10-21-2021

Adaptation for Harmony: A Thematic Analysis Study of Internet Parental Monitoring Strategy in Indonesian Context

Annisa Reginasari

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, annisa.reginasari@mail.ugm.ac.id

Tina Afiatin

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, afiatin04@ugm.ac.id

Subandi Subandi

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, subandi@ugm.ac.id

Bhina Patria

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, patria@ugm.ac.id

Muchlisah Muchlisah

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, icha.muchlisah@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr>

Part of the [Child Psychology Commons](#), [Educational Technology Commons](#), and the [Social Media Commons](#)

This Article has supplementary content. View the full record on NSUWorks here:

<https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol26/iss10/13>

Recommended APA Citation

Reginasari, A., Afiatin, T., Subandi, S., Patria, B., & Muchlisah, M. (2021). Adaptation for Harmony: A Thematic Analysis Study of Internet Parental Monitoring Strategy in Indonesian Context. *The Qualitative Report*, 26(10), 3234-3261. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2021.4979>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the The Qualitative Report at NSUWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Qualitative Report by an authorized administrator of NSUWorks. For more information, please contact nsuworks@nova.edu.

Adaptation for Harmony: A Thematic Analysis Study of Internet Parental Monitoring Strategy in Indonesian Context

Abstract

The digital parenting realm raised a charm in exploring unique internet monitoring strategies of middle schoolers' daily lives as an authentic phenomenon of increasing youth cybernaut in Indonesia. This study explores parents' patterns of strategies in monitor their children's online activities. A total of 171 parents involved in this study filled out an open-ended survey, where we analyzed their answers using a combination of six steps of Braun and Clarke's (2006) Thematic Analysis procedure and De Farias et al.'s (2020) logical procedure of similarity with MAXQDA 2020 visual tools. The central theme emerged the internet monitoring strategies: regulation, guidance, trust-space, and direct intervention. From parents' perspective, the effective internet parental monitoring strategy was not only proactive but also reactive, especially when children were directly exposed to the online risks or violated the family media use agreement. Parents were optimizing the benefits of children online activity and minimizing the online risks. Parents were also concerned about the top three vital psycho-social factors: generosity, self-control, and critical-technical skills in mastering the cyberworld. Afterward, parents with children of a specific middle schoolers group tend to talk about strategies of internet parental monitoring.

Keywords

digital engagement, digital literacy, parental monitoring strategy, parenting, thematic analysis

Creative Commons License

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

Acknowledgements

We declare that the article has not been published in any language before and is not being considered concurrently for publication elsewhere. The research reported in the manuscript was conducted under general ethical guidelines in psychology. As Corresponding Author, I confirm that the manuscript has been read and approved for submission by all the named authors. We know of no conflicts of interest associated with this publication. This research was conducted in collaboration with the Doctoral Program in Psychology at the Universitas Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta; the Center for Women's and Gender Studies, Institute of Research and Community Services, Yogyakarta State University; and the Applied Family and Child Psychology Laboratory, Muhammadiyah University, Malang.

Adaptation for Harmony: A Thematic Analysis Study of Internet Parental Monitoring Strategy in Indonesian Context

Annisa Reginasari

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Tina Afiatin, Subandi, and Bhina Patria

Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

Muchlisah

Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin, Makassar, Indonesia

The digital parenting realm raised a charm in exploring unique internet monitoring strategies of middle schoolers' daily lives as an authentic phenomenon of increasing youth cybernaut in Indonesia. This study explores parents' patterns of strategies in monitor their children's online activities. A total of 171 parents involved in this study filled out an open-ended survey, where we analyzed their answers using a combination of six steps of Braun and Clarke's (2006) Thematic Analysis procedure and De Farias et al.'s (2020) logical procedure of similarity with MAXQDA 2020 visual tools. The central theme emerged the internet monitoring strategies: regulation, guidance, trust-space, and direct intervention. From parents' perspective, the effective internet parental monitoring strategy was not only proactive but also reactive, especially when children were directly exposed to the online risks or violated the family media use agreement. Parents were optimizing the benefits of children online activity and minimizing the online risks. Parents were also concerned about the top three vital psycho-social factors: generosity, self-control, and critical-technical skills in mastering the cyberworld. Afterward, parents with children of a specific middle schoolers group tend to talk about strategies of internet parental monitoring.

Keywords: digital engagement, digital literacy, parental monitoring strategy, parenting, thematic analysis

Introduction

How technology plays a role in influencing the psychological development and welfare of children aged 6-12 years (middle childhood; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2019; Collins, 1984) has still become a subject of discussion in scientific studies (Danovitch, 2019; Johnson, 2006). Digital devices such as smartphones and laptops are defined as communication tools that connect the users to the Internet to receive digital content like movies, television programs, and music (Clark, 2011). The use of digital devices and the internet by children refers to all platforms they accessed and their capacity to manage them (Nikken, 2017; Nikken & Schols, 2015). Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest number of internet and social media users in the world (Indonesian Internet Service Providers & Technopreneur Association, 2017; Internet World Stats, 2020). Although youths aged 10-24 years old are the most internet-connected groups, it is estimated that internet users include

younger age groups (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII), 2020; UNICEF, 2017).

Internet paradox is challenging because parents go through a dilemmatic situation when they appropriately monitor children's activities on the internet to support their development and to focus on optimizing their welfare (Livingstone & Blum-Ross, 2020). The use of the internet in school-age children can open opportunities for them to extend their learning autonomy domains. It includes access to materials related to their education, digital learning and literacy, public participation and engagement, creativity, and self-expression, and formation of identity and social connection (Livingstone et al., 2018). However, social interaction in the cyber world also can become a threat to children. The use of internet-connected devices (smartphones) over time has triggered them to more private access to cyberspaces, leading to "bedroom culture" (Knitter & Zemp, 2020; Pons-Salvador et al., 2018; Puspitasari & Ishii, 2016; UNICEF, 2017). This condition makes the children less supervised by parents or other adults (Danovitch, 2019). Moreover, during the COVID-19 Pandemic, parents, teachers, and children must make rapid digital adaptation (e.g., having sufficient digital skills, competencies, and resources) to attending online school activities (Iivari et al., 2020; König et al., 2020).

