrenner, promotive processes would have the greatest effect on positive outcomes of environments with the great resources and for individuals, in this case, adolescents who had the greatest ability to take advantage of those resources, in intact families where both parents are present and share responsibilities and are actively involved in their children_s education.

Dishion & McMahon, (1998); Laird, Pettit, Dodge, & Bates (2003) conclude that parental monitoring, as a form of behaviour control that includes attention to and tracking of youths_ whereabouts, activities, and friends, is necessary for effective parenting at any age, particularly for adolescents (Hetherington, 1993; Steinberg, 1986). Parents use their power and authority to check or regulating influences coming from outside to help children maintain their identity as close as possible to their family, cultural and religious heritages (Franchelli, 2013). From the parental perspective taking a controlling stance involves not just 'protection' of culture and 'maintenance' of tradition, but it also serve to instill a sense of morality that enable children to distinguish right and wrong according to a specific system of values (Franchelli & Brien, 2014).

It should be noted that adolescents would not always receive monitoring warmly particularly when they feel it as controlling and a parental interference in their personal affair, as one father (Essa fam, 2) recollects his son's reaction to his constant monitoring "you suspiciously watch me!...", which requires parents make balance /distinguish between parental domain of authority with teens personal Jurisdiction, so that monitoring would be received warmly by adolescents (Smetana, 2011).

Adolescents would complain of parents' constant monitoring when they perceive it as evasion of their privacy / intrusion in their state of affairs which they oftenconsider comes within their personal jurisdiction. Within this study parents are aware of theimportance of keeping a warm relationship with children to facilitate values transmission in the family by making their children voluntarily accept values which would allow self-regulated action in accordance with the expectations of parents and others (Barni et al., 2011). Furthermore, parents are keen to see their children be similar to their value through their supervision and setting example in their behavior (Grusec & Lytton, 1983).

Gender is an important variable that determines the pattern of communication between the different dyads in the family. In the context of monitoring /control, gender differences did seem to be particularly relevant as parents tended to be worried and concerned partly due to their view that boys are more inclined to independence and thus they become stricter with sons than their daughters, although in some cases they did not allow the latter to come home late while tolerating sons coming late.

5.3. Finding 3: Moral and ethical behaviour (ahklaq)²³

Based on the data constitutive in theme 1, other- oriented & self-oriented values (chapter 4), the second finding is formulated to answer RQ1-experiences of transmitting values. The finding highlighted the importance parents place on fostering values of honesty and obedience, an important moral and ethical behaviour parents want to develop in their adolescent children.

The participants within the present study expressed that honesty and obedience values are the traits they wanted their children to develop the most. These values also comprise personalitytraits such as decency and proper demeanour in other social contexts with more of relational aspects representing moral and ethical behaviors.

By emphasizing the importance Muslim parents place on these attributes and how they are fostered in their children's development, this finding, the moral and ethical behavior, contributes to the literature.

Being aware of a potential unhealthy psychosocial and physical environment at present, parents hoped that instilling obedience and honesty would encourage children to listen to their advice and engage in pro-social behaviour in accordance with Islamic teachings which detests watching materials and images containing explicit sexual content. In chapter two and four the impact of

²³ Refer to footnote 14

new technology on parenting and the concerns of parents pertaining to media influence on parentchild relationship was discussed in length. The finding from this sub-theme indicates that parents are concerned and worried about their children's exposure to pornography through easy access to internet, films and entertainments media (see those section for details). One of the mainissues participants highlighted was adolescents are coming in contact with bad habits such as addictive substances and early sexual debut which parents feel strongly affect parent - child relationships. This was a focal point for 8 of the 10 participants, and examples of their responses included "we fear that it pushes them away from their din" (Religion) (Yassin fam, 1) and "we are alarmed with current condition that they will get addicted to films, may show indecent practices strictly forbidden in Islam" (Ahmed fam, 5). The recurring focus by participants on the need to foster obedience and honesty values demonstrates the pervasiveness of virtuous character to keep adolescents from sexual intimacy before marriage and experimenting drugs and engagingin acts of indecency.

From a parental point of view obedient and honest children are open and receptive to parental guidance and instruction and inclined to disclose their whereabouts and their day's activities and focus on their academic education. As one father (Yassin fam, 1) asserted: "they will succeed in education and remain upright and behave nicely when they follow parental instruction".

Parents commonly refer to Qur'an and hadith in "fostering virtues in children from early stage of life", which they regarded as their social capital, through which their child rearing practices was informed by it largely.

The present study is consistent with previous work conducted among the Central American mothers and Palestinian mothers living in diaspora which found that parents were more likely to express long-term socialisation goals that emphasise the traditional values of obedience and honesty known as proper demeanour and decency respectively in their context (Leyendecker et al., 2002; Hamayel, 2018).

Correspondingly, Berhan's (2016) research on one ethnic group among parents who raise adolescent children in Addis Ababa found that parents prioritise obedience as a cherished value and wanted their children to continue to be obedient so that their goals of protecting their children from external influences could be achieved, with the hope that their children might accept and act within the boundaries of exposure and social interaction set by their parents. Similarly, a study conducted in South Africa shows that parents endorse the value of honesty in their parenting of adolescent children, although they admitted the *negative effect* of deceit on their relationship occasionally (Dunkley, 2013).

Some researchers look into the connection between honesty and the social environment ²⁴ in which kids are raised (Bureau et al., 2014). They found that autonomy-supportive environments are linked to the encouragement of adolescents' identification with the honesty value. According to some researchers, parents who promote their children's autonomy create an environment where children see advantages to being truthful and disadvantages to lying (Lekes et al., 2011). This is demonstrated in the current study, and adds a value to the literature that is regarded as a prized personality attribute that Muslim parents want to instill in their children.

The finding elicited from this subheading suggests that the home environment where parents provide warmth and support lead adolescents to accept parental values and norms as their own. This finding is in accord with a previous study which suggests that adolescents reared in a family environment where parents grant autonomy and let perspectives of children tend to hold the value of honesty (Bureau & Mageau, 2014). Similarly, Cumsille et al. (2010) submits that parents play a major role in influencing their adolescents' personal integrity. For example, adolescents who believe that parental authority is legitimate are less likely to lie to their parents (Cumsille et al., 2010). However, this does not mean that adolescents never lie. They tend to lie in some circumstances, and hold information within themselves. When parents are controlling and do not providewarmth, adolescents become aware of how costly sharing truthful information with their parent could be which make them reluctant to disclose the truth or become less honesty (Bureau & Mageau, 2014).

²⁴ Ecological systems theory looks at a child's development within the context of the system of relationships that form his or her environment. The complex —layersl of environment defined by Bronfenbrenner's theory, have an effect on a child's development. The theory insisted that in order to study a child's development one must look not only at the child and her immediate environment, but also at the interaction of the larger environment as well. Retrieved file:///C/My%20Documents/My%20Webs/Bronfnebrenner%20webquest/index.htm (1 of 4) [7/12/2001 6:36:39 PM] Dede Paquette – John Ryan.

In another words, in this context an adolescent's decision to lie will be influenced by the fear of behavioural consequences such as being punished and fear of losing the parent's affection (Darling et al., 2006).

The proclivity to embrace obedience and honesty, has been consistent with religious beliefs that find its origin in the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition that emphasize the imperative of parental authority and leadership and children's obedience to authority. Halstead (2007) in his review of the sacred book found that honesty, obedience, justice, integrity, benevolence, and gratitude are among the virtues taught in the Qur'an, which are conceived as important factors in the formation of social capital (Sulasmi & Agussani, 2021).

By emphasizing the importance Muslim parents place on these attributes and how they are fostered in their children's development, this finding, the moral and ethical behavior, contributes to the literature. The value they placed on obedience and honesty may have been in line with long-held religious, philosophical, and familial convictions that teach children that virtues like integrity, fortitude, and respect for others are more important than things like money or intelligence and will help them understand what it truly means to be fully human.

5.4. Finding Four: Social cohesion and religious identity

The finding 'social cohesion ²⁵ and religious identity' formed from theme 5, 'parental social capital/assets' which comprises three subheadings, was considered salient for parents participating in the study. The following section further elaborates on these findings.

5.4.1. Connectedness

The present study suggests that parents valued connection to family and relatives an important virtue which they want to maintain.

²⁵ From a social science perspective, Islam continues to retain comparative advantages in terms of social cohesion as a result of its application of the Five Pillars of Islam. Believers' testimony of one God (Allah) and Muhammad (peace be upon him) as His Prophet supports unity and social cohesion among believers. Five times a day of obligatory congregational prayer foster oneness in behavior and attitudes, which is conducive to the stronger development of social cohesiveness. Ramadan, when Muslims fast, offers an additional chance to strengthen social ties. Divergences of race and color (Hamza...) are put aside in this fraternity of faith that joins all Muslims in one vast brotherhood during the Hajj, which brings together people of all races from the four corners of the globe to worship, in all humility, one single God. So, it's arguable to say that the Hajj is more set up or placed than other religions to foster social togetherness (Schumm and Kohler,).

These values were evidently related to preserving family and cultural connectedness through encouraging adolescents establish religious identity, observedaily rituals such as pray and recite the Qur'an both privately and collectively at home,participate in holy days/festivals (the two Eids) and celebrating the birthday of prophet Muhammed (peace be upon him) privately at home and/or in public, encouraging participation invarious Mosque activities. As mothers from two families (Bahiru fam 3, Mussema fam 4) put it, we encourage them (boys) to accompany their fathers to mosque to congregational prayer and listen to hadith and Qu'ran Tefsir (translation and commentary). Some parents also set Haleka (learning circle) in their home where family members study Qur'an and Hadith together in a specified time, often in the evening and weekends.

Presence of such opportunities in and outside of the home provides youth the opening to come closer to the religion and equip themselves with the knowledge and belief needed to embrace religious values and adhere to them in a family context and at the community level. Parents, especially fathers, encourage their sons to accompany them to the mosque to observe congregational prayer, as praying at mosque in group is obligatory for males. In the parents' mind, adolescents learn about the religion, engage in community work and contribute to the welfare of the society when they are connected to the family and religious institution.

The findings of the present study support previous work (Akyil, 2012) which claimed that parents prioritize family connection as a treasured value for their children. In his research with an 'upper – middle class Turkish family', Akyil (2012) found that parents provide their children unconditional love, respecting one another's role at home and are approachable to children in order to foster family cohesion, which allows for the transmission of values and lowers the likelihood of adolescent children becoming disengaged.

Explication of the data suggests that while parents within the study were constantly balancing the need to hold on to the values they adopted from their family of origin and transfer them to their children, they made the effort to adapt to some of the new generation's values which were often clashing with each other in the context of changing social environment. The findings corroborate with recent scholarship which challenges the bifurcation of value systems and associated goals, highlighting the likelihood of the coexistence of collectivistic–individualistic values within individuals and societies (Catherine S. Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Kagitcibasi (1996) in her

"Autonomous relational self" or family change model observes that developmental goals such as emotional interdependence can coexist with developmental goals such as economic independence within a given family system. Other scholars insist that autonomy does not imply separateness (Nauck & Kohlman, 1999). Smetana (2002) notes that although European-American children expect and assert earlier autonomy than Mexican, Asian-American and African-American children, children in all cultures value autonomy.

Finally, Kagitcibasi (2007) concluded that autonomy and relatedness coexist in Turkey, known predominantly as a collective society and in other developing world. This is noted within the present study where parents gave high importance to social cohesion expressed through multiple levels, where parents' concern is their children to be part of the family unit as long as they live within the family home `(micro level), strengthening kinship ties (meso-level), and their engagement with community (macro levels) such as involvement in mosque activities.

To sum up, the importance of social cohesion is exemplified with participants' responses from families: "we made periodic visit to relatives to strengthen kinship ties" (fam 5) along with endorsing children's –standing in their own two feet", indicating parental aspiration to see their children connected to family, at the same time grow and mature to assert themselves to do things independently.

5.4.2. Knowledge of Islam

Participants in the study viewed their knowledge of Islam as strength advantage that aided them in their efforts to raise adolescent children.

Compared to the previous generation youth at present have access to alternative sources for information and religious knowledge. They can learn from video, TV platforms, Halaka (group learning circle), published books, and online platforms. Parents' awareness of the existence of these learning platforms made them encourage their adolescents to learn and benefit from these sources in order to develop religiously, cognitively, and socially.

Parents' account suggest that they engaged themselves in pursuing Islamic knowledge constantly

to expand and deepen their religious knowledge as exemplified by a participant "We sought the help of the imam (leader) from the mosque to teach us Qur'an and hadith three days a week to strengthen our emman (belief)" (Ahmed fam, 5) as a bid to equip themselves with needed knowledge with intention to guide their children perform the daily rituals such as observing salat (prayer), one essential component of the principles of Islam, next to the declaration of the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him).

The present study's findings support previous works done by Jasmin (2018) on the challenges and strengths of Muslim parents with respect to raising children to adhere to Islamic teachings and values. Jasmin (2018) found that parents benefitted largely from their Islamic knowledge in America which influences their children to keep their Islamic values and tradition along with the support from mosque and Islamic educational programs, family and friends, and technology.

For the research participants religion does not only serve as a source of knowledge (content) but also as a means (process) for transmitting values and norms to children (Franceschelli, 2013). One parent commented: "the din (religion) is a crucial issue for us", suggesting their awareness on the pervasiveness of "having beneficial knowledge as a compulsory pursuit on believers".

Parents feel that when they got equipped with the knowledge and essentials of the religion they teach their children with confidence so that children possess useful knowledge for the -benefit of developing self, changing their environment, as well as serving the community" (Bahiru fam, 3). In this line, for families that participated in the study, religious knowledge plays a 'functional role' to cultivating, nourishing and molding their children.

Finally, Hamdan (2009]) from her review of the Qur'an found that Islam requires parents to take care of the physical, psychological, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual development of their children as their primary duties. Equipping oneself with knowledge and providing education for their children are compulsory on the part of parents, in all of this with the goal of raising healthy, knowledgeable, morally upright, and strong children.