Researchers have four arguments to contribute to the development of the concept of internet parental monitoring for Indonesian parents who have school-aged children. First, the strategies used by parents in middle childhood-ers (6-11 years old) are more varied than for younger or older children. For example, in early childhood, parents tend to limit screentime (cocooning), while for adolescents, parents perform the autonomy granting on internet access (deference; American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) Council on Communication and Media, 2016; Padilla-Walker et al., 2012). Meanwhile, for the middle childhood-ers, parents need to create a family media plan, be a good role model, use child-friendly search engines (including the device and technical checking), and help the child to find information needed for homework (The Australian Parenting Raising Children, 2018a, 2018b). However, when the need to identify monitoring strategies of the younger internet raises, only a few studies are available in focusing on how the parent should respond to middle childhood-ers internet use (Danovitch, 2019; Hosokawa & Katsura, 2018; McDool et al., 2020; Nikken & Jansz, 2014; Wahyuningrum et al., 2020).

Second, parental monitoring is an essential research focus for its evidence-based body of research in reducing the risk of a child's tendency to engage in delinquency, sexual activity, aggressive behavior, and behavioral deviance (Jacobson & Crockett, 2000; Li et al., 2000; Stanton et al., 2000). The nature of user-internet interaction provides children with anonymous, disinhibited (Suler, 2004), and more private access (Pons-Salvador et al., 2018; UNICEF, 2017). When impulsivity potentials of internet access set children for problematic internet use (PIU; i.e., addiction to internet use and online games; Anderson et al., 2017; Santhoso, 2019), parental monitoring prevents the deleterious effects of technology use (Coyne et al., 2012; Qanitatn et al., 2019).

Third, many parental monitoring studies are quantitative by nature and focus on of adolescent and older children's internet activities (Dhir & Khalil, 2018; Nikken & Jansz, 2014). Parental monitoring needs to be reviewed as a dynamic process that stems from the daily interactions between parents and children (Knitter & Zemp, 2020; Symons et al., 2017). It is necessary to conduct a study with a qualitative approach that can explore the patterns of parents' understanding of internet monitoring strategy and digital engagement especially on school-aged children in daily life.

Fourth, it is important to study how cultural context gives a distinct nuance to practices of parental monitoring, including parenting related to digital media use (Izrael, 2013; Karaseva, 2016). A systematic review has summarized that most studies on the issue of internet parental monitoring that has been done are those involving participants from Caucasian families

(Wahyuningrum et al., 2020) and families with the privilege of internet access (Symons et al., 2017). For example, the concept of parenting is often described in Baumrind's perspective of pattern dimension, which cannot always explain parenting behaviors of other cultures (e.g., Asian cultures; Etikawati et al., 2019). Parenting according to Baumrind's perspective of pattern dimension emphasizes the importance of autonomous encouragement (authoritative pattern). The values of freedom of expression and parents' emphasis on guaranteeing children's autonomy in the context of internet access were also found in the previous studies (Haddon, 2015; van Kruistum & van Steensel, 2017). The emphasis on the pursuit of children's autonomy exclusively tends not to always be relevant with the central values of life in Asian countries that emphasize their values more on family relations (Haar & Krahe, 1999; Markus et al., 1996; Minza et al., 2020). Armando and Hendriyani (2012) revealed that parents of grade five elementary school children in Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia ($N=188$) were more likely to apply active and restrictive strategies than co-viewing strategies in responding to their children's television viewing activities. Thus, parent participants in Indonesia may have a unique preference for media monitoring.

Other contextual factors provide parents with alterations in applying digital and internet monitoring strategies. The involvement of family members in accessing the internet is affected by the degree of their skills and education, type of their devices, content availability in their language (Helsper & Eynon, 2013; Livingstone & Helsper, 2010; UNICEF, 2017; Vaala & Bleakley, 2015), their economic capability (i.e., family income), social and cultural contexts (Izrael, 2013; Karaseva, 2016), and personal psychological wellbeing (Helsper, 2016; Helsper & Eynon, 2013; Helsper & van Deursen, 2017).

Therefore, it needs to do comprehensive and contextual studies that can explore parents' thoughts and understanding of cyber world interaction through practices of parental monitoring on children's internet activities on daily basis. This study aimed to explore how parents understand their engagement on the internet to apply certain strategies to monitor their children's online activities on daily basis.

Literature Review

The Role of Parents in Optimizing Children's Development and Welfare

School age is an important period for children because it is when the foundation in them is built to grow to the next stages of development, entering puberty and developing social skills (Boyden et al., 2019). New technology like smart tablet makes it easier to access digital media without parents' guidance, and it is the time when children begin to learn a language and develop skills like reading and writing so that it drives their independence in accessing the internet (van Kruistum & van Steensel, 2017). In the interaction in social media and the internet, there is a chance for the users to obscure their identities with anonymous or semi-anonymous usernames in social media like Instagram, YouTube, and Wikipedia (Meshi et al., 2015). The anonymity incites free expression and eliminates figures of authority (online disinhibition effect and minimization of status and authority) in cyberspaces (May-Chahal et al., 2014; Suler, 2004; Whitty & Young, 2017). The minimum authority in the cyber world makes parents or adults hard to supervise the use of media by children (Danovitch, 2019).

The authority figures closest to children in the cyber world are parents. They can provide their children with the values of religion/faith the family embraces and can control or filter risky Internet content (Izrael, 2013; Padilla-Walker & Thompson, 2005). Parents are the closest microsystem that facilitates children to grow and develop affiliation, skills, and positive social adjustment with peer friends (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; McHale et al., 2009). A social adjustment can be realized in activities with friends or communication with parents using

digital devices (Danovitch, 2019). Children's social behaviors reflect the treatment they receive at home through role models given by their parents, including in using digital devices to access the internet (Hu et al., 2018). Children can find it difficult to adjust (including in social activities on the internet) if they lack guidance and assistance from parents (Hurlock, 1978). Parents are expected to be able to create a communicative social environment in the family and to develop interaction with children in using digital media through discussion and sharing of the positive use of digital media (Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017). The benefits and risks of online interaction that have long been the focus of discussion among academics encourage researchers to propose questions:

RQ1: How do parents describe the benefits and risks of activity in the cyber world?

Contextualization of Parental Monitoring Strategy

Children's activity monitoring has been studied for more than two decades by most researchers of parental practices, which then created three mainstreams (Vaala & Bleakley, 2015). First, parental monitoring that focuses on parents' efforts to probe knowledge about their children's activities and whereabouts during off-school hours (Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Keijsers, 2016; Kerr et al., 2010; Stattin & Kerr, 2000; Svensson, 2003). Second, a collection of studies those conceptualize the practices of monitoring children's activities with television and the internet as parental mediation. It is divided into active mediation, restricting mediation, and co-use/co-view mediation (Livingstone & Helsper, 2010, 2008; Nathanson, 2002; Nikken & Schols, 2015). Third, the concept of proactive digital monitoring strategy considers the key elements of parental monitoring, namely the prevention of negative exposure from the internet and facilitation of parents' authority balance with the development of child's autonomy (e.g., parent acting as mediator or filter between the family values and the values from outside the family; Padilla-Walker & Thompson, 2005).

The term "proactive" in proactive digital monitoring strategy (Padilla-Walker & Thompson, 2005) contrasts with reactive parental monitoring strategy (Wisniewski et al., 2015). Parents express reactive strategies by withdrawing affection, controlling children's time using media, and neglecting children's autonomy (Sasson & Mesch, 2014). Although parents in Indonesia may appear to be adopting reactive parenting practices (e.g., controlling children's media use by showing power and limiting autonomy), instead of being a sign of withdrawal of affection, this method is a form of affection and solicitude for the children welfare. For example, a case study from Adi (2017) on adolescent participants in Indonesia revealed that adolescents perceive parental monitoring as a form of affection and protection (not as a restraint) so that adolescents are willing to obey their parents' advice. In the same study, the parents understood the risks of online activities; however, not all these parents used strategies to protect their children's safety (Adi, 2017). Therefore, this study aims to research parental monitoring by exploring whether internet monitoring strategies implemented by Indonesian parent participants with middle schoolers children are only proactive or have a reactive realm.

RQ2: How do parents describe the practice of monitoring strategy on children's activity on the internet on daily basis?

Parenting practices like parental monitoring strategy need to be adjusted with existing challenges and habits in the family. The challenge to apply internet parental monitoring is how parents manage their consistency and enforce consequences of agreement concerning internet use and how they socialize digital literacy (digital engagement) to the family members needs

to consider more the contextual circumstance (Reginasari et al., 2020). This study also tried to answer questions:

RQ3: How do parents describe their understanding of the concept of digital engagement or digital literacy) and digital parenting?

RQ4: How do parents describe their understanding of things that need to be considered (antecedents) to engage in online activity and face the risks?

The Roles of Researchers

All researchers in this study are Indonesians who share a common interest in research on education, culture, and parenting of the family in Indonesia, and qualitative research design. By performing optimal coordination, all authors discussed the stages of analysis used in the research and agreed on categorizing the data to create a synthesis of the themes of the research results.

The First author is Annisa Reginasari. She is a doctoral student at Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Her research focuses on parental monitoring strategy and digital literacy within family relations. She is the primary researcher who contributed to the design of the research phase, analysis of the data with MAXQDA2020, and reviewing the literature.

The Second author is Tina Afiatin, who is a professor in general Psychology. She is interested in exploring Family Psychology, Group intervention, and qualitative approach. Currently, she is developing the Flourishing Family theme research. As the supervisor and promoter of the first author, she recommended the writings about parenting mediation strategy and theory, corrected the open-ended questions lists, and delivered the workshop session.

The Third author is Subandi. He is a professor in mental health studies from religious and cultural approaches. One of his current research themes explores the cultural dimension (Ngemong) within the Javanese family. He contributed the idea of cultural pattern leads this study results, remarkably advised for the discussion section.

The fourth author is Bhina Patria—who is interested in higher education studies and psychological research methods. He contributed in providing ideas on maintaining the credibility of research data, correcting methodological terms used, and supervising the editorial writing of manuscripts.

The fifth author is Muchlisah. She is a lecturer in the Islamic Early Childhood Education Program, interested in field Developmental psychology (childhood and adolescent) and cultural psychology. As the inter-rater of data coding, she contributed to re-check coding categorization of participants' answers.

Method

Participants

This study involved 171 parents who had children aged 6 to 14 years or categorized as middle childhood—most participants aged 37 to 41 years old. We used the open-ended qualitative answers as the primary data and employed descriptive statistics regarding participants' socio-demographic information (See supplementary Table S1). More mothers (70%) than fathers (30%) participated in completing the questionnaire from the data. Most participants had a bachelor's degree education (38%), work as a homemaker (29%), and have children aged 9 to 11 years (42%). In addition, almost all participants (96%) claimed to have a partner in a marital relationship. The dominant social media and instant messaging applications accessed were Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, and Google search engines.