Existing theory and practice may help understand the reason why parents stress on religion in their parenting endeavour. I discussed the salience of religion for parents and family and its relationship

with parenting by focusing on the Islamic context in chapter two (Ream and Savin- Williams, 2006; Chauhury, 2008; Hamdan, 2009; krauss et al., 2012; Franceschelli, 2013; Bowieet al., 2017). In their review of the literature on attachment theory, Ream and Savin- Williams (2006) posit that the quality of adolescents' relationships with their parents consistently determine the effectiveness of parental religious socialisation. Support for this assertion comes

from Franceschelli's (2013) study among Muslim population. Drawing from Bourdieu's social capital theory she extended the concept to "Islamic capital" to 'understand the specific role of Islam as a resource for parenting'.

Franceschelli & Brien (2014) found that Islam was a unique and a salient source of support for parents, a determinant of the family as a unit as it created a sense of sharing through setting out common values and by bringing family members together. These results are reflected within the present findings, where parents expressed their hopes and determination to continue _using the religion to foster cherished religious values in their children' (Mussema fam, 4) to help them develop good personality and become a source of pride to the family and contributing member of the community.

Expanding on this finding, Smith (2007) concurs that Islam as a religion provides individuals and families with prescribed schemas that promote the creation of meaning through relatively structured rituals and narratives that synthesise existence.

5.4.3. Extended family and social support as parental assets

Participants in this study reported the support they got from their relatives and other family members as asset which helped them as a resource in raising their adolescent children. The support parents drew from relatives sometimes might be unsolicited, simply come with goodwill and a sense of family obligation, wanting to see morally upright and virtuous children. The kind of support parents got from the relatives, family, and siblings differ in content and form from one another. Some parents benefit from their own siblings through teaching their teens directly, nurturing values of independence, inspiring them to succeed in academic achievement anddevelop a healthy personality.

Grandparents and mothers in-law also reinforce parenting by offering guidance, communicating significant and appealing messages which remind adolescent children of the sacrifices parents would make for their development and reminding them to be appreciative of their parents.

This finding is consistent with Krayem's (2015) research among parents in diaspora which described that parents had a better sense of community and support system at home before they migrated to foreign land and acknowledged the enormous role extended family, friends and neighbors played in raising their children.

A growing body of literature documented the influence of extended family and broader support networks in influencing parenting and the wellbeing of young people (Agampodi, Agampodi, Glozier & Sirrbaddana, 2015; Bledsoe & Sow, 2011). Degbey (2012) and Adinlofu (2009) found that the extended family as a cohesive unit fulfills emotional needs along with economic, social and psychological security to all its members.

An ecological systems theory and social capital theory could help us understand the role of multiple agents in child socialisation. The ecological systems theory (1986) recognises that besides parents, extended family members such as grandparents, siblings, uncles, and aunts playa role in child socialisation (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003).

Parents' depiction of the support they sought from immediate family members and extended family to reinforce their parenting is consistent with Colman's (1992) conception of family's internal and external social capital. The presence of parents at home, and strong bonds between parents and children contribute to the formation of the family's internal social capital. Family's external social capital is reflected in parents' social relations network in the society and their strong ties with relatives, and friends (Colman, 1992).

This idea of community stake in child rearing is strengthened by the African proverb which says that, 'a single hand cannot nurse a child' (Mluleki Mnyaka & Mokgethi Motlhabi, 2005; Poovan, 2005). This is in accordance with the philosophy contained in African way of life, Ubuntu, which subscribes to positive child rearing practices and encourages strong kinship bonds, favourable attitude towards the elderly, and respect to humanity.

A renowned African scholar Mbiti (1989:108) concludes: "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am". Something similar to 'we-ness' rather than 'I' in Ethiopia, a common attitude and belief embedded in the culture, although some of the community fabrics once encouraging collective support are on the decline due to global and social change in the country particularly in large cities.

In sum, multiple agents involved in child rearing in the African context, as such the responsibility of taking care of the child is the duty of the biological parents, family, relatives, and other community members in the African context, as the adage runs "It takes a village to raise a child" (Power, 2013:90).

An exposition of the interview data suggests that in addition to religious knowledge and support parents sought from extended family members, the personal resources within the marriagehelped them in their parenting journey. Examples of responses which signify presence of elements of social capital within the family include "he put trust on me and we discuss on parental issues often" (Yassin fam, 1), "... we do not say this is your work, that is my duty, we complement each other", (fam 4), "we hold discussion within ourselves when we need to fix some problems, not unilaterally take action with regard to discipline" (Bahiru fam, 3).

Acknowledging the benefit of personal resources within the family in parenting children highlights participants' awareness that working as a team and making strong commitment would enable parents to share responsibilities and ease the burden and create a sense of belonging which would lead to fulfillment and success in parental endeavour.

The participants' perspective was that the mutual support they maintain as well as _growing up in similar social environment' with shared 'religious belief and family background' was the personal and social resources which helped them "transmit Islamic values" (Bahiru fam, 4 and Ahmed fam, 5), and learn from and adopt each other's parenting approaches appropriate to the developmental needs of adolescent children. This finding is consistent with previous literature (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981) which suggests that similarity of values between parents leadsto a more intense transmission of values. Although some research (Kasser, 2011a) suggests that perceived parental value congruence more influences adolescents' acceptance of parental values than the actual value

congruence between parents, it is still true that a value is more successfully transmitted to the child when it is reinforced by both parents. Parents in the current study initially differed in some ways. They had "affected each other's values" over time through mutual appreciation and learning from one another, and they had merged their efforts to produce a synthesis.

Participants further reported that the personal resources which constitute the 'trust' and the good habits of listening they have developed to other's point of view as couples, contributed to their "children's acceptance of parental values". This also helped parents keep their family intact and deterring their children from bad exposure and outside influence. This finding is in line with a previous study (Olson & DeFrain, 2000) which suggested that a couple's commitment, appreciation and affection for one another and letting the other know this regularly was observed in cohesive families. Similarly, Stinnett and his colleagues (Stinnett, Sanders & DeFrain, cited in Olson & DeFrain, 2000) in their 20 years of study among families in USA and in more than 25 countries around the world found six major qualities universally present in strong families which include commitment, appreciation and affection, and spending time together.

Further explication of the data reflect the mutual appreciation and support parents maintain as couples helped them raise their children effectively and keep their relationship smooth. Olson & DeFrain (2000) conclude that 'positive feelings tend to snowball in the context of family'. If the mother feels good about herself, she will be more likely to say kind words to her husband, and when the latter feels good he is especially nice to the children.

To sum, family and social support and mutuality between parents provide parents the resources and determination to successfully navigate parenting trajectory in Muslim families.

5.5. Finding 5: Experiencing highs and normal lows.

In this section, I will discuss the meaning that the period of adolescence gives to parents and the positive and challenging experiences they went through in raising adolescent children. The findings suggest that parents find raising adolescent children (more of) a rewarding, excitable and delightful experience with some challenging but constant learning experience. The following sections expand on the findings that emerged from theme 4, in the previous chapter.

5. 5.1. Ambivalent understanding of adolescence

Participants in this study understand and perceive adolescence both in affirmative and negative terms. Commonly shared characterisation of adolescence among the participants include viewing adolescents as a difficult period to manage, a challenging period to parents as well as to adolescent themselves.. While retaining their conception of adolescence in a negative light, participants however, acknowledge the positive side of this period by pointing out those qualities/ characteristics they found in the adolescents.

Participants referred to both positive and negative instances that influenced their understanding of adolescence. Their perspective suggests their understand of adolescence in complex and contradictory ways which seemed to be informed by the culture in which they were brought up and the media portrayal of youth.

Although the focus of the present study was much broader than the somewhat dated debate over the conceptualization of adolescence as a "storm and stress" or –harmonious period" (Spring et al., 2002), this subheading appears to be an appropriate starting point for a discussion of the present findings due to the fact that the parental perspective on this debate has received so little attention. In addition, certain elements of the parental experience identified in this study (e.g., bewilderment and disappointment) would appear to relate to the storm and stress versus harmonydiscussion.

The present finding is partially in line with earlier research that represent adolescence in both a positive and negative light, but is inconsistent with works that only exhibit youth in a negative perspective.

Contrary to early conceptions of the "storm and stress" of adolescence (Hall, 1904), participants in this study frequently expressed their positive experiences with little difficulty recalling positive parental experiences than the negative ones (Wagner, 1994). Portraying youth exclusively in a negative manner goes back to early philosophers such as Aristotle, Socrates, and Rousseau to Hall (1928). Aristotle indicated that youth are part of a society —heated by nature asdrunken men by winel, cited in Arnett (1999). Likewise, Socratus, cited in Arnett (1999) categorised youth as groups inclined to 'contradict their parents and tyrannise their teachers'.

The 19th century psychologist, Hall (1904) adopted such views a century later when writing his 'Magnum opuses on youth development. According to Hall, storm and stress was characteristic of adolescent and the source of it is entirely biological in nature. Hall posits that adolescence is a turbulent time charged with conflict and mood swings but acknowledged the storm and stress as 'more likely to occur in the USA of his day than older lands with more conservative traditions', cited in Arnett (1999). However, the historically dominant psychoanalytic conceptualisation of adolescence as a storm and stress period has been widely challenged by the current scholarship (Steinberg, 1990; Arnett, 1995).

Parents expressed their understanding and perception of adolescents in positive and negative terms within the present study. Much of their perception and understanding about adolescence presumably was informed by the attitude embedded in the culture, the adage goes 'youthfulness is a fire stage' and the media portrayal of youth involved in criminal activities, violence and the information they heard from their neighbor who constantly complain about adolescents' behaviour. The finding is parallel to a local study carried out in previous years (Dereje, 1986) which found out mixed attitudes about youth. Dereje's (1986) study among three ethnic groups in Ethiopia on the linguistic and the parable articulated by adults pertaining to young people found out that 2/3 of the study participants use negative expression of young people, while 1/3 ofthem had a positive conception of youth.

Support for such assertion comes from some scholars (Feldman & Elliott, 1990) who suggest that public attitudes about adolescence emerge from a combination of personal experience and media portrayals, neither of which produces an objective picture of how normal adolescents develop. Likewise, Santrock (2011) states that adults may portray today's adolescents as more troubled, less respectful, more self-centered, more assertive, and more adventurous than they were. According to Santrock (2011:353) "acting out and boundary testing are time-honored ways in which adolescents move towards accepting, rather than rejecting, parental values".

Finally, Arnett (1999) concludes that both the general public and scholars appear to support a "Modified storm-and stress" view, although some of them perceive the general public as having a stereotypical view of adolescence.

It is interesting to note that the perception parents hold towards the period of adolescence and the actual experience they went through in raising adolescents appear to differ as demonstrated in much of their affirmative accounts within the next section.

5.5.2. Companionship and sense of accomplishment

The experience of companionship and sense of accomplishment, the two intertwined themes, emerged as a main finding to describe the recollection of positive experiences of parents in raising adolescent children. In the recollection of their experiences parents within the study mentioned their positive accounts of the fellowship they enjoyed with their grownup children manifested in chatting, spending time together as elaborated earlier and sharing personal secrets. The present finding is parallel with Trommsdorff, Zheng, & Tardif_s (2002) study which suggests the reciprocal nature of love and security need of both parents and children. Trommsdorff et al. (2012) found that as children depend on the parents for love and security the latter also hinge on children to satisfy their emotional needs for intimacy, companionship, joy, pride, and meaning in their lives.

The behaviour of each person is dependent on and has consequences for the other in the context of family. The child depends on the parent for love, care, and other resources for physical and psychological needs, although adolescents are less dependent on parents pertaining to physical and security need (Small &Eastman, 1991). Similarly, Kuczynski, Parkin, & Pitman (2015) observed that parents and children both have a psychological and an emotional investment in the relationship and create meanings about it. In other words, such interdependence affects the way children and parents respond to each other because they matter to each other, as one is a sourceof joy and pride to the other (Marshall & Lambert, 2006). Looking at parents' and children's Friendship' pertaining to the emotional side, it involve levels of such parental warmth "exclusively sparing weekends" (Yassin fam, 1, Bahiru fam, 3 and Mussema fam, 4) , "declining to accept appointments from our close friends...." (fam 5) to set aside time for their teens to stay together and have fun with them.

The present study contributes to our understanding of the positive parenting experiences reflected in companionship and the parental sense of accomplishment in the context of Muslim families. Spring, Rosen, and Matheson (2002) and Dunklye (2013) found that raising an adolescent was much of enjoyment and delightfulness with balancing the occasional but changing challenges.

The opinions of the participants indicate that fellowship enables parents feel proud and encourages both parents and adolescent children to be open to one another. It further enhance closer relationship which could lead to sharing personal secrets. It appears that Adolescents yearsprovide parents with a level of companionship that they were not previously capable of. This could be noted by a mother *who* recollected the occasion when her daughter offered her –advicell by noticing her mother detached herself from the neighbors. In other words, being closer and friendly enables parents and adolescents to be open to one another, sharing personal secret and information as friends and confide its troubles or problem to each other.

Getting enjoyment and excitement through child raising has a religious dimension. Islam teaches that parenting provides some of Allah's (God) greatest rewards such as bonding and human closeness, unconditional love, a smiling face with loving eyes and shared moments on this earth (Husain, 1999). A devout parent will also experience the gratification of watching his /her child grow into an obedient servant of Allah (God), who would transcend in his outlook and action to contribute to the society. Some parents within the study hoped that their child committed to reading Qur'an and become Hafiz ²⁶ would benefit them in the hereafter and become a source of salvation as one mother elaborates (Mussema fam, 4) "We aspired them to recite Qur_an from the start.... Sometime, I would say you will elevate our status in Jenna (Paradise)". According to some scholars (Muslim, cited in Hamdan, 2009:42) a pious child may provide enduring good deeds to a parents' record through supplication.

Explication of the data further suggests that fellowship also allows teens to disclose themselves to parents. Three mothers and a father from three families (Essa, Bahiru and Mussema fam, 2, 3, 4) reported that upon their initiation of discussion on issues related to sexuality with children, two adolescent boys revealed the kind of interaction they had with girls (classmates) in school setting without being inhibited by the cultural and traditional values which discourage conversation on sexuality. Although considered a taboo to do conversation on such sensitive issues in previous generation, there seemed to be a liberal attitude on the part of parents these days to listen to it with some comfort, though the double standard as stated earlier pertaining to sexual intimacy expected from boys and girls still persists.

Following the discovery of the letter a 16 year old son wrote to a classmate containing love issues, when asked by both parents (Bahiru fam, 3) the adolescent boy's reply was "because I love her.... I need her", to which parents' reaction seemed to be a liberal one without angry tone, "You are yet to mature, and you will reach that stage". But what was not clear and missing in the participants' account was whether they tolerate this issue if the girl disclose information of such nature.