The participants were recruited in two phases using the purposive sampling technique. The Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada, approved the design of this study (first phase with the number of concern 4744/SD/PL.03.01/XI/2018 and the second phase 7594/UN1/FPsi.1.3/SD/PT/2019). Researchers chose Malang City (East Java Province), Sleman City (Yogyakarta Province), and Tembilahan City (Riau Province) for the local government supports in promoting the National Digital Literacy Programs (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of the Republic of Indonesia Directorate General of Informatics Applications, 2021b; Rachmawati et al., 2018). The Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers survey reports that Java Island (55.7%) and Sumatra Island (21.6%) are the two largest regions contributing to internet penetration activity in Indonesia (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII), 2020). Malang and Sleman (Yogyakarta) cities are among the areas that have agreed to a memorandum of understanding to participate in digital literacy and Smart City programs (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of the Republic of Indonesia Directorate General of Informatics Applications, 2021a). In addition, Indragiri Hilir Regency, especially Tembilahan City, as a local government, also promotes central government programs by developing community service applications (InPAS) and capacity building for civil servant's digital literacy (Asmara, 2020; Nirma, 2020). We recruited the participants by considering the availability of cooperative relations from related collaborators (i.e., a public service office and a vocational high school in Tembilahan City, Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province; the Center for Women's and Gender Studies, Institute of Research and Community Services, Yogyakarta State University; the Applied Family and Child Psychology Laboratory, Malang Muhammadiyah University; and a residential area in Malang City, East Java Province).

Table 1

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria of participants in All Phases and Data Collection Method

Phase	Participants (data collection method)	Date	Preliminary Study (Reginasari et al., 2020)	Exclusion criteria (N)	Inclusion criteria (N)
First	A public service office in Tembilahan Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province (Offline/paper-based)	23 rd of August to the 29 th of November, 2018	139	111	28
	Google Form (Online)	12 th of May to the 12 th of December, 2018	74	66	8
Second	Participants of vocational high school at Tembilahan City (Offline/paper-based)	1 st of December, 2018	80	27	53
	Parents who attending the workshop entitled "Parenting in the Digital Era" at Malang and Yogyakarta City (Offline/paper-based)	12 th of October 2019 and 26 th of October 2019 (Malang City, East Java) 1 st of November 2019 (Yogyakarta)	220	138	82

Phase	Participants (data collection method)	Date	Preliminary Study (Reginasari et al., 2020)	Exclusion criteria (N)	Inclusion criteria (N)
			513	342	171

Note. Inclusion criteria: The parents (fathers and mothers) with at least one child aged 6 to 14 years within the family, from each phase and each data collection method (i.e., first and second phase; online and offline). Exclusion criteria: participants who filled out the open-ended questionnaire but were not the parents (father or mother) of children aged 6 to 14 years within the family.

During the COVID-19 Pandemic, the government of the Republic of Indonesia, through the Ministry of Education, launched a free internet quota policy in response to online school activities (Ministry of Education Culture Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021). However, the policy raises parent's concerns about their ability to monitor children's internet access, especially for parents with low digital literacy (Wismarin, 2020). Thus, parents in Indonesia still need assistance to raise children in the digital era, especially during this pandemic where there is an acceleration of digital use in all aspects of life.

The data analyzed in this study is part of preliminary data involving participants with broader criteria ($N = 513$; see Table 1) such as students, parents (fathers and mothers) who have children early childhood-ers and teenagers (Reginasari et al. 2020). However, regarding the specific research question on how the internet monitoring strategy of parents in children aged 6 to 14 years, the researcher then focused on analyzing parents with school-age children's answers. For example, data collection in the second phase initially included parents and students at a high school vocational school in Indragiri Hilir, Riau Province. However, only parents' answers with children aged 6 to 14 years ($N = 53$) were included in the data analysis (i.e., Information comes from screening the number of siblings of the student from the vocational high school or the number of children in the family). In addition, each participant was granted a gift worth IDR 50,000 (US\$ 3.48).

Data Collecting Instrument

In the first phase and second phase of data collection, we proposed several open-ended questions (Table 2) There were two reasons why we used an open-ended questionnaire for this current study. First, an open-ended questionnaire provides genuine narrative responses (Neuman, 2011), encourages respondents to express creativity and freedom to answer (Morrow et al., 2011), and encourages researchers to take a holistic and thorough look at the issues being investigated (Allen, 2017). Second, an open-ended questionnaire is especially useful in research with populations related to cultural research (Maruyama & Ryan, 2014). This investigation involved Indonesian respondents, in exploring internet monitoring strategies on children's internet and social media activities. Thus, we were required to use an instrument that could elicit responses and describe more closely the real view of the participants.

Table 2

Open-Ended Questions in the First Phase and Second Phase of the Study

Phase	No.	Questions
First Phase	1.	According to you, what does the ability to use social media mean?
	2.	Tell your story when you feel able to use social media/the internet.
	3.	Share your experience when you feel able to use social media/the internet.
	4.	How do you supervise your child using digital media?

Phase	No.	Questions
	5.	What are the important things a person needs to have to be able to use and master social media well?
Second Phase	1.	What do you know about digital parenting?
	2.	Share your pleasant experiences when accessing the internet and social media.
	3.	Share your unpleasant experiences when accessing the internet and social media.
	4.	How do you supervise the use of digital devices/internet/social media by your child, niece/nephew, or other family members?
	5.	How sure are you that your way of supervising/monitoring the use of the internet/social media (No. 4) is effective to keep your family from the danger of the internet? (Very effective, effective enough, indecisive, less effective, very ineffective)
	6.	What is your reason to choose the answer to question number 5)?

Data Credibility

Researchers ensure the data's credibility in three ways. First, we designed the data collecting method with a series of phases that will complement each other. The first phase is applied to capturing participants' thought patterns about internet use and the antecedent's factor in optimizing internet/social media use (RQ1, RQ2, RQ4). Nevertheless, we still include questions about how parents monitor their children's use of social media in the first and second phases (RQ3). Thus, the second phase was refining the first phase by including questions about how effective parents are in assessing the monitoring strategies that have been implemented to protect children from internet risks.

Second, we sustained the authenticity of participant answers in online and offline open-ended questionnaire (see Table 1). We administered the online open-ended questionnaire using Google Form from the 12th of May to the 12th of December 2018. The participants were required to use a valid e-mail address to reduce the possibility of a double response from the same participant. Of 74 respondents from the preliminary study, only eight participants met the inclusion criteria in this study and were worth analyzing. For the offline data collecting, the primary researcher of this present study designed a workshop (in the second phase), "Parenting in the Digital Era," and one of the co-researchers— a licensed psychologist from the Indonesian Psychologist Association (HIMPSI)— delivered the workshop sessions. Accordingly, our participants did not need to pay the contribution fee to join the workshop. Thus, participants of the study filled out open-ended questionnaire and came to the workshop voluntarily. Trained assistants were also involved in announcing the workshop event and administering the procedures (instructions) for filling out the questionnaire. Thirty minutes before the workshop began, participants were required to complete the open-ended questionnaire, and then the assistant collected back the questionnaire papers when the workshop begins. During the workshop sessions, the facilitator psychologist cherished the participants to share their digital parenting experience and opened up the discussion.

The offline data from the first phase were collected from the 23rd of August to the 29th of November 2018, involving 139 parents who worked at a public service office in Tembilahan Indragiri Hilir Regency, Riau Province. However, only 28 participants met the inclusion criteria. The offline data collection in the second phase (workshop attendants) consisted of participants from Yogyakarta and Malang city; from 220 participants of the preliminary research data analysis, there were 82 of them meeting the present study inclusion criteria and were included in the analysis. Meanwhile, of 80 participants in vocational high school at Tembilahan City in the initial study, only 53 parents whose answers were fit the criteria.

Finally, to optimize the objectivity of the analysis procedure, we applied logical procedure of similarity with the help of Qualitative Data Analysis Software MAXQDA 2020 (i.e., the Visual menu tools like code map, document map, and the menu mixed-method crosstab analysis; Kuckartz & Radiker, 2019; MAXQDA, 2020).

Data Analysis

This study used a qualitative approach with a thematic analysis technique, which provides researchers with a flexible procedure to analyze theme patterns in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The epistemological and methodological flexibility of it suggests appropriate technical analysis steps to answer the questions of a study (de Farias et al., 2020). We combined six steps of Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis procedure and those of the technical analysis of de Farias et al. (2020) especially in explaining the use of the logical procedure of similarity and levels of thematic complexity (thematization; see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Six steps of Braun and Clarke's Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) combine with The Logical Procedure of Similarity and Levels of Thematic Complexity (Thematization; De Farias et al., 2020)

The first step was to recognize the data obtained through the offline and online questionnaires by inputting them into a Microsoft Excel sheet for easy reading and analysis as well as data coding. The second step was to code the data using code highlighted segment and memo (Kuckartz & Radiker, 2019; MAXQDA, 2020) to highlight the data segments and provide detailed codes on the codebook (memo), and then determine the color labels for the codes and categories. The codes, categories, memo, and codebook were revised in stages to re-adjust with suggestions and approval from the inter-rater. The codes and categories that had been rechecked were the codes with data segments brought to analysis in the next step. We also adopted some of the terms of the categories and segment codes from the previous studies. For example, we used the abstract description of parental mediation especially regulation, guidance, and space (van Kruistum & van Steensel, 2017) to include specific details in the code hierarchy (see the codebook we provide in the additional document). We also adopted the term

parental solicitation (Kerr et al., 2010) to explain intentional co-use of the internet by the parent and child together and sharing experiences between them. The term trust-deference was also a result of the elaboration of the term inspired by the description made by Padilla-Walker et al. (2012) and the term techno-parenting (Rodhiya, 2020) to understand parents' perspective in perceiving digital parenting.

In the third step, we looked for the pattern or theme in the codes of the data set as to different participants to group or categorize into themes, and then in the fourth step, we reviewed the themes. Starting from the third and fourth phase, we applied the logical procedure of similarity (de Farias et al., 2020) as a coding strategy by highlighting, selecting, and decontextualizing data segmentation then grouping and categorizing them so that it enables to shape the logic of correlation among the categories.

In the fifth step, we applied the principle of different levels of thematic complexity for code naming (thematization, Table 2). This process was done by identifying three different levels of analytical complexity, namely the levels of description, analysis, and thematic statement. The descriptive thematization level consisted of semantic relation between the category and grouping into themes describing the more general content aspects. Then, the thematic statement-level consisted of theme presentation identified thoroughly in a theoretical statement that could be verified or falsified (De Farias et al., 2020), and the sixth step was to produce an analysis report (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Results

Theme I: Facing the Internet Paradoxes with Optimizing the Benefits and Minimizing the Risks

The capability to use digital media well is distant from the negative impacts of the internet (Figure S1 supplementary). Nevertheless, at certain intersection points, the capability (i.e., to make social interaction and to optimize the benefits for recreation-expression, to make work easier, to shop and trade online) and benefits of the internet (i.e., neutral stance and benefit for family domain) intersect with the negative impacts of the internet (i.e., environment factors, parents' limitation, and parents' passiveness). Correlation also occurred in the category of openness to new experience.

The participants considered that digital media and the internet have both benefits and risks (Table 3). The benefits in general are behaviors that can result in positive things in the cyber world. In the family context, digital media and the internet facilitate a quality relationship between parents and children, and between husband and wife (e.g., bridging the communication between husband and wife who are in distance from each other). In response to the presence of the internet in the family, parents consider it is an undeniable reality so that they welcome digital media and use them for facilitating their children to take the benefits of the internet and keep away from the risks. Digital media and the internet are also used for self-expression and recreation, for making friends and broader social relationship and communication, and for gaining economic benefits (such as media branding, opening business and job, online trading, saving cost and time), for obtaining information and knowledge (such as keeping up with local, national, international news, learning religion to strengthen faith, accessing map, and accessing tips of healthy life).