Such liberal attitude is sanctioned within the framework of sharia (Islamic law, jurisprudence) for both sexes as long as they hold their conversation in public place for specified time with a male relative accompanying the girl in public for good with the intention that could lead to Nikah (legally abiding marriage) (Hamdan, 2009). The holy book, Qur'an (5:32) evidentlyaddresses both male and female to maintain their chastity and to be modest, one after the other, by addressing first, the male and second, the female.

Seen from the gender perspective, boys are tolerated by parents and in some cases would be given a green light to engage in intimacy to prove their maleness while girls are expected to keeptheir virginity up to marriage in traditional Ethiopia (Getnet & Weldekidan, 2012), suggesting double standard of gender expectation.

Expecting girls to keeping virgin relates to family Izza (honour of the family) in many Muslim community as is the case in other societies (Chaudhury &Miller, 2008; Stewart, Bond, Ho et al., 2000). When a girl finds herself not meeting such cultural expectation, she brings 'disgrace' to her family is liable to abuse and will be pushed away from the home of her husband. Although this is the case in many cultural settings influencing attitude of parents towards gender, it could be argued that the values of modesty and chastity are demanded for both sexes as elaborated in the previous paragraph which could informparents to teach, convince and deter their youth from engaging in illicit sexual behaviour.

²⁶ Reciter or memorizer of the entire Qur_an.

Participants in the present study singled out specific traits and behaviours in their children and attributed this to their sense of fulfilment. Parents' sense of accomplishment or content in child outcome was a reflection of the competence teens demonstrate through their academic achievement, their moral upright /behaviour, gratitude *to* what parents invested in them.

As there have been few qualitative studies that investigate the parental experience of Muslim parents exclusively during the adolescent phase of the family life cycle, there is a limited basis in the literature particularly for direct comparisons with the findings of the present study locally. However, it is possible to draw logical connections between the themes of the parental experiences identified in the present study and other studies that have examined specific aspects of parenthood (Spring et al., 2002; Valizadeh et al., 2018; Valizadeh et al., 2018). Consistent with the present study, Spring, Rosen, and Matheson (2002) in their qualitative research found that parents who raisie adolescent children characterise their experiences as smooth, exciting and

"Rebalancing" processes which also constitute the "normal ups and downs" during transition to adolescence.

5.5.3. Bewilderment & disappointment as parental experiences

This section explored the challenging aspects of parents' experiences of raising adolescent children. As discussed in the literature section, each child at adolescence brought forward a unique parental experience depending on his/her sex, personality differences and birth sequence. These 'unique experiences' highlight the interactive nature of day to day family life. It takes the parent's time before understanding and coming to terms with each other's peculiarities and relationships (Spring et al, 2002), a cause for parents confusion and bafflement often.

Parents would ask themselves a host of questions and ponder on the occurrence of a new phenomenon, 'is this normal experience'? What happened to him/her? Where does this new behaviour come from? What should I do? As the child got matured and navigated through the developmental trajectory parents however learned the unique characteristic each of their children could bring to their experience.

Within the present study, some participants experience confusion and disappointment by the strange behavior their children show at the turn of adolescence. This occurred most potently with

the first adolescent boy except the one family who experienced 'disappointment with the younger daughter' (Ahmed fam, 5). It is with the first child that parents enter a new territory and start encountering the previously unknown phenomenon. Indeed, the parents within this study were uniformly clear that their experience with their children was unique. As a result, the experience of bewilderment was not a uniformly provoking experience for all. For some parents

with a good sense of humour who "got prepared" (Bahiru fam, 3) and regain from time to time, there is entertainment to be found in the irrationality of one's child behavior, for others parenting adolescent children for the first time evokes a definite sense of bewilderment as one mother put it, "both of us got confused" (fam1) but I finally sensed and attributed the change to come as children's bid for declaration of independence.

Previous literature (D'Angelo & Omar, 2010) suggest that familial strain is more common in relations between the first born adolescents and their parents. This might be understandable based on the themes identified especially in chapter 4. Parents may faintly discern the first time experience with adolescence which put them in a state of "confusion" and "frustration or disappointment (fam 1 and 2) due to the higher level of their uncertainty the transition could bring.

The study suggested parents' description of their adolescent children to have a gender dimension. Parents described boys more challenging than girls. Nearly all participants, except family 5 indicated that they encountered conflict with boys occasionally and found them more difficult than girls in parenting during this period of family life cycle. This could be perhaps due to the perception that boys demand more freedom than girls, and are inherently inclined to be free and 'bump' into many exposures that could lead them to undermine parental instruction. This in turn would lead parents to be on high alert to consider restricting their movement partly with fear that the increasing influence from outside make their teens neglect the much needed academicprogress they expect of them.

The results of the present study is consistent with previous studies (Smetana, 2011) which suggest that the conflict between parents and their adolescent children revolves around mundane issues of day to day life. It is interesting to note that participants in this study did not report conflicts of a serious nature which amount to direct rebellion involving confrontation with exception in one family where a mother experienced bewilderment when her 16 year old son

"talk back", to which she had 'never imagined to happen", but indicated that such occasional behaviors centered commonly around personal management issues as curfews, hair style and academic performance which were communicated by children without swearing, shouting or with angry tone that imply disrespect to parent.

These mundane issues, principally academic performance have to do with —the disappointment aspect of the parents' experiences (theme 4). To the parent, not being serious in academic pursuit mean that children lose many things and parents fail to achieve one of the cherished goals they aspired to inculcate in their child. For adolescents, it may represent preferences and taking over an aspect of personal authority previously in the domain of parental jurisdiction (Smetana, 2005). While placing such a high value on academic achievement served as a source of inspiration to "aim high," parental involvement in children's education may have a negative impact on family relationships when parents are highly disappointed when their children don't live up to expectations (Franchelli, 2013).

As parents were the only participants interviewed in the present study, it would be assumed that the data would not give a complete picture of the parent–adolescent relationship, to which future research could benefit from. While in line with the findings of Smetana (1988b) which indicate parents' perception of parent-adolescent conflict to occur less frequently than the adolescents do, this study appears, nonetheless, to concur with previous findings (Smetana, 2011) which suggest that increased conflict or presence of it does not necessarily indicate a reduction in a strong parent-adolescent affective bond.

Examination of the interview data further suggested that only two mothers' and one fathers' description of their adolescent children appeared to signify serious challenge parents wentthrough at the onset of adolescence, although the relationship was restored to preadolescent years parents reflect on and readjust their parenting approaches (Spring et al., 2002).

Given the much emphasis on family cohesion /connectedness on the part of parents, a normal developmental phenomenon of emotionally distancing from parents as expressed by one participant (Essa fam, 2) ,"locked in his room", was viewed to have divergent meaning both to parent and adolescent themselves. For parents, it may signify a sign of rejection, lack interest to

talk to parent which leads to disappointment. For adolescent to "detaching" or "close off" to a parent emotionally is a way of searching for and solidifying his/her identity (Kagan, 1982). In this respect, both of them, parent and adolescent have their own personal interpretations and personal meanings they made from their own subjective understanding.

Scholars such as (Steinberg, 2001; Steinberg & Silk, 2002) suggest that despite this conflict and distancing, parents remain an important resource for adolescents. The present finding would help counsellors to understand better the meaning-making system of parents of adolescent children. Explication of data further suggested gender neutral attitude in core values parents transmit to their children as they set same goals for boys and girls particularly on education and moral behaviours within this study, although in some areas they appeared to be more restrictive of girls than boys pertaining to engaging in outdoor activities on account of safety and –fear of sexual violence.

5.6. Finding 6: Parental concerns about adolescents' exposure to digital technology

5.6.1. Digitality, double- edge sword phenomenon

Among the experiences of Muslim parents are that they have developed a concern for technology exposure and its influence on the behaviour of their adolescent children. The present study highlighted that Muslim parents viewed modern technology as double-edge sword phenomenon, providing "some benefits" with enormous pitfalls.

Parents have expressed worries about their children's unrestricted access to technology and media tools including computers, the internet, and satellite TV as well as the impact this has on their academic performance. The reason behind parents' anxiety and concern was the potential power of media to "change behavior" of adolescents in unpredictable manner and its "distractive effect in their time management". Parents perspective is prolonged stay on computer may lead their adolescents to ignore their homework, and hampering the normal parent child interaction they used to enjoy during their childhood. The present finding is consistent with findings from previous studies (Genet & Weldekidan, 2012) which documented exposure of youth to drugs andrisky sexual behaviour. Genet & Weldekidan (2012) indicated that adolescents become morally corrupt, disrespectful of their culture as a result of their attraction to western culture through theirexposure to videos and cinemas which undermine parental values.

Some literature suggest that adolescents are more influenced by the prevalence of media messages glamourising extrinsic values (Kasser et al., 2004). As noted within the present study, media has increasingly targeted adolescents as their audience (Lekes et al., 2011) and advertising may shape adolescents' values by conveying messages that materialism leads to happiness (Kanner, 2005).

Parents are increasingly aware of youth becoming familiar to a wide range of media landscape where they can access information, get socialised and engaged in virtual interaction with peers. Parents within the study feel that adolescents' wider exposure and opportunities to larger peer network negatively influence their attitudes and social norms.

This concern and anxiety trigger the family to contemplate measures they could take to deter the ill effects modern technology would bring on decency and religious values. Parental major concern revolves around adolescents' inclination to watch "pornographic films" (Yassin fam, 1), coming in contact with bad habits such as addictive substances and early sexual debut (Bahiru fam, 3) which parents feel strongly affect parent-child relationships. Their perspective was that exposure to uncensored films and videos trigger children's early sexual debut that would happen out-of-wedlock, which is strongly prohibited and considered 'Zina' (fornication) and a major sin in Islam which lead one to punishment here (where the Islamic law is applicable) and the hereafter.

Participants explained their perspective of the modern technology in terms of the opportunity they provide as well as their drawbacks (McGrath, 2012). They pinpoint some benefits such as facilitating school work, serving as source of information and knowledge for adolescents. However, parents are utterly scared of use of the technology by adolescents for the -wrong purposes.

The present study shows that there are three ways that parents might mediate their adolescent children's usage of media and technology. The first strategy involves recognizing the advantages of technology and placing their children under continual parental supervision.one the second approach entails coviewing media products, and the third strategy tends to take a prohibitive stance against the usage of specific media sites or materials. The present finding is partly consistent with previous work (Livingstone and Blum-Ross, 2020) which identified three modes through which

parents conceptualise and validate their child's digital use. Livingstone and Blum-Ross (2020) noted that parents resist /curb technology use, balancing (weighing risks and rewards of using digital technology), and embracing (seeking professional and educational opportunities enabled by digital media). The present study add to the literature that parents in Muslim families use mediating media use of children as one tool to enact and monitor children'suse of technology.

The study analysis shows that some parents, instead of prohibiting teens from accessing technology as it could "create more temptation to seek out elsewhere in the neighborhood" (Bahiru fam, 3), allow their children with strict reminder to use it for educational purpose, others grant permission at a specified time with condition; upon completion of school assignments (Essa fam, 2). A few of them (Mussema fam 4, and Ahmed fam, 5) are inclined to mediating media use of their children such as "co-viewing films together and constantly watching their activity" while their children are on computer and the web they are surfing on the internet as part of their monitoring activities.

The parents' account within the study highlighted the benefit parents enjoyed by adopting mediating media use of their children through identifying channels and watching programs with

'Halal' (permitted) content which reinforce the values and rituals and good behaviors acceptable to parents together.

Interestingly, some participants' description of their children's decision to self-exclude from environments or watching films they consider 'Haram'²⁷ appears to demonstrate the effectiveness of their religious framing of child rearing strategies.

The study shows that while parents acknowledge the benefits of modern technology they feel scared that to fully allow children to do what they like may lead them to cross the boundaries and expose them to practices unacceptable to parents. Explication of the interview data further shows differences and similarities within and across families pertaining to sanctioning adolescents' media use.

For example, in one family father and mother have different stand, while the father allows his children to use the computer as long as they complete assignments, the mother goes to the extreme

to *-grab the equipment out of their* hands[∥] when they are on the computer (fam 2). One of the factors that led some parents to forbid the use of the internet and other electronic devices was their uncertainty about the online world. Their concern is that technology diverts the focus of adolescents from their academic pursuit, develops apathy to reading as 'they spend much of their time on internet and social media solely seeking pleasure'.

For religious parents these issues present the added complexity that comes with the forbidden or sinful content (Yasmin, 2018) that adolescents are able to access from the ever growing number of technology devices and media outlets in the absence of parental supervision. For Muslim parents, these concerns are arguably heightened by the fact that these substances are strictly prohibited (haram) under Islam. Interestingly, as highlighted earlier, parents acknowledge the pervasiveness of the internet particularly presence of Islamic media channels which provide choices to halal materials and images to Muslim community in general and youth in particular.

Parents' anxiety and their serious concern could be exemplified with their account pertaining to new technology when making contrast between present and past where parents had little chance of exposure to bad practices that could affect parent-child relationship. One father (family 2) for example, recollected, "Adolescents were exposed to few outside challenges which affect their behavior and parent - child relationship in previous generation".

Their perspective is thattechnology disrupted parent- child relationship as mobile phones, computer, and social media occupy much of children's time at present (Clark, 2009), although adults themselves in some households are not spared from being preoccupied with these technologies at the expense of the 'Traditionally cherished face to face interaction with their offspring'. As one mother (Ahmed fam, 5) remarks on the challenge digital divide poses on parents as "We are raising the 21stcentury children with 20th century mentality", suggesting the importance of equipping oneself with the new technology to be able to provide the guidance and support children of the digital era need, so that they use it for the right purpose and protect themselves from 'going the wrong direction without jeopardizing parent-child relationship'.

²⁷ A comprehensive term which contains anything which is considered unlawful activity that is forbidden by Shari'ah (Islamic law) opposite to Halal, lawful things ordained in Islam, such as a haram business that sells wine, sexual intimacy practiced out-of wedlock, of foods not fit to eat or use according to Islamic law, such as pork etc.

The list of parenting concerns mentioned by participants is parallel to other parents facing similar phenomenon elsewhere around the world (Holden, 2010; Baker, 2011; Farate, 2015).

Concerns have been expressed by Muslim scholars Baker (2011) and Omran (1992) over the impact of these expanding phenomena on traditional Islamic families and family institutions. Other literature suggests that parents had the concern and anxiety that their children might be influenced by non-Islamic values from various sources including media outlets (Farrate, 2015). These parents feared that their children might grow up not respecting values unique to Islam and instead adopt what they call more of western cultural values. Likewise, Smith (1999) found that Muslim parents living in parts of Europe feared that their children would learn western secular values that would harm their children in this life and the hereafter.

Nevertheless ,there are some positives arising from these new communication and media technologies, with some researchers noting that these technological advances have facilitated the wider and more equitable spreading of the message of Islam (Echchaibi, 2011), also providing parents with the ability to choose adequate programming (with halal content) from a wider selection of sources (Kamdar, 2010; Meezan, 2014). It should be noted that the researcher did not find any previous studies done locally that suggest Muslim parents' concern and anxiety about the influence of technology and media on values and attitudes of young people. This mightbe an area which future research would benefit from.

5.6.2. Parental concerns of peer influence

Muslim parents also shared their concern of peer influence that their children could encounter outside home. The broadening social interaction of adolescents and the influence coming therein was the other concern and reason for parental anxiety. Parents frequently expressed similar worries about peer influence as they did about media and technological effect on children. Some of them feel that they would not have control over the 'choice of friends' at this period of family life cycle as they did during their childhood. For example, a mother (Yassin fam, 1) feared that "Amin's –friends at the college will influence him to experiment drug during the tea break time, and put pressure on him to conform to the groups' whims and desires". Others (Mussem fam, 4) expressed their concerns and worries that parents find themselves 'in a time when a parent cannot be angry with or admonish a child for influencing their children's choice of friends' choice of friends.... but admitted

that they "constantly tell him the risks involved in associating with bad friends".

As the sphere of socialisation widens at adolescence, the concerns of parents pertaining to the influences of peers also become apparent and documented as one socialising agent for shaping behaviours and attitudes of adolescents beyond home (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

The interview data suggest that parents who were informed by their own upbringing and had more knowledge on parenting got prepared for this period and were "not taken in surprise" when they observed change in their children. Parents who did not anticipate a behaviour change during adolescence, and observe a slight change in manners *and attitude* in their grownup children feel discomfort and attribute the change to peer influence. For some parents, the change did remind them *the "the period of adolescence"* and might become difficult to them to accept and adjust. The findings within the study contribute to the literature on the importance of getting equipped with the knowledge and skills on parenting in advance within the framework of Islam so that parents will be able to smoothly manage the parenting journey.

Although parents did not observe "bad things" of *a serious nature* to characterise their experiences as seriously challenging which prompt parental concern and anxiety, their concern and anxiety presumably were informed by *the hearsay; the information they got* from other parents, school administrators, neighbors and some media outlets, and their own observation of what other children did.

While parents had concern about the precarious social environment outside the home, some parents (family 3) hold the view that by "associating with good friends children not only receive but also help their peers to come to goodness" through their interaction. Similar to acknowledging the good side of modern media outlets, participants in this study had their fears and concern on many aspects of peer influence, although they saw the positive side of socialising with peers.

The analysis from the study suggests that parents perceive peer interaction both in affirmative and negative terms within and across families. For instance, Essa (fam 2), granted their adolescent children permission to socialize. To parents, socialising with peers afford children 'connect to friends and community, learn from one another, and expand their perspective'. Other parents, Ahmed (fam, 5) prefer their adolescents to socialise with their kins and relatives living

in the vicinity.

The positive influence of peer relationship is documented in literature (Hamm & Faircloth, 2005; Kuperminc, Blatt, Shahar, Henrich, & Leadbetter, 2004; Sigleman & Rider, 2003; Legewie & Thomas, 2011).

Kuperminc et al., (2004) suggest that positive peer relationships provide the opportunity for belonging, self-identification and affirmation of identity, and interpersonal relatedness during the period of adolescence. Fuligni & Eccles (1993) further noted that the equal status characteristics of peer groups may create more opportunities for independent and abstract thinking than interactions with parents can. However, some scholars (Sigleman & Rider,2003) suggest that parents do have some reasons to worry that their adolescents may got into trouble by _going along with the crowd⁴. Although negative peer influence is much of parents_ concern and vastly documented in the literature (Darling, 2007), some research shows that parents can reduce and even eliminate negative peer influences through monitoring and warmth, termed as the 'buffering effect of positive parenting'. Collins & Laursen (2004) noted that, although peer influences increase during adolescence, parental monitoring, supervision, and influence often guide adolescents into particular peer groups.

To sum, parents' increasing awareness and concern of youth becoming familiar to a wide range of media landscapes and their exposure to bad practices prompted them to contemplate measures they could take to deter the ill effects modern technology would have on decency and religious values. While acknowledging the good side of socialising with friends, parents who participated in the present study are also concerned about the negative influence of peers their adolescent children encounter which affect their moral and personality development.

Next, I made some conclusions and recommendations that I deem worth further discussion.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and recommendations

Introduction

The current study has attempted to emphasise the importance of a perspective pertaining to parenting adolescents within the Ethiopian Muslim context to inform intervention in family and parent education, community work, religious education and strategies to enhance parent-adolescent relationship and youth development. As such, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the opportunities and challenges experienced by Muslim Ethiopian parents sampled from two different residential areas in Addis Ababa raising adolescent children.

This thesis has been guided by the formulation of three research questions constructed to provide a clear picture of parenting experiences of Muslim families transmitting values to their adolescent children.

Parents discussed the socialisation goals they considered important to their children and themselves. The first research question explores the socialisation values (content) parents hold for their children and the positive and challenging experiences they go through in transmitting those values. The second research question examines the mode of transmission parents adopt to transmit their cultural and religious values. In other words, this process includes discussing the values (content) they choose to transmit, and how (the process) they have tried to transmit it. Thethird question explores the social, religious, and personal resources that enable parents to raise their children. I drew conclusion and made recommendations which are based on all three research questions.

To bring this thesis to its conclusion, the next section has been divided as follows: revisiting the central findings, strengths of the study, value of the study, limitations of the study, and conclusion and recommendations for future research.

6.1. Revisiting the central findings

The purpose of this study was to explore the values transmission experiences of Muslim parents who raise adolescent children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Based on the findings of this research, the following conclusions were reached.

The results obtained from this study provide detailed description of the experiences of parents of the process of parenting adolescents. Both secular and religious education, were the most significant values identified by the parents in this study. Honesty and obedience are values that are constituent parts of moral and ethical behaviours that Muslim parents foster to their children.

Participants define monitoring/controling, disciplining, advising, and negotiating as their primary parenting roles in the context of transmitting their values, family norms to their adolescent children, although some of them are more inclined to controlling with the view that competing values might influence children, which are at odds with some of the Islamic values.

The findings of this study give a thorough account of how parents view the process of raising adolescents, which is characterized more by enthusiasm, joy, and contentment than by any lack of difficulty.

Parents who participated in the study are informed by Islam in their parenting and use the religion in three key ways: as a framework for teaching their children right and wrong, as a means of protecting children from the 'immoral' dangers arising from exposure to uncensored media and technology use and as an authoritative voice that reinforces parenting ().

6.2. Strengths of the study

The choice of a phenomenological approach as a methodology enabled the researcher to meet the purpose of gaining in-depth information to arrive at an understanding of the meaning-making process of the participants in this study which could be identified as a strength of the study. This study adopted an interpretism/ constructionist approach which requires the researcher to attend to cultural and contextual stories as well as to the stories of individual people. Similarly, IPA's interpretive component contextualises the views and descriptions of the participants within their cultural/religious and physical environments, and then 'attempts to make sense of the mutually

constitutive relationship between person and world' from within a psychological framework (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2012:117).

The use of semi-structured interviews within the interview sessions for all participants enabled a process of more than one contact opportunity thus providing opportunities to clarify data and for more comprehensive or richer descriptions to emerge. Thus, the choice of theoretical orientation, the methodology and method of analysis utilised in this study have been identified as further strengths.

Participation of both parents in the study enabled the researcher to increase an in-depth understanding of their experiences of the parenting process and would be considered a strength of the present study. Interviewing couples together –provide (s) a rich context for learning about marriage, marital interaction, and marital processes. (and also) provides the researcher with a front row seat as couples create meaning through narratives (Marks et al., 2008: 175).

Throughout the interview process, couples agree, occasionally disagree, support, and refine each other's thoughts pertaining to parenting. Although the sample of the study is not generalisable or sufficient for someone to draw an accurate, comprehensive picture of Muslim families, the hope is that the participants' stories, narratives, reflections, and opinions will offer a valid picture of some Muslim families in Addis Ababa. The study also provide a useful and facilitative picture to clinicians, therapists, counselors, teachers, and religious leaders of other faiths that will aid their efforts to respectfully interact with Muslim individuals and families.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, a further strength that adds to the credibility of this study is the thorough process of documenting both the process that was followed in conducting this research, the provision of a comprehensive and full documentation of the participants' responses in order to provide a rich description of the research process and research findings, as well as a discussion on challenges that arose during the research process.

Parents from similar religious backgrounds in other developing countries who are all parenting their children in a changing societal context, 'looking for religion as guideposts for the uncertain

Future', may also be able to learn from the experiences of the urban parents who took part in this study.

6.3. Limitations of the study

While the current study contributes to the literature by exploring the phenomenon of the experiences of both parents transmitting values to their adolescent children, the findings of this study must be viewed in the context of its limitations. One limitation is the views of adolescent were not solicited, as data from both parents and adolescents would provide a more complete picture of the influences on values transmission, given a shift in socialisation scholarship in understanding the values transmission process from unidirectional to bidirectional process where children are conceived to have agency to influence their development rather than passively accept/receive parental values.

The other limitation that requires some discussion is the question of generalisability. It should be noted that the present study's generalisation is limited to a particular group of population, Muslim parents participated in this study. Although I cannot make generalisations, similarities of experiences and concerns with other parents living in the digital age in African and modern societies would make the finding of the present study shade light on the research that could be pursued in other population group with similar circumstances. Thus, more research would be needed to find out whether similar results might be obtained from other groups of population such as lower socioeconomic and upper socioeconomic Muslim parents who raise adolescent children.

6.4. Value of the study

In a country where resources are limited and access to family therapy, parent education is not available to the majority of the population of Ethiopia, working collaboratively with groups of family members, parents and adolescents offers the potential to make parenting process and experience available to more people within a community.

A further value of this study lies in the use of theory. Exploring parenting through the lens of interpretivist /constructivist stance creates the opportunity to consider the 'perspective of participants by inviting multiple perspectives with no single theory privileged as truth'. The

opening up of new avenues of exploration among the under-researched category of population would be the other strength of the present study.

6.5. Recommendation

Muslim Ethiopians represent one of the major religious groups in Ethiopia. Yet, they remain most neglected communities by mainstream psychological inquiry pertaining to parenting practices in the context of socialisation within the framework of Islam. It is evident from this study that context does play a significant role, and thus further research specific to parenting adolescents in an Islamic context would be advantageous. Future research endeavours mayinclude repeating this research with participants from the other regions and cities in Ethiopia with the purpose of obtaining more information about the experiences of parents transmitting values to adolescent children and making the findings more generalisable.

Further research in this area would be most beneficial given the limited nature of available research on parenting adolescents by including the voice of adolescents with regard to their experience of the parenting process which would offer a unique contribution to the study of parenting and child participation. Thus, researchers could obtain deeper individual accounts of parents' and adolescents' experiences of the parenting process as it relates to parenting adolescents.

This study showed that cultural and contextual factors shape parental worldviews and parenting practices. It is critical that counsellors, therapists and educators in Ethiopia seek to continually inform their practice with knowledge about the cultural and religious values and the worldview of Muslims so that they can better provide culturally/religiously sensitive treatment to their clients.

The results of the study have implications in terms of the support that can be offered to parents pertaining to parental mediation of technology use. The advantages of technology come along with drawbacks. With the infinite amount of time adolescents spend on various media platforms, their attention is absorbed by these devices and this might be one main reason why new technology cause a decline in face-to-face relationships in the family (Lynn, 2009) especially in adolescent-parent relationship.

The usage of media technologies and the internet can have negative effects during adolescence. In tandem with shifting perspectives of parents regarding their obligations and opportunities related to mediating their children's internet use, the socialising role of parents varies during adolescence.

The present study shows that parents may find it difficult to define for themselves what their role is in terms of mediating their adolescent children's technology /internet use. Indeed, when parents do engage in parental mediation practices, they may face a variety of challenges. As a result, parents need more assistance in understanding how to put certain parentalmediation strategies into practice that are adaptive to the current changing needs of youth(Symons et al., 2017). This will allow them to comprehend how their teens may use technology appropriately as well as the common risks they encounter and assist them in navigating the technosphere.

It would be reasonable that parents should be supported more in terms of defining the role they can have in this area of their children's upbringing at a time of technology where use of it becomes an integral part of any adolescent_s life. In this way, according to ecological systems theory schoolscan be extremely important as one of the socialising agent in these times of unprecedented change. Quite critically, schools can improve the use of technology and media to build the learning continuum between school and home. They can help parents navigate the use of technology and media with their children. The current study also provides fresh insights on how parental mediation is applied on a daily basis with reference to adolescents' technology use, benefiting from it and avoiding its detrimental effects in their interactions with media on a daily basis.

All of these findings collectively demonstrate that Muslim parents do influence the world views their adolescent children develop and indeed have influence on the values they hold. They perceived parenting from a strong interplay of Islamic teachings, sociocultural values and traditions, which emphasise the importance nurturing children in a manner that aligns with Islamic teachings in addition to the opportunities and challenges parenting adolescent children could provide.

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Appendices

Appendix A Semi-structured interview Schedule (English)

Title:

I. Background information

Gender_____

Age____

Number of children

Number of children (Age 13-19) and their gender_____

Educational level

II. Grand tour Questions

- 1. Many parents have a number of memories of significance that they may have as parent of adolescent. I wonder if you can describe what it means raising adolescent children to you.
- 2. Would you please tell me how you view the developmental stage and behaviour of adolescence?
- 3. Can you discuss for me some of your positive and negative experiences of being a parent of Adolescents?
- 4. How do you transmit values and nurture them in your adolescent children?
- 5. Would you please discuss the social /cultural resources you sought and find them helpful in your role as parent raising adolescent children?
- 6. What are the values you feel are very important to you to pass on to your children?
- 7. How does the value transmission at home affect the relationship between you and your spouse? Between you and your adolescent children?