The participants admitted that their capability to use digital media had layers, in which the social relation element was viewed as more valuable than personal interest (self-expression). Personal expression was lower in priority than social interaction/relation, knowledge attainment, and productivity. Participant 36, for example, told that digital media and the internet are used not only for personal expression but also for social relations:

The ability to use social media is how we make use of social media well and properly by filling them with contents aimed not only to express ourselves but also to weave friendly networks and interaction, to share information and knowledge, to develop individual potentials for building businesses. (RESPO36, Pos.1)

The bad impacts of internet access comprise the online risks of pornographic contents that suddenly pop up, hoax news and fraud, cyber-bullying, hate speech, body-shaming, swearing, health disorder, privacy threat, losing control, internet high cost, and bad network. The challenges for parents to supervise their children include limited time and duration spent together with children. Parents cannot always supervise their children's activities on the internet because parents have to go to work, do not have close relations with children, or rarely meet them. Some of the participants even admitted that they were passive towards their children's online activities. Due to the advanced development of technology, parents felt less able to keep up with the speed of the development so that they felt technologically backward. They felt unable to access information on the internet so that they tended to feel sad, left behind, close-minded, insecure, confused, alienated, and less able to understand their children:

It is like chasing a light, internet world develops so fast while we, parents, still find it hard to advise and guide our children due to our limitations. The technology develops so fast while we are not equipped with sufficient knowledge. (INTERNSHIP Phase 2/RESP106:5)

The parents also considered that interaction with peer friends and environments equipped with Wi-Fi became threats for them in supervising their children although they implicitly admitted that they could understand that the internet paradoxes can be overcome with the ability to use social media and the internet by optimizing the benefits and minimizing the risks: "The ability to use social media is measured not only with how many social media accounts we have but also more importantly with the benefits we can gain from them for positive purposes" (Online Phase 1; RESP024:1).

Theme II: Internet Monitoring Strategy

2a. Internet parental monitoring strategy consisted of regulation, guidance, trust-space, and direct intervention.

The Regulatory Strategy

The regulatory strategy referred to parents encouraging children to balance online and offline activities (in terms of time, duration, and frequency) with approval of specific rules regarding usage, including technical filtering and internet quota restrictions. Parents regulate and monitor children's activities of using digital media and the internet with strategies such as access restrictions, mutually agreed rules, content filtering, and offline-online time balance. The duration and frequency for children to access the internet are regulated to enable them to balance their online time with offline time:

[My] child is cooperative, even though there must be alternative substitute activities, for example, play with [another activity without gadgets]. (INTERNSIP_Two Phase\RESP130: 5)

[By] add the outdoor activities. (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP132:3)

given other more valuable activities, for example, socializing with other people. (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP142: 3)

I make a policy for children's screen time [for example] every three days with a duration of 30 minutes [with] parental assistance, while at 06:00-9.00 PM is free gadget time. (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP114: 2)

[We; parents] take advantage of the agreement with family and children. (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP130:3)

Table 3

Different Levels of Thematic Complexity (Thematization) Internet Parental Monitoring Strategy

Theme	Descriptive theme/ comprehensive category	Analytical theme Thematic	Thematic statement/hypothesis
I	The benefits of the internet, the concept of the capability to use the internet, important things (antecedents) of digital literacy (openness to new digital experience), digital skills.	The capability to use the internet was to optimize the benefits and minimize the risks	Facing internet paradoxes by optimizing the benefits and minimizing the risks
II	Internet monitoring strategy	Internet parental monitoring strategy consisted of regulation, guidance, trust-space, and direct intervention.	
	The benefits of the internet, negative impacts of interaction on the internet, internet monitoring strategy, important things (antecedents) of digital literacy (peer friends, virtues), concepts of digital parenting, the effectiveness of monitoring strategy	Parents' strategy of internet monitoring on children was a part of techno parenting that is considered effective	The assortment of monitoring strategies on children's access to the internet was considered effective by parents, being not only proactive but also intervening/reactive, especially when children were directly exposed to the online risks or when they violated the agreement.
	Parent groups based on children age grouping	Parents with children of certain age tended to talk about certain strategies of internet parental monitoring	The regulation strategy that included agreements on rules, restriction, and space (trust-deference) was done by the parents of all age groups of children, while the advice strategy was applied to older children (9-14). The direct intervention was applied depending on the situation and condition of the children especially

Theme	Descriptive theme/ comprehensive category	Analytical theme Thematic	Thematic statement/hypothesis
III	Important things (antecedents) of digital literacy (digital engagement	Digital engagement and psychosocial factors	when they violated the agreement, and they were facing online risks. Factors related to digital literacy (digital engagement) were generosity (virtues), self-control, and digital skill

The Guiding Strategy

The guiding strategy included discussing content, either in egalitarian ways, also in a hierarchic style and advice (i.e., lesson communicated by parents, being hierarchical, one direction, in which parents play a role as providers of references of children's behaviors based on good virtues): "[Parents] advise [the children] to be wise in using [devices]" (INHIL_phase 2\RESP071: 3). "Children follow parental advice, even though [parents] cannot 100% control children" (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP152: 5).

Content discussion and participation are guidance strategies used by parents to encourage the use of the educational application, to teach children to know how to search for information and knowledge, and to guide them in using digital media for informational purposes:

[Parent] get in the habit of exchanging thoughts and opinions with children... so that children will tell stories about things they see and do not know on social media. (online phase 1\RESP032:4)

[I] provides insight to my child about the harmful effects and usefulness of the internet so that it does not make my child addicted and does not get toxic effects. (INHIL_phase 2\RESP038: 3)

[We] build good communication with children. There is nothing to hide; cellphones do not have passwords [so that we can] share valuable information when using social media. (online phase 1\RESP031:4)

The guiding strategy also had the parents participated in children's online activities and being children's role models for online behavior. Collaboration and cooperation between parents and other adults including the whole members of the family help children to use the internet and devices properly: "I monitor my child's use of social media by following all accounts my child has" (INHIL Phase 2/RESP055:2), "collaborating with my big family and school to become role models for my child" (INTERNSHIP Phase 2/RESP032:3).