Closing question: Any issue (s) /Subject you feel very important but not covered at this session?

Appendix B Semi-structured interview Schedule (Amharic) د مرکمه ۲۵

በጉር ምስና የ እድሜው ጥ ያሇ ልጆች የ ሚሳ ድጉ *ው*ለምወሎጆች በ ጣ ደግ ሂደት ያ ጋ*ጠ*ቸው ልምፆቻቸውና ተሞስ ሯቸው እን ዲሁምሁኑር ምስ ናዘ ማያ ለቸማ አ መመከት መሚዳት የ ተዘ ጋጀ ጣበይቅ፡፡

- 1. አ ጠቃለይ ማረ ጃ
 - ∎ ጾታ
 - እድሜ
 - የ ትምህ ርት ደረጃ
 - ስ ራ/ሙተዳደሪ ያ
 - የ ልጆች ብዛ ት.....
 - የ ልጆች እድሜ ጻታ
 - ምን ያ ህሇ ከ 13 እስከ 19 ባሇት እድማውስ ጥና ቸው? ጾ ታቸውስ ?
- *II.* ዋነ ኛ ተያ ቄዎች
 - ብዙ ወሎጆች ጎ ረ ምነ ልጆች ማነ ደግ ምን ማወት እን ደሆነ ትወስ ታእን ዳሎቸወሲና ነ ሩ ይሰ ሜል፡ ፡ --ይህ ወቅት ታርስ ሃ የ ሚነ ተዎትን ትርጉምቢያ ጨምቱኝ ፡ ፡
 - 2. በጉር ምስና የ እድሜክልል ያሇ ልጆችዎን የ ማነደባ ልምድዎንና ተሞክሮዎን እባክዎን ቢተርኩልኝ፣
 - 3. የ ጉር ምስ ና እድሜታብሎበ ሚታወቀወክ 13-19 እድሜውስ ጥስ ሎሆልጆች የ እድገ ት ባ ህ ሪ ያ ቸውን ና እድገ ታቸውን በተመሆከተ ያ ህዎትን አ መሆከከት ቢገ ልጹልኝ?
 - 4. ልጆች በ ማስ ደግ ረገ ድድጋፍ ወይም አሇታዊ ተጽእኖ ያ ደረጉ አካ ሎችና ማህ በራዊ ሁኔ ታዎች ካሇቢያ
 ማውቱኝ፡፡፡ ካሇ በ ምን መልክ ነ ወየ ረዳዎት?
 - 5. በ ዚህ እ ድሜምህ ፑወይምይህ ን እድሜ ት ሉዛዬ(ፉ) ልጅዎ (ቸዎ) ምን አ ይነ ት እሴቶቸን ና ባ ሀ ሪ ያ ት እን ዲያዳብሩ ይፈልጋ-ሆ?
 - 6. በጎረምስ ልጆችዎ ወስ ተእንዲያ ብቡ የ ሚልጓ ቸማ እሴቶች መነከተለፍ ምን አይነ ት ማ ፣ ዶችን ወይምስልቶችንነ ው ተለ መንግ ዶችን ወይምስልቶችንነ ው
 - 7. እቤት ወስ ዋ የ ሚተለጨወት ሴት በ ሁመቱ ወሎጆች (ተዳር አ ጋር ዎ እና በ ር ስ ዎ) ወካ ከል ባ መማ ን ኙነ ት ሉይ ምንተጽእ ኖ ያ ሳ ር ፋል? በወሎጆችና በልጆች ወካ ከ ልስ ?

Appendix C PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Dear participant,

I, Abdella Muzein, invite you to participate in a research study from the University of South Africa (UNISA) in the Department of psychology of education towards a PhD in a study entitled Exploring Muslim parents' experiences of value transmission with the adolescents in Addis Ababa Ethiopia.

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to explore the values, experiences and concerns of parents raising adolescent children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The researcher specifically aim to learn about the parenting experiences of Muslim parents living in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

WHY YOU ARE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE

You have been invited to participate in this research because you are a parent of an adolescent child following the religion of Islam. Your adolescent child/ren is enrolled in the schoolselected for the study. Should you be willing to participate in the study, you will be among the 5 families (couples), all of whom are Muslims between the age ranges of 35-55. You should be a biological parent with at least one adolescent child currently.

THE NATURE OF YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY

The study involves semi-structured interviews, and each interview session is expected to last between 60 to 90 minutes and will be carried out at a place and time convenient to you. You will be interviewed as a couple. The interview will be audio-taped with your kind permission to facilitate accurate collection of data.

Open ended questions that that could allow you to relate to your experiences of raising adolescent children will be asked at the time of interview. Some of the questions are —would youplease start the discussion by telling me about your perception of the period of adolescence.

'What goals and aspirations do you have for your adolescent child/ren?' 'What concerns and challenges impact your ability from successfully achieving your desires for your adolescent

child/ren'. 'What resources do you utilize to support your parenting efforts?'.

Recorded tapes will be destroyed after transcription and data analysis. After the first interview, the second interview will be scheduled to ask clarifying questions and to give you a chance to confirm the findings from the first interview.

WITHDRAWAL FROM PARTICIPATION

Participating in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY

The benefit of taking part in the current research study is the satisfaction derived from expressing your views on family value transmission to the adolescents and in Addis Ababa Ethiopia.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your name will not be recorded anywhere and no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give. Your answers will be given a code number or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcriber, and members of the Research Ethics Review Committee. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study.

PAYMENT OR INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY

There shall be no payment or reward offered for participating in the research study.

HOW YOU WILL BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

I will provide you with feedback before and after the study is concluded: My Telephone: +251111225949, Cell number: +25141214468

Email: 58558667@mylife.unisa.ac.za or abdellamh88@gmail.com.

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact professor Davids, Mogamat at <u>davidmn@unisa.ac.za</u>, telephone,+27 0124298635.

Thank you for reading the sheet and participating in this study.

Abdella Muzein Hussien

Student Researcher.Telephone: +251111225949; Cell number: +25141214468 Email: 58558667@mylife.unisa.ac.za (abdellamh88@gmail.com.

Appendix D



UNISA COLLEGE OF EDUCATION ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Date: 2019/02/13

Dear Mr Hussien

Decision: 1Ethics Approval form 2019/02/13 to 2024/02/13

Ref: 2019/02/13/58558667/52/MC

Name: Mr AM Hussien

Student: 58558667

Researche*r{s}: Name: Mr AM Hussien E-mail address: 58SS8667@mylife.unlsa.ac.za Telephone: +251 94 121 4468

Supen,,isor(s): Name: DrM Mavuso E-mail address: mavusmf@unisa.ac.za Telephone: +27 12 429 8635

Title of research:

Exploring ^{Muslim} parents' experiences of value transmission to adolescents in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Qualification: PhD in Psychology of Education

Thank you for the application for research ethics dearance by the UNISA College of IEducation

Ethics Review Committee for the above mentioned research. Ethics approval is granted for the period 2019/02/13 to 2024/02/13.

The **lo-w risk** application was reviewed by the Ethics Review Committee on 2019/02/1.3 in compliance with the UNISA PoUcy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that.;

 The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and prindples expressed in the UNISA. Policy on Research Ethics.



U rs1cy of Soull'I Afrt<;a Pre!ler Siree1. Muckleneuk 1"'1ge. City of T;;hwane PO 86, 392 u-JISA 0003 Sooth Afroca TI<pho.-.., +27 12 429 3111 F c,omole" +-27 12 429 4150 ww.v.unC:S;i.ac;a

- Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the UNISA College of Education Ethics Review Committee.
- 3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.
- 4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing.
- 5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
- Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data requires additional ethics clearance.
- No field work activities may continue after the expiry date 2024/02/13. Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

The reference number **2019/02/13/58558667/52/MC** should be clearly indicated onall forms of communication with the intended research participants/ as well as with the Committee.

Kind regards,

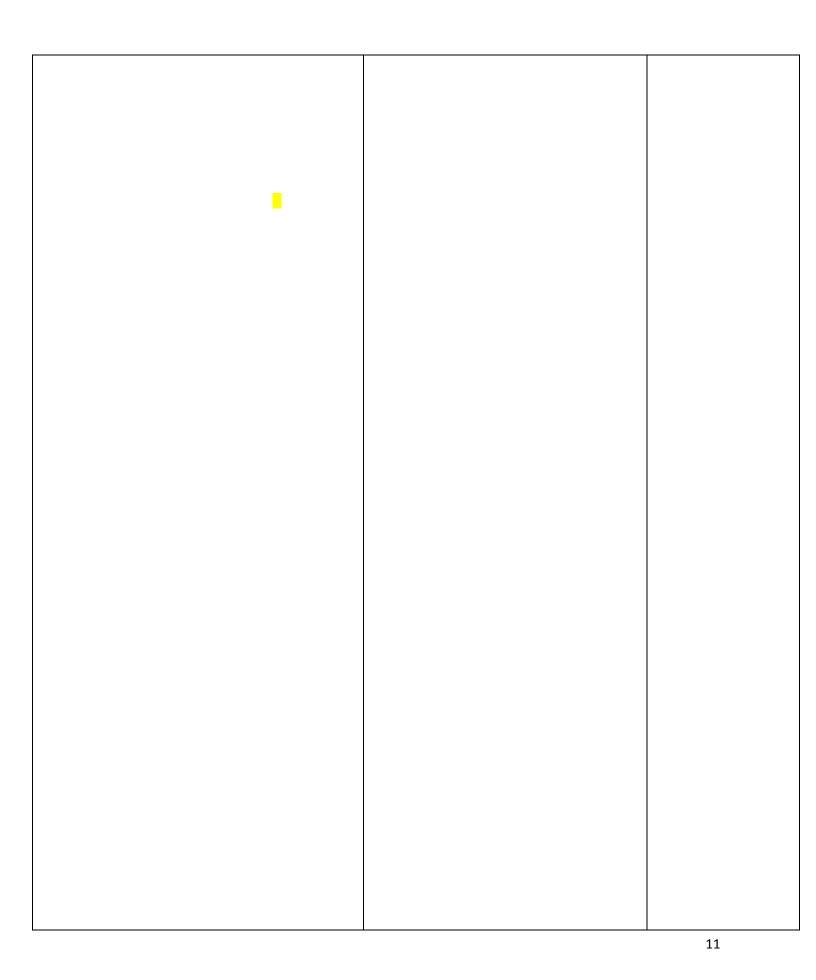
Prof AT MotIhabane CHAIRPERSON: CEDU RERC motIhat@unisa.ac.za

Appendix E

		Emergent themes
Original transcript	Initial note /explanatory comment	(provisional)
Int: How do you view / understand adolescence? Whom		
I would start f i r s t with?	[pause] for a moment and start conversation with	
F: Bismillah (In the name of God), me ok e e e,	laughter	
adolescence raising adolescent child for me, to my	(Invoke God, first).	
understanding, to my opinion is a transition to the other	Prompt: what does adolescent mean to you?	Transition time
stage of development, from childhood to other stage. In	"A transition to other stage" –	I ransition time
childhood they behave in whatever way we wanted them	Parent's description of adolescence seemed	Socie nonconcil anoso
to do. As they grow (children) still require many things	informed by theory of adolescent development-	Seek personal space
from parents, need direction. But in their transition, in	father articulated his expectations about	
adolescence they want to do everything by themselves, need	adolescence as a distinct life stage.	
privacy or isolating themselves, feel that they do havea		
sense of know it all they dissociate themselves	Characterizing the stage by making contrast	
dependency on us declines e e e (hesitation) the tendency	between childhood and adolescence, with distinct	
of obedience declined. In general behavior change would	behavior change: Privacy a distinct aspect of the	Dissociating
happen. These are changes we observe.	adolescent stage? Staying in their room could be a	
I: So what meaning does it give to you?	sign of wanting privacy.	
F: For me, it has a big meaning, as I understood it. Because		
what they possess now has repercussion for their future	Adolescence has a "big meaning" for the parent-	Independence
development. These people are changing in their	what is happening in this period could affect their	
development, change or transition to [transformed to] other	future.	
personality. I understand therefore they require supportand	" Mold them <u>If we are unable to mold</u>	Decreasing obedience
continuous guidance, If we are unable to mold them, as	them problems will arise" -the notion that	
parents are wishing good to their children and they do	parents are the one who can exert much influence	A challenging period
not hold what we convey [to them] would create	on their child's development, seemed not aware of	
problems for them. This is a stage where care and attention	child's agency to contribute in his development?	Guidance and control
is needed to my understanding. They need direction in		Parental care &
every walk of their life during their childhood. It needs		attention
		Molding behavior
		Raising adolescent a
		difficult job

Exemplary interview transcript (family 3)

careful guidance.	Sense of responsibility- "If parents failed to mold	Sense of responsibility
M: Bismillah (In the name of Allah) It is difficult (Laugh)	them child will not hold what is conveyed by	Mothers' more challenged
of course it is easy to bear a child but difficult to raising	parents, it could be conceived as a failure and	inoticity more enumeringe
them I said, he (husband) did not experienceit. (The father	seriously affecting them"	Microscopic
interfered] "I took notes, I have written all".I myself know	senously anecting men	supervision
many things as I am actively involved (in parenting). (Raising		supervision
adolescents) require us to follow every bit of their movement.	" Easy to bear a child but difficult to	
I follow every bit of their movement. Previously they were	raise"imply the much burden mothers would	
obedient, do everything we require them to do. Because I am	shoulderin raising child than fathers. Metaphorical,	Defiance
at- home mother, I follow every bit of their actions, go to school	suggesting the view of adolescence in terms of the	
and ask teachers about their progress, their days and converse	challenge it brings to family particularly to a	Independence
with them, how they spend and do their school work	mother.	
Because they forget (ignore) what we would tell them		
(yafesutal, to mean simply undermine it) which requires my	With plenty of time available for at home mother,	Obedience as a virtue
follow up (also) become oppositional in this period. (want)	monitoring every aspect of child's life become a	
doing everything by themselves.	routine activity?	
I: Then how did you receive this period?		
F : e e e, to be honest e e e we got prepared for it we were		
not taken in surprise at the onset of adolescence, from the start	Conceiving teens as _forgetful_ of what parents	
we inculcate virtues such as obedience and accepting what we	told them, in a sense they undermine parental	
tell them go in a direction which we direct them to be	message which warrants frequent reminder. An	
honest our aspiration is to inculcate the religion (in them), to	attempt to closely monitor child- ' because they	Fostering sense of
know and understand the religion from their early stage so that	"ignore, tend to forget" [yafesutal] what we would	family Connection
they would not go astray, and be able to develop good	tell them'. Does this mean teens do not lend their	
personality, accept what we espouse to them. We <mark>teach them</mark> in		Restricting media use
a manner they could model us (we as a couple) closely	ears to parents' message? Mother attribute this as	
connected to each other, love each other, and understand each	a reason for microscopic supervision?	Teaching by example
other. Now we are married for 19 years. Through this journey	Not taken by surprise at onset of adolescence-	
Because we are scared of modernization a decorated	'prepared for adolescence' In knowledge, attitude,	Prepared for
world with full of temptation we did not seek to have TV set at	and readiness to deal with the transition? Does this	adolescence
home previously. In fact we did it purposely with the intention	keep conflict between parent and teen at	
to protect them (children) from unhealthy exposure.	minimum?	Concerns about media
Alhamudulilah (praise to God) we did not observe strange thing	Imbue the religion and viewed it as protective	technology
in them as we had prepared for it. But later we realized that	factor and a means to help children develop good	
this would not work, because	personality "Seeking children know and	Content with childoutcon
denying (access to technology) them could create more	understand the religion from their very young age".	
temptation since computers are available elsewhere, denying	Scared of modern technology - appealing	Protection from technolog
(access to technology) them could create more		influence
temptation since computers are available elsewhere,		Religion, salient to paren
		10



(mother interrupt) they can go to neighbors to watch it	materials & media bombardment a cause for	Mediating use of
there are many instances they could be exposed to it.	parental concern	technology
We know that TV has advantages as well as disadvantages		
and we convinced ourselves that forbidding them is not a	Teaching by example, conceived as much better	Invested in children's
good option. So (we) started choosing media channels	than moralizing or preaching	education
proper to their age (moral development) and made it	Parents nourishing sense of connection by showing	Peer influence
accessible to them to avoid improper channels which	intimacy and love as couples'	
could lead them go astray. Having done all this we had	Teaching by example:	Celebrating positive
observed something we did not expect. Although they come		traits
from one parent they are different. Even identical twins	Parents acknowledge the Modern media	
differ in their behavior. The good thing is they are not	technology to have benefits- a potential to	Adolescents seen in
inclined tosuch modern technology. They are not addicted.	facilitating youth development as well as	positive light
I inclined more to the son (in relationships) of course	shortcomings- affecting parent child relationships.	
(embrace) reach others. She (wife) is attached (more) to		
daughters The daughter depends on us for everything but		
the son is not, he become inexpressive (later). (Mother	Temptation - to emulate peers, watch uncensored	Same sex dyadic
interrupts), but she is expressive. We adopt being modest	media materials	attachment
(towards them), not being angry and We started to be		
closer to them particularly to the son in order to encourage	Ambivalence in endorsing use of technology	Fostering self-
him to open and express himself freely. I share my own	"Improper channels" lead child go astray, take	confidence
experiences, to encourage him to open up and talk, even I	children out of fold of religion.	Ambivalence towards
extend this for younger ones. We adopt a strategy to get		technology
them closer, although we have difference in age. For	Considered their children as modest in their use of	
example, I befriend the son to encourage him to openly	tech, prudent - rest assured /content that their	Conveying family
disclose himself and she (mother) made the girl closer to	children are "not addicted to technology".	legacies
her. This has worked although perfection is impossible.	Inclining to mediate use of media technology as	
I agree that somebody should be there to admonish them	protective method	Madressa one
occasionally. I know she get angry with him (son) but I tried		socializing agent
to take a middle ground.	Seeking assertiveness in child- expecting	
We stress on imparting religious knowledge from the start	assertiveness more in son's than the daughter.	
We have assigned a shek (a learned clergy) to help them	Gendered in their socialization?	Befriending children
recite Qur _an, teach them adab (moral conduct and manner,		
aspect of the religion. We sent our son to madrassa (school	Parent narrate own experiences- raising children	Fostering sense of
for learning religion) on long vacation. They read and write	also informed by parents own parenting- to help	Connection
Arabicalthough disrupted for some time, which is a	them "open up and talk" with them- father making	Consulting children in
concern (for us]. We are strict in	reference to his warm experiences with his parents	family issues
	- a "strategy he adopted to get them	Religion taken as
	Closer"?	supportive to parenting

their prayer, so that they practice the religion with properCoknowledge. It helps us a lot. As discussed above, the othercoduty (as parents] include we open ourselves to get themchcloser to us, to prove that we give them attention. We didchthis task intentionally. We advise them, telling them if youcodo this you will get this. We held shura (consultation) aknplatform where we discuss issues in the family everyChThursday, although it did not continue the way we liked. Wewillstressed that they should acquire the (proper) religiousso

I: What else ... other than religion as an important value?

M: not to get carried away by others, not depend on others, to claim their rights, beka (this is it (forcefully), not to violate the rule of the school, abide by the law. (I)Always tell them. In her childhood she was assertive and would tell me every bit of her movement but later ...(become shy) ... he was preciously good but ... (now) passive, silent... I tell him always but he could not (improve) ... We always tell them, they tend to forget.

I: Independence encouraged...

F: (Yes) We instill self-confidence, independence
M: When I want to give advice or intend to correct ...I will not punish when they commit mistake by myself. We talk with them about what to do, we show first how to do it. We punish them at younger age but now we do not, isn_tit?
We expect them to have their own things, unleash their potentials... but we do not allow them to cross boundaries ... we want to pass on our values. ... When they were children they were punished but now we inculcate independence in them. I provide advice ... we want them to hold onto what we convey to them. We (as couple) do not get angry before them, we want them grasp what we would tell them and develop their own.

I: You grant freedom, become lenient

M: Yes, but we do not free them fully. When they cross

Complement parenting endeavor through	Emotion used to shape	
connection to sheks and imams to nourish	behavior	
children's moral conduct and behavior.		
Admonishing shild and availing sotting anomy	Imparting moral	
Admonishing child and avoiding getting angry	conduct and ethical	
regarded as helpful to imparting religious	behavior	
knowledge		
Children sent to Madrassa- Islamic learningcentre	Sought obedience and	
where they learn Qur'an, as a way to complement	honesty	
socialization of child.		
'Family time'- adopting 'shura', to discuss issues	Religion as a parenting	
relevant to family by involving children. Viewed	resource	
as tool to enhancing parent children bond.		
Parents expecting adolescents to observe prayer	Mosque one socializing	
consistently. Viewed it a protective tool deterring	agent	
children from immoral and sinful acts "Ithelps	Shura/ consultation	
us a lot" "They would not go astray"- centralin	Protective function of	
to parents' socialization.	religion	
Opening self to children and providing advice asa		
strategy to get them closer- suggesting an element	Putting structure in	
of 'conscious parenting'	place	
Identifying media channels parents consider	-	
proper to teens and is within the framework of	Fostering sense of	
Islam	family connection	
Istani	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
"Not carried away by others- wish the son Be his	Coparenting	
own person"- fostering independence? Incliningto	Employing adaptive	
joint action in raising children- "not unilaterally	discipline	
punish by myself"		
"We do not employ punishment at adolescence-	Religious knowledge	
Isn't it?" Parent wants validation?	and practice	
Prompt: behaviors, capacities parents inculcate in	Behavioral control	
their children		
Parents opening themselves to children as well as	Allowing self-initiative	
	vs seeking compliance	
	Providing	
	advice/admonition	

the limit we do not tolerate. I do not give advice myself but	placing boundaries that should not be crossed-	
do it together.	Advice- offering it in a preaching manner?	
F : We do not impose our will, We allow them to follow their		Teaching values
natural inclination/course I was not a person I intended		through modelling
to be at this time for example [with absence of opportunities		
at my adolescence]. But these children have many	Would like them to grasp what we would provide	Cooperative parenting
opportunities to strive and develop at present. For example,	them " develop their own way seems inconsistent?	
the daughter inclines to be a physician, we encourage her, I		
advise her to pursue her inclination and provide		Preparing children to
opportunities and enabling environment thatwould help her	Acknowledging difference in behavior and talents	challenging reality
continue in her pursuit.	among children and let it to flourish	
I: What else? Can you please expand on the values you		
espoused?		Balancing
F : Specially, the first one is we do not want to restrict them	Acknowledging children's bid to independence,	independence with
in their views; we encourage them to develop themselves,	seeking children expand their outlook,	setting limit
go out of their box. For instance to knowabout the history	exemplified with the phrase children should "go	
of the country, the objective reality requires us seeking them	out of their box", by developing themselves with	
to have knowledge.	proper knowledge.	
My fear is although we choose the school which could		Expect children hold
nourish their development we assume that they are going to		parental values
face a challenge in the outside world, so they need to have		
the perspective- We strive to impart knowledge in them		
sometimes I am scared we want them have a perspective	Outside influence conceived as challenge for	
[that could enable them] to see things in different direction,	parents	
not restrict or bound themselves to [their] school and home		Promoting benevolence
experiences. We need them to develop comprehensive	-	Allowing personal
outlook which can help them navigate [a life_s journey].	Equipping children with needed knowledge and	space
Furthermore, we narrate our own life experiences and about	perspective perceived as a proactive method to	
successful individuals, why? Because we need them	prepare them for present social demand	Befriending children
understand all things (because) they will face problems		
and teach them that life is full of challenge, good and bad,		
so that they could prepare themselves to demands of the	Narrating own experiences- using it as a teaching	
day; be contributing member of the society, and develop	strategy to reinforce good behavior and create	Encouraging self-
good personalities. Sometimes we would take them out, to	ethos of work and commitment in their children.	directed behavior
help them understand and widen their perspectives about the		
outside world.		Encouraging peer
I: Would you please describe your experiences of	Taking them out outside home occasionally to	socialisation
	entertain them - as a way to ensuring care and	

M: e e e, what I mean (hesitation) in the first place I do notion that it would enhance hond hetween them in dikte them to shun away from peers who are bad in their behavior. My experience with them is they do not mix notion that it would enhance hond hetween them im behavior (hetweet not mix with them is they do not mix do analy easily. I Instruct my childhood freely. But they do not mix with them. I grew up with them (in the neighborhood with Christian children present of not mix with them. I, grew up with them (in the neighborhood with Christian children present of not mix with them. I, grew up with them (in the neighborhood with Christian children present of not not being able to socialise with not playing and enjoying during mychildhood freely. But they diblood freely. But they diblood freely they to they form any baselise (in other areas) but not mother present form present who and they or spontaneously exprese (in other areas) but not matured by others when he wants to say something. It has bit mit ne to say something. In the as to struggle choosing and organizing it (what he wants to say) it takes him time to say something he has to struggle choosing and organizing it (what he wants to say something in ot to do that thing freepat mistake). I ann ot the one of course, it is dance by their failer instake it or leaser their divide them "this thing jeopardize your desting" but follow every bit and step of their growther has during up to the floor I feel something instake). Tam ot the out also do that your floor their say to they other with the during tripepat with the shale of they do there? I failer dicked myself, but together more floor mother. Muther secreed to be preoccupied pursuing every bit of children instead of and matured in they do then? I feel something inside what du hey do there? I failer dicked myself, but together instead or insigner mother moselbals Muthere secreed to be preoccupied pursuing every bit of chil	parenting Adolescents children?	love they provide to their adolescents with the	
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	wrath". And I do not decide myself. We share and discuss	to trigger parents to incline to controlling stance	
Couples incline to co-parenting with mutual Peer socialization	with him what to do. Once we came to learn that he [son]		_
		Couples incline to co-parenting with mutual	Peer socialization

sent a letter to a girl, I do not decide unilaterally but with	understanding	Defiance of children
him [husband] and we usually give advice if you do this		trigger emotion
and that you will turn away from Allah and subject to	Advice a common practice in shaping behavior	Mutual understanding
Allah's wrath". If you enmesh yourself in this situation	Using the religion as deterrent from sinful	in disciplining children
[sinful and risky practices] you will lose many things	practices and immoral behavior.	
I: Did the transition trigger conflict between parentand	Disagreement or conflict arise when teens do not	Providing advice
child?	comply to parents demand occasionally	
M: Yes, it has got us [the transition] in to conflict		
occasionally. [When we say] with our demand of do this, do	Couple's realize taking unilateral measures	
not do that. What I realized was I got angry when they do	pertaining to adolescents' discipline would	
not comply. Always give them advice. We come together	backfire and seek to take middle ground.	Scared of technology
and discuss over it, I did not take action by myself.		Monitoring use of
I: What are reasons for conflict?		computer closely
M: When they contradict with our ideas, when we say do		Inconsistency in couple
this, do not do that, when we say no, they would say yes,	Children's unwillingness to hold unto parents idea	discipline approach
when not allowed [to do something] it created conflict.	trigger occasional conflict	
I am strict but he is lenient, this should not be done, even	Father incline to leniency while mother maintain	Peer Socialization a
when he [son] opens lap top, I closely observe what he is	strict adherence to norms	concern
doing, is it damaging or benefitting [him], Scared if this		
would take them away from (religious practice) I am	Parents valued supplication to shaping behavior	Parenting in team
concerned why he stayed longer on that (computer), and		
what he is doing (laughter). But he (husband) showed	What adolescents do on computer is a concern for	Unhealthy social
leniency (laughter). He would say let us [relax control]	parents and their inappropriate use of it would take	environment parental
he would insist "If we both of us become strict they will	them away from their religion	concern
distance themselves from us we need sometimes to relax		
our demands" [laugh].	Parents came to realize that their difference in	Pornographic materials
F: Good, in the first place am worried about it.	parenting approach would backfire and led them	a concern
I: Can you expand on that?	to change it to adaptive approach.	
F: This change, physical as well as behavior aspect, I feel		Advice through
scared, particularly towards the son. Although not		religious narrative
expressed fully, she [wife] is more worried than me. Imade	Change in Child behavior a concern for parents to	
dua (supplication) really, may Allah [God] accept me.	invoke God to guide children to the right path	
I: What are the things you are scared of the most?		
(Mother interfered)		Disagreement /conflict
M: Friends would affect him. When we send him to		
relatives, we fear that something (bad) will happen to them	Exposure to drugs and pornographic materials a	Emotion
	major concern for parents as they perceive	Negotiation to settle
	uncensored materials on the internet would lead	disputes