The Space-Trust Strategy

The space-trust included parents guaranteeing children space and trust to access the internet. The "space" monitoring strategies, especially like trust-deference and internet solicitation, constitutes parents' efforts to provide children with space to use at least one device independently, to select and install application, and/or regulate their behavior:

By giving trust, [then this] will establish child's sense of responsibility. (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP119: 5)

I put my trust in my child in the use of internet media. (INHIL_phase 2\RESP075: 3)

I'm sure my child can choose positive content and reject negative in using it. (INHIL_phase 2\RESP071: 5)

Parents do not monitor media use by watching what the children do but consider finding out the activity from other sources and co-supervising. Some parents also check what information children have sought, whom the children have contacted, or which applications have been installed (Van Kruistum, & Van Steensel, 2017): “[I] checked the history of internet usage” (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP165: 3).

The one who checks [my son's cellphone is] his mother; I sometimes check my son's cellphone too, to help my wife monitor children's activities (INHIL_phase 2\RESP074: 3).

Direct Intervention Strategy

We named the last strategy with direct intervention because parents use sanctions, direct control, confiscation of tools, and sudden checks of devices due to children violating the family's rules agreed together before. Direct intervention strategies (e.g., device confiscation and sudden inspection) are done when parents consider their children facing internet risks.

Children are sanctioned if they excessively use the internet (INTERNSHIP_Phase 2/RESP092:3). I think I just supervise my child accessing social media at night only and tell him to go to bed earlier. (INHIL_phase 2/RESP077:3)

I supervise my child by calling him or picking him up from a friend's house or someone close to him. (INHIL_phase 2\RESP079: 3)

Apart from being at home, at school, there is also a cell phone check; if historically "bad" pictures are found [in the cellphone], they will be confiscated and punished. (INTERNSIP_Phase 2\RESP096: 5)

2b. Parents' strategies for monitoring children's internet activities as a part of techno-parenting

Internet monitoring strategy is interrelated to the concepts of parental mediation and techno-parenting. Parents viewed digital parenting as a parent's mediation to supervise, restrict a child's internet activities, and spend time together. Parents share the meaning of the effects of the digital era so that their children can make valuable their time. Techno-parenting is considered a strategy that positions the parents as the active, creative, and literate agencies to flourish their child's technological development. Techno-parenting constitutes a series of activities, ranging from most trivial to the most significant roles, in the interaction with the child intensively and openly using the existing information technology, making the advanced technological positive instrument for children's education (Rodhiya, 2020).

Figure 2

Code Analysis of Map Visual Tools MAXQDA to Explore the Relationship Between Internet Monitoring Strategy (orange dot), Online Risks (purple dot), and the Concept of Digital Parenting (yellow dot), that Shaped Analytical Theme 2b

Note. $N_{\text{participant}} = 171$

The parents (the participants) were aware that they should remain liable for the children, treated them with kindness, guided them, and regulated their online activities. Parents also stated that they should re-create a good climate of internet access, directing the children to the positive effects of the internet. Thus, for the parents, digital parenting means using the internet and social media as the mediator instruments and platforms to deliver parental practices.

The parents' passive stance towards the presence of the internet and the skepticism on the effectiveness of monitoring directly intersects with the online risks. Push and pull done by parents in applying internet monitoring strategy on children comprises parents' perceptions and judgments that children's behavior is monitored because they worry and care and that they are still not sure about the monitoring strategies that they have done: "Parents monitor by reprimanding politely and always restricting time" (INHIL_phase 2/RESP043:1); "If excessive, I reprimand my child" (INHIL_phase 2/RESP086:3).

2c. Parents with children of certain ages tended to talk about internet parental monitoring strategy

By applying the principle of keyness of the theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and document map analysis technique, researchers explored which parents' groups talking about which internet parental monitoring strategies were special (e.g., parent groups based on children age grouping) so that researchers obtained information about the topics of special monitoring strategies applied. The term "document" on the MAXQDA2020 application referred to different participants or individuals so that visual analysis tools with document maps became relevant to answer the researchers' questions.

The results of the analysis (Figure 3) showed three groups of parents based on children's ages, namely parents with children aged 6-8 years old (tosca), 9-11 years old (blue), and 12-14 (green). The parents of the tosca group (51%) and blue (48.6%) were those most often talked about the strategy of restricting and regulating access time and duration, while the parents of the green group (33%) tended to talk about the strategy of guidance and content discussion. Nevertheless, regulation strategy with mutually agreed rules and restriction and space-trust strategy (i.e., trust deference, internet-solicitation, and co-viewing supervision)

were shown by the parents of all children-age groups. The guiding strategy was shown by the parents of the oldest-children group. The direct intervention was applied following the situation and condition of the children especially when they violated an agreement and faced online risks.

Figure 3

Clustering of Special Topics of Internet Parental Monitoring Strategy Based on Children Age Groups

Note. $N_{\text{participant}} = 171$; Tosca dots= 6-9 years; Blue dots= 9-11 years; Green dots= 12-14 years

Theme 3: Digital Engagement and Psycho-Social Factors

Through cross-tabulation analysis, the statistical information as to a qualitative topic was divided into quantitative groups. The frequency of the qualitative topic was compared and then divided based on the variables of the quantitative study (e.g., socio-demographic characteristics; Kuckartz & Radiker, 2019). The analysis results showed that the factors of digital engagement based on the percentage ratio of the codes appearing ($N_{\text{segment}}=18$; $N_{\text{participant}}=171$) were virtues such as generosity (11.1%), self-control (9.1%), critical skills (9.0%), and technical skills (5.1%), openness to new digital experience like the enthusiasm to learn (4.6%), self-conscience (3.7%), facility-infrastructure like a mobile phone or computer (3.6%), ability to produce and create content (3.5%), peer friends (3.4%), broad-minded (1.9%), and openness to new digital experience in general (1.3%).