on their way.	teens to stay away from their religion and adopt	
F: The first one is whichever you call it (whether] porno,	behaviors disapproved by parents.	
sexual engagement, drugs, it all push teens to stay away		Disagreement on some
from their din [religion].		issues
They usually try to convince us to meet their objectives,		
they are smart. One time they requested us to buy them	Scared of negative peer influence	
mobile phone. Our daughter used our phone, of course at		
home and we grant it just to see what they would do with	Mother pursue microscopic supervision	Invoking God as
it. Once we went to our family on occasion and made		parental resource
constant monitoring [from there], we told them that	The strong side of teens allow parents negotiate	Negative Influence of
possession of mobile phone is not essential for them at	provision cautiously and allow mobile phone	media technology
present and promised them that "we will offer you upon	accordingly?	
completion of schooling". We made conversation with them		Experiencing more
and tried to explain why we do not provide them a mobile		challenge from a boy
phone at this time, not by being angry but through		Allowing children to
reasoning. They highly insist to possess it. We insisted that		express their ideas
"mobile phone will not be a necessity for you before		
completion of schooling". [Mother interrupt] We do this by		Negotiated settlement
discussing between us.	Teens challenge ideas of parents which was	to use technology
I: How do you involve children in family affairs?	considered as 'smart' in trying to convince them on	properly
F: Yes, we involve them. [The female interrupt] between	one hand and seen them immature on the other	
ourselves. They challenge us to meet their ends. First they	hand, suggesting ambivalent attitude of parents,	
agree but later continue to pursue their request. One time the	cognitively matured vs still child. They may be	
son came forward and shows me the research finding which	active, but not matured- treating their teens like	
he downloaded from his mother's mobile phone portraying	kids when they're no longer kids?	Supplication a
its significance for (good) academic performance, to prove		parenting resource
to me that it is important to them. He forwarded the		
document to and asked me to open and read it. They are		
smart to convince (parents). He asked me to talk about it.		Pornographic films and
We did not say no outright. We first appreciate the way he	Made agreement with children through dialogue	drugs a concern
pursued his argument but we asked them to (give us) take	to provide smart phones	
time to contemplate and figure out what will work. (Female		Peer socialization seen
interfere) We asked them to commit themselves not to		cautiously
jeopardize their health and be exposed to bad things, to		Sought academic
promise use of technology properly before offering it to		success
them. With this understanding we made technology		Parent-child intimacy
accessible to them, so	Made children aware of the negative side of	
we positioned ourselves to challenge them by asking	technology and decide whether and how to use it	

[ourselves] what else do they need?.		strict control viewed
I: How did you communicate your decision?		as detrimental
M: I asked them to commit themselves and promise use of	Anxiety over the use of internet seemed to trigger	Negative influence of
mobile phone properly and make sure to prevent the risk that	constant surveillance and the need for getting teens	media technology
could come along with it. The daughter declined not to	closer and making the technology available at	
shoulder the responsibility we have imposed, but the son	home, conceived to have deterrent effect in not	Monitoring from
continued on his request. It happened that we decided not to	using internet inappropriately especially watching	distance constantly
offer them mobile phone for some time with fear that they	pornographic images.	
would use it for the wrong thing.	"strict control would be equated to prison"- a	Consultation/negotiatio
F: (We) are concerned and decided to be careful and instruct	metaphoric speech in reevaluating how excessive	n
them to be careful in their use of (internet) especially about	control undermine parent -adolescentrelationship	
pornographic films, chat [mother interrupt], being strong in		Granting Autonomy vs
their academic performance, and ask them to commit	Making resources available to children in order to	control
themselves to agree with our condition in order to get them.	keep them from outside influence	Adapting to each
We discovered that bringing them closer to our would		other_s values
help us in our parenting. The internet-available in my office	Strict/leniency- inconsistency in parenting bring	
was made accessible to them.	disagreement between the couple occasionally	Children allowed to
M: I learned that strict control would be equated to prison		argue
and (later) came to understand that adapting one another_s		Encouraging
approach to parenting will serve our parenting purpose.		Assertiveness in the
		boy
I: Did the transition trigger conflict between you as a		
couple and between you and your children?		Surfing on the net a
M: Previously, yes we came in conflict with each other, on		concern
account of his leniency towards them, I fear that he will	Couple during the process realized that taking	
spoil them. I insist on strictness, and I was resentful of the	middle way would serve their parenting purposes	
way he was handling them, but later I realized the negative	such as to fostering independence and self-	Negotiation
side of being strict all the time. Previously I was resentful	confidence	/consultation
of him for being submissive to their requirements. I Begin		Allowing independence
adapting his way of handling them (later). I made follow		vs restriction
up of course, submitting to their demands previously did		
annoyed me.	Mother worried about observing children chat on	Looking friends to
F : I appreciate her being strict, at the same time am	the internet	model
concerned that being always strict will disconnect them		
[with us] that is why I prefer being in between so that it		Sought self-confidence
would work for us. Being liberal is necessary. We discuss	Putting restriction on child movement conceived to	Leniency
things. I said when we follow only your way it would not	have two aspects- deterring children from	

work but if we make balance things will go nice am	outside influence and at times seen as limits that	A precarious social
worried when they are browsing internet, (mother	affect interaction with peers. Keeping children in	environment a concern
interfered) I don't like when they chat Yes previously we	door- trigger regret in parents- What other	environment a concern
employ punishment, and it work but now it will not I tell	alternatives should they have, given the limited	Granting freedom with
her she did not allow them to be independent, grant	space/green area available to youth in the city?	condition
responsibilities, I tell her such things (being strict) will		
discourage them from developing self-confidence and		
encourage curiosity to find things by themselves. This was		Anger as a discipline
a gulf, disagreement between us. We have friends around us		apporach
to model. A woman in our neighborhood is raising her 8	Getting angry and taking umbrage often used as a	
children and managed to produce good citizen. She would	strategy to shape behavior, although later	
give responsibilities to her children at their early stage to	abandoned due to health concerns and the	
inculcate self-confidence. For example, she gave her son a	probability that it would backfire.	
responsibility with large amount of money to deposit in the		
bank, which could not be imagined by other families. That		Openeness in parenting
same child became a medical doctor at present. This will		
help us to learn.	Instilling confidence and requiring strictadherence	
M: I sometimes did not allow him to go outside. Why? I tell	to parents wish seems contradictory, can it be	Father conceived as
him I a. a. do not know, where you are going? Even when I	possible to embrace both simultaneously?	disciplinarian
let them go it was with conditions. I would give them		
ultimatum and they meet those demands. I usuallysay If	Mother seems to wait father on issues pertaining to	
you do not come on time	disciple, something common for mothers to set	
I give them warning Sometimes I deliberately got angry	aside decisions for fathers, as the latter isregarded	
for no apparent reason The purpose was to give the	a disciplinarian in the household in traditional	Instilling self-
impression that he (son) senses his mistake Of course	Ethiopia.	confidence
there are instances the mistake he committed triggers my	Or Parents incline to deal disciplinary issues	Inconsistency in
anger.(but) I realized later that repeated anger would cause	jointly. 'Not punish by myself', preferring to joint	parenting
problem for me (so) should not get angry because it hurts	action instead of taking unilateral measure.	
me. When it exceeds the limit, I tell him (husband). Usually		
I would set aside the decision to him and discuss over it. I	Mother desire the Son behave assertively 'Not to	Preparing children to
did not make decision unilaterally. I know one case of my	get carried away by others' - would largely signify	withstand negative
relative the mother used to hide everything from her	parents' fears of child becoming	influence
husband pertaining to their children, made things secret	Follower and easily misled by others to do things	
from him. That makes them to engage n deviant behavior,	which they shouldn't.	
start chewing chat, become smoker, and also change to other	Frustration- for not being able to see assertiveness	Mutual dicision on
religion and finally go astray. This gave me (a lesson) to	in son's behavior. Want to see a child who can	parenting
discuss every issues and	resist temptation and outside influence in	
concerns with him (husband) Although my family was		

 strong (I used to say) if we do not inculcate confidence and be strict on them to follow our way (it would have not turn positive in its final outcome) I suspect that created conflict between us not actually conflict but disagreement. But I myself started backing off from repeated anger in order to avoid the kind of things what was happened to my aunt's grandchildren. They shun away their din (religion) I learned from her, they converted to Christians, deviated and started smoking and drinking. I: Is there moments of conflict you encountered with your children? M: I do not say something (which required decision) milaterally, I only made something known to him when the thing is serious in its nature. In one occasion my daughter kept secret when she got hurt at school (laugh) may be that was a minor thing which she may consider not deserving parental attention. But I insisted to tell (me) whatever things would happen to her in the future. F: To add to her view, sometimes elder siblings push the young one's to request us to hold shura (consultation), (Mother interrupts) Yesthey do ask. I: Do adolescent children share their concern and issues to you? 	weak (in financial terms) parental monitoring] was	providing alternative values often contradicting	Encouraging values of
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			Reward and incentives
from your adolescent children?			
	from your adolescent children?		

F: Yes, they have. Even I suggest this should not be limited		
to adolescent period. For instance we take good virtues from		
my daughter such as the way she uses her potential. We		Adolescents seen as
appreciate the younger daughter's reading capacity and	Incentives in the form of embracing children	companion
completion of 80 books. (we) prized her for that. From her	physically, verbal appreciation of good	
we learn (reading habit) that and we incorporated to our life.	performance and materials incentives provided to	
The boy is good in calligraphy. Everyone has something	encourage good behavior and competence while	Content in child
which we would appreciate. Ialso bring them to my office	employing Psychological punishment- such as	outcome
to visit the work environment.I: How do your children	taking umbrage as a method to correct misbehavior	
know whether you have recognized their good side?		
F: As much as possible our incentives include, prize,		
(appreciation) in words, we put money for them in to their		Recognising
account, kiss them [mother interfere]. We always promise	Self -confidence and independence, a recurring	uniqueness of children
at the beginning of the academic year our intention toreward	issue given importance in parents_ socialization	
them upon the accomplishment of good performance.	goal along with obedience and honesty reflected	
M: My appreciation goes to my daughter because she	in their remarks. 'My daughter would ask me	
would remind me sometimes 'mama why should you not	"why I make distance from my neighbors". This	
connect with neighbors'? (yes) my connection with my	imply willingness to letting children to express	Ambivalent atttude
neighbors is loose, I intentionally did it due to the fear that	their thoughts that could influence parents in some	towards adolescence
[frequent contact] could create conflict. I admired her	ways.	
confidence and am happy with my daughters. Regarding the		
boy which I said earlier to be a difficult one I recognize	Uniqueness of children in their talents and	
his effort and talent in writing brief poems, use of short	potentials appreciated	Reciprocity in peer
Qur'anic phrases and writing it on piece of papers with his		influence
own calligraphy he distribute them to friends and	Friends /peer influence seen cautiously- conceived	
relatives freely. I keep his works properly.	adolescence both in positive and negative light.	
I:Your view about adolescence, your attitude,		
F: e. e to be honest I (say) most of them (poise) are not		
good, I think. But there are good ones, why I say this, (As	Parents realized that friends can have the potential	Hiding information
a neighbor for others I know) Adolescents boys are few,	to influence and being influenced by others in	from parents
(mother interrupt), large number of females are out there.	positive and negative ways and at times go against	
Fortunately our friend brought his relative, the age of our	the direction and wishes of parents	
children from a city (name) to enroll him in Addis Ababa.		
These children came to know each other, call each other and	'fabricate things'- recognizing that in some	Stressing values of
go together to masjid. One	circumstances young people have the audacity to	honesty
day the boy was sent to government office to refill electric	cheat and convince parents to meet their	
		Opening self to
		children

card and my son accompanied him. On their way home there	objectives	
is a play station and, my son took advantage of his friend's		
strangeness (to the city) he initiated the idea of going to a	Children viewed as 'smart'- Smart in what? Just in	Keeping loyality
play station (to spend time there). Unfortunatelywe were	getting their ends meet? Winning their	
outside and when we reach home at night they didnot show	argument/s?	
up. That friend of mine got worried much and welooked	a gameny 5.	
around, we searched a lot, time goes by and finally reported		
the condition to the police. (when they show up) they		
fabricate things and claim that they were caught by	Parents seemed to use the incident as teaching	Overlooking child
delinquents and took away their money. They also showed	moment to providing advice in a good tone and	mistake
us some scratch in their body. We suspect that something	welcoming manner	
bad was happened to them, the situation is precarious.		
(Mother interrupt) I was impatient to see and face my child	Parents' expression of the incident suggest their	
and know the truth. I approached my son in good terms to	conviction and sense of responsibility to fostering	
encourage him reveal what happened to them. By this he	honesty in their children	
revealed everything they did, that he (my son) was the one	honesty in their children	
who initiated going to the play station and they were not	Parents saw innocence in their children, though	Discouraging cheating
encountered criminals but spent some amount of money for	they understand that their teens incline to lie to	
the play station and gave us back the money left in their	cover what they did	
pocket. We discovered that nothing bad was happened to	cover what they did	
them, it was simply a lie. Based on this incident I advised		
(my son) a lot and insist on my friend to do the same not to		
reprimand him much as they told us everything honestly		Religious narrative
which proved their innocence. I am not sure whether I told	Microscopic supervision of child- Parent justify	
lengthy story, if this does not serve your purpose	close monitoring provide protection for children	
(addressing researcher) you just tell me. I suppose the reality	crose monitoring provide protection for emiliaten	Honesty on high regard
might benefit you.	Couple's cooperative effort- sharing, talking each	
I: You have discussed religion as a core values, what	other on child mistakes	Adolescence perceived
else, I mean other than religion?		as defiant
M: In the first place, I strongly emphasize on (virtues like)		
honesty, not cheating Insist on being honest from their		
early life and tell them to be open and disclose what ever		Setting example to
thing would happen to them (right or wrong]. If somebody		teach
tell a lie I consider him always a cheat, I would considered		
sending off the house maiden if she tells a lie (strong	'Teaching by example'- a major strategyparents	
emotion involved). I do not like children to tell a lie. I would	employ to teach their values, in a sense they 'live	
tell them how cheating is discouraged in Islam.	by their deeds' so that children emulate	Allowing children to
I: What do you do to achieve this, I mean child not to	behaviors and attitudes they consider	criticize parent

lie?	cherished both in community and their own family	
M: I insist on telling the truth, I ask them to tell		
honestly 'whatever thing you do and mistakes you commit		Encouraging
tell the truth, but not lie, I also tell them Islam forbids	Parents open room for being criticized by their	benevolence
telling lies. Always advise them to do that.	teens when they err which encourage children to	
F: The other thing we do to instilling such values is we do	accept mistakes and disclose themselves to their	
not lie them by any means. (Mother interrupted) Our	parents	Modelling behavior
interaction also(teach) them. Teaching by example if		
we are not able to do something we have promised, we tell	Parents encourage self-transcendence by teaching	
them honestly. We tried our level best, big or small we take	them its reward through hands-on practice;	
care of and do it. We live by our deeds. We keep our	offering them something to give in charity to the	
promises, if we are unable to keep it we tell them why we	needy and observing parents supporting others	Shura/consultation
failed to perform honestly. Then they appreciate and forgive		
us. This is one reason they maintain this value of honesty.		
She (wife) also reminds me what we promised, (in case I		
forgot) she take note of it. The other thing we use (as	Modelling seems to be a pervasive issue parents	Children allowed to
strategy) is I encourage charity and teach them itsreward	talk about its benefit in shaping behavior	choose issues todiscuss
(hereafter). For instance to teach charity we offer them	throughout the discussion - 'If am not reading,	
something to give to the needy so that they can learn by	how can I encourage reading'?	
doing. What we are facing now is sometimes they putus in		
difficult situation when they see someone needy and they	Family meeting as a strategy to bring family	
would ask us _dad can we give something (laugh	together and discuss issues where children are	Linking consultation
together)? (Mother interrupt) because we provide them	allowed to say their ideas express their feelings	with self- confidence
money for transportation I used to say, "from now on you		
must spend from yourselves" (allowance) (laugh). I believe	Family platform conceived as an opportunity to	
we have to be a model first before we expect them to do.	exchange ideas and instil religious values and self-	Encouraging recitation
They have a small bag (made of cloth) to put in whatever	confidence in children.	of Qur'an
money they got. (Mother interferes). If am not reading how		
can I encourage reading? So by showing myself reading	Parents expect their children recite a portion of	Qur_an conceived as
books (I teach them). The other thing (we do) in our family	Qur'an without imposing their will, implying that	parenting resource
is holding shura/family meeting we are not the only one	when children feel free to choose and do certain	
leading the discussion, they are also given opportunity to	things in their own and consider it to have	
bring issues for discussion on the shura. (we) Encourage	incentive they would pursue it with free will.	Family meeting seen as
them to say their own ideas, explain about the outcome		transmission strategy
/essence of the discussion upon its completion.	In family meeting questions, concerns and needs of	
I: What benefit does it provide for them?	children are entertained and the platform isused to	Promoting self-
	convey parental values and expectations	confidence

F: Just it instill confidence (in them), moreover if they		
prepare and discuss issues with their own initiative (develop		
confidence) for example, if they want to develop charity and	Qur'an- regarded as guidance to Muslims in their	Providing
hold onto it as their own values talking about charity will	daily life and connection to it is considered	instruction/guidance
give them opportunity to internalize because it comes from	essential for successful life	
within and then they will maintain it. Then it became their		
second nature. As regards to Qur'an, we do not impose		Encouraging self-
many things but expect them read at least one chapter in a		initiation
day even in a rushing manner, which we think would	Parents seemed to acknowledge their adolescents'	
contribute to getting them to the habit and making it a	psychological needs for autonomy and promote it	
routine. The family meeting also encompassesquestions to	as a bid in the development of intrinsic life goals	
discuss and ponder over it, and help them know how much		
they have captured the issues under discussion. These are		
things we do (strategy) to transmit values.		
Confidence building is one (value) which we consistently		Responding to
encourage them to develop, we insist them to maintain	Confidence building as a way to doing things with	sensitive issue
connection to Qur'an We do not think they get the entire		judiciously
thing by reciting it. This will enable them get organized and	autonomy	
programmed		
I: You have discussed about your parenting journey, I		
wander to know about how you foster responsibility?		
F: It could change day by day. If you ask me to estimate the		
present, I can say 40/60 %. In 40% of the cases we instruct		
children to perform this or that [initiated by parents] and to		
a large extent, 60%, of the cases (our) children take the		
initiative to perform a certain activity by themselves.		Mother-son conflict
Previously it was not in that direction. Based on that		Father mediating
sometimes we suggest ideas to convince them to change or		conflict
modify their ideas, and at times we shape it to suit all.		
I: Does the transition trigger conflict amongst you?		
M: As is always the case, we do not encounter major		
conflict, except on one occasion, it came to our attention	Parents appeared not to get shocked- there reaction	
that he (son) when he turns 14 sent letter to a girl and we	was 'you are yet to mature, you willreach that	Boys more challenging
asked him privately. We (couple) discuss how to deal with	stage'. Their understanding of developmental	
this issue first. (father interrupts) we did not get shocked.	milestone might lead them to react to the news	
He vehemently answered (for our inquiry), 'I want her, I	judiciously	Defiance of mothers'
	Conflict between mother and son mediated by	authority
	father.	

love her', (Laugh) with this we said _you are yet to mature,	The son appeared to put some pressure on the	
you will reach that stage As far as the daughter is	mother in the absence of father due to mother_s	Close monitoring
concerned we did not see (something similar) from her	refusal to give money and grant him permission to	
except she is spending money lavishly, but not such	go outside.	
behavior.	Parent made contrast between her daughters and	
F: If we want to discuss (more) around conflict I have	son in terms of their behavior- considering son as	
noticed conflict between them (mother and son) when I am	challenging one while see the daughters as soft and	
outside home, so I play a mediating role. As I told you the	considerate	Occasional challenge
son is attached to me and encounter conflict with her, he		from daughters
(son) gives her a challenge, and when I am abroad I used to		
call them and mediate. (Mother interferes). One Friday I		
insist him not to go out and refused to give him money, he	In some occasions the son shows disobedience to	
said that he has an assignment to work with friend and we	mother's command and the latter depend on the	
made a hot argument. In his absence he would give me	father for admonishing the child- does this imply	
hard time and lose appetite (eating food) and wait him slim	father being considered a main authority figure?	
when he [name] come back home. The daughters are soft	Does mother's more involvement in parenting	
and refrain even by reading my face.	their adolescents trigger conflict with boys due to	Protective /controlling
	father's distance and being less involved?	stance
I: You mediate your wife and son when they encounter		stance
conflict. Would you please expand on that?	The son seems demanding in his behavior,	
F: Yes, he (son) did not obey when she instructed him to cut	overprotected?	Seeking personal space
his hair according to requirement of the school. First he		
appeared to obey but he came back with the style he chose	Mother also encounter occasional conflict with the	
for himself. She called me to admonish him and at times	daughter.	Emotion /taking
tried to reason why we require him to come to our terms.	⁴ The daughter seems reluctant to using the school	umbrage
In our home there is a habit of food schedule where my wife	bus', instead prefer to 'taking taxi by herself', may	
prepares different kinds of dish for each day. While others	suggest her need for autonomy in choosing what	
are happily enjoyed the food prepared for the day he(elderly	appears appropriate to her, wanting to avoid being	
son) declines (to appreciate) and complain (not) toeat, rather	among the crowed? Seeing things differently, for	
wanted to prepare his own as he is able to cook food. At this	parent economic issues come first, for the youth	Prudential
I interfere and mediate.	privacy might matter?	/conventional issues
Of course, one of our daughters (also) challenged us		
occasionally. She rejects the idea of using the school bus (to		Sought adaptive
which) we pay monthly and express her desire to take taxi	An elder girl restricted from visiting her friend	methods
by her own. We did not agree with this first the service is	trigger conflict with mother while the younger	
economical and second when she drive with groups we feel	sibling remain obedient to parental demand	
comfortable because group travel could	-	
minimize bad things from happening to her. We	Taking umbrage as one discipline method to	

understand her need to privacy and discuss with her the cons	shape behavior	
and pros of going with taxi. She also insist to go toher		
friends and require us to let her, this also trigger conflict	Mother experiences resistance from the son during	Shielding children
with us. The other one is pretty calm and do not confront us,	adolescence and taking umbrage, to give the child	
when we express our anger in a smallest bit her tears	the impression that she is serious about his	
appear/shade her tears.	mistake.	
I: What kind of correction methods you employ when	Mundane issues as reason for conflict	Anxiety and concern
teens misbehave?		about drugs and
M: umbrage, the father also take umbrage, but his reaction	Anger – a reaction to non-compliance?	alcohol
gives them more hard time and (than mine) when he shows	Parents working out on adaptive strategy	
that they feel scared.		
F: Previously we applied punishment		Restriction/control
I: At this period		
F: Yeah <mark>until they are 15 years age</mark> .		
I: What makes you to abandoning physical punishment		
then?		Choosing environment
\mathbf{F} : Previously he submits to our demand but now he resists	Concern about the social environment made	to live and school to
to accepting and beginning to question us, so we adopt other	parents to choose new residential place to shield	enroll children
methods such as taking umbrage at his mistake The other	children from bad exposure.	
thing which deter us from applying punishment [to son] is		
he has developed migraine headache, when I take umbrage		
the migraine headache would exacerbate,(mother interfere)	Worried about the influences coming from	
even he did not go to school and misses class.	adolescents doing drugs, drinking alcohol and	Channeling children to
I: Can you discuss about supporting or hindering	practicing sex as their previous residential area	peer mentoring
factors that influence parenting adolescent children	expose adolescents to such _immoral_ practices	
currently?		
F: let us start from the positive. Particularly at current	Religious institution reinforce parenting	
situation. Because this is a place of our choice (residence)		
with people of similar background, known to each other,		
presence of mosque in the vicinity, gave us feeling of	Put restriction on children's movement except	Few opportunity to
security, not to be scared at least in our neighborhood. As to	allowing them go to gym on weekends, and finally	share experiences
the outside neighborhood, there are many corrupt practices.	realize that they constrain them. Parents	
Honestly leaving them freely is difficult. There are youth	presuppose that when a child encounter with peers	
who become smokers, drunker, and go around without	he would comeback with negative influences	
purpose. One day she [wife] counted 43 prostitute houses		Few opportunity to and
around the school which forced us to become		interest to benefit from
restrictive. Only on weekends we allow them to go to gym,	In parents thought placing children in school	parenting experts

I admit we made constraint on them, they do not have a	where they encounter youth with similar religious	
place (to move around freely), I know it affects them	backgrounds will reinforce their parenting efforts	
physically except weekends. No suspicion at all when	and enable children maintain their religious values	Parentingapproaches
they are allowed, they will comeback with some negative	and practices through their interaction with their	fitting today's youth
practices. To overcome this we had chosen our	peers	
neighborhood and selected the school where we pay a lot,		
creating environment where our children come into contact		
with peers similar to their background. For example, my		
daughter was attached to a lady (voluntarily coaching	Feel little support from community except a few	
children on religious values) who took the initiative to	friends willing to sharing ideas and concerns on	
fostering virtuous behavior for group of girls weekly. And	parenting, suggesting a need for parenting	
similar platforms are created for boys. These children are	knowledge and skills	Sought responsible
protected as a result and it could ease our fear. As regards to		child
young ones we want to create similar environment by		
doing this we aspire to ease our burden.		Foster self-
I: what kind of social platforms do parents have to share		transcendence
experiences and discuss about adolescents?		
M: What I am worried about is little concern among people		Emphasising family
living in our neighborhood. Yes, many of them are not	A parent comparing and contrasting present and	connectedness
concerned but there is a difference between us	past parenting and wish to rectifying what she	
F: As far as am concerned some of us come together and	perceives as not adaptive to present day	
discuss issues and we have a few source to consult to and	adolescents	Pros and cons of media
raise issues of our concern But in general, sometimes		technology
we borrow books to read and would ask someone to		
give us advice. For example, some people go to our friend	Parents seek their children lead responsible life and	
who is a counselor to seek council. We do not have such	keep their genealogy through marriage similar to	
parents who have serious concern and take the initiative to	them	Concerns of
bring issues to seek support which affect our adolescents.		inappropriate use of
I: How did your upbringing affect your parenting	Seek their teens equipped with necessary	technology
practices?	knowledge and skills to navigate life trajectory that	
M: I do not have closer relationship with my parents,	could lead them to self-transcendence	Benefit of media
although I used to play freely in the neighborhood. (now)		technology
My daughter first consulted me when she observe new		
phenomenon (menstruation) as for me (in my adolescence)		Providing needed
it was not (the case).	Adolescents' obsession to a computer seemed	resources at home
I: Your expectation of your teens?	parental concern. Does exposure to modern media	
M: To engage in marriage, to follow our foot steps	outlets make children stay away from religious	
F: knowing that they are leaving us (sooner or later), I	practice, distract them from their studies? Is that	

am scared and concerned that whether they are equipped to	Parents' concern?	Fostering self-transcendence
	Benefit of technology for completing assignments	r osternig sen-transcendence
demands of the real world they are going to face. We do not		
want them to be selfish. We ask them how they or what	and school work acknowledged	
they expect from their children in the future for instance	Invoking God to seeking protection for children	
to this question the younger one says I want one child and	seen as parenting resource in the face of the	
raise him properly. We seek our children totranscend and	unprecedented social milieu and introduction of	
lead their own lives.	media technology which provide alternative way	
I: What do your adolescent children expect from you as	of life often expose children to graphic imagesand	
parents?	porno	
F: As children, they wish (often) their needs get fulfilled		
(alongside), they consistently ask us to getting them		
scholarship We do not like them preoccupied with the		
technology as it distracts them from their work, expose them		
to pornographic materials, go astray and take away them		
from Allah (God). We consider its advantage in facilitating		
academic work, connecting them with their friends, so we		
made facilities available at home and they also have access		
to internet at my office.		
I: Is there anything you want to say or add before the		
closing of the interview?		
M : No, we feel happy with the discussion		
F : Done, einshaAllah if something cross to my mind, I will		
communicate you any time		