The group of parents aged less than 31 years old mostly talked about the importance of technical literary capability, while the group of parents aged 32-36 talked about virtue-

morality, the group of parents aged 37-41 talked about self-control, and the group of parents aged 47-51 talked about the availability of facility-infrastructure and religious values. The group of parents with a background of high school education highlighted the topics of self-control and virtues (religion, morality, generosity). The group of parents with educational backgrounds of vocational high school, 2-year associate degree, and 3-year associate degree tended to talk about the important digital skills like the technical skill, and parents with the educational background of bachelor's degree and master's degree highlighted critical skills and application of the values of morality and generosity.

The father groups talked more about technical skills while the mother groups about self-control and morality. The group of parents working as civil servants and honorary employees highlighted the importance of technical skills. Parents who were teachers, private sector employees, and manual laborers mostly talked about children's age factor while the housemakers talked more about self-control. Parents who were employees of state-owned enterprises and university students highlighted more the importance of critical capacity and social relationship-building skills. Parents who were entrepreneurs highlighted religious values more.

Marriage status did not distinguish the parents in discussing the factors related to digital literacy. Parents with a status of both married and divorced considered virtue and morality were important factors. The parents with children aged 6-8 years old talked more about technical skill, those with children aged 9-11 years old highlighted virtue-morality, while those with children aged 12-14 talked about the importance of self-control.

Viewed from the platforms of social media, most parents using Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, Google, Line, and YouTube highlighted digital technical skills and critical capacity. However, parents who used mobile phones for calling and SMS only talked more about morality and religiosity.

Viewed from the answers as to how effective monitoring strategy had been done, the parents who answered "very effective" talked about the importance of learning enthusiasm (openness to new experience), digital skill-critical capacity, and virtue (religiosity and morality). The parents who answered effective enough mostly talked about the factors related to the children's ages, self-control, and virtue, the less-effective ones were related to children's interaction with peer friends, children's ages, and self-conscience.

Based on the thematic analysis (Table 2), the participants talked about the four main themes. First, the capability to use the internet was to optimize the benefits and minimize the risks. To deal with internet paradoxes, the parents of school-age children optimized the benefits and minimized the risks. Second, the assortment of monitoring strategies on children's access to the internet was considered effective by the parents, being not only proactive but also intervening/reactive, especially when the children were directly exposed to the online risks or when they violated the agreements. Third, the regulation strategy that included agreements on rules, restriction, and space (trust-deference) was applied by the parents to all age groups of the children, while the advice strategy was applied to older children (9-14). The direct intervention was applied depending on the situation and condition of the children, especially when they violated the agreements, and they were facing online risks. And fourth, the factors related to digital literacy (digital engagement) were generosity (virtues), self-control, and digital skill.

Discussion

This study aimed to explore how parents comprehend their engagement on the internet to execute certain strategies in monitoring their children's online activities on daily basis. To deal with internet paradoxes, the parents of school-age children optimized the benefits and

minimized the risks. The benefits offered by the internet are education, digital literacy, participation and engagement in public issues, creativity and self-expression, identity building, and social connection (Livingstone et al., 2018). The parents participating in this study also considered that digital media and the internet have both benefits and risks. This internet paradox according to them can be overcome with good capability of using social media and the internet by optimizing the benefits and minimizing the risks (first main theme). Parents' capability in optimizing the benefits enables them to do effective monitoring on their children. Sălceanu (2014) found that most children participating in his exploratory study spent their time in front of computer screens to play games because they were allowed to access computer units whenever they wanted (1-4 hours a day), and their parents just supervised them when they had spare time. This was consistent with the testimonies of the parents in this study. They admitted that they sometimes were passive towards their children's activities on the internet because they did not understand the technicality of accessing the internet and they did not have much time to be with their children. As a result, they got worried about their children being exposed to online risks. Livingstone et al. (2018) stated that children could be exposed to commercialized content (i.e., advertising, spam, and sponsorship), aggression, sexuality, and negativity (i.e., racism, bias information, and recommendations).

Also, our findings gave contributions to the extension of the deference strategy proposition (Padilla-Walker et al., 2012), which is described as parents' active effort to entrust the options of digital media activity in children. We discovered that the parents' strategies gave their children space (i.e., trust-deference, internet-solicitation, and co-viewing supervision), and ensured them to choose positive activities on the internet, even to pre-adolescence children (middle childhood) as also revealed in the study done by Van Kruistum and Van Steensel (2017) in the context of Dutch participants. Trust-deference in internet monitoring strategy through giving space or sharing passwords of social media account and devices is aimed to make parents know the information and internet contents their children access although they are sure that the children start to develop a sense of moral integrity (honesty) and to learn to use the internet positively.

Internet monitoring strategy is interrelated to the concepts of parental mediation and techno-parenting. The second main theme showed that the internet monitoring strategies considered effective by the parents in this study were not also proactive but also intervening-reactive, especially when dealing with the children being directly exposed to online risks or violating the mutual agreement. Parents' proactive monitoring strategy (Padilla-Walker et al., 2012) is in contrast with the reactive one. The reactive strategy is like the concept of restricting mediation (Livingstone & Helsper, 2008) and parental solicitation (i.e., parents actively seeking information about children's online activities through social and technological media; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Parents' reactive and intervening monitoring strategies are expressed with statements of authority, love withdrawal, and rules controlling the time children can spend on media, which tend to not facilitate children's autonomy (Sasson & Mesch, 2014). The results of this study showed that the parents' monitoring of their children's internet activities was regulatory such as restricting access time and the parental solicitation done by the parents did not always mean to express authority and love withdrawal. Before the children were exposed to online risks, the parents did the internet monitoring strategies that were guiding and participatory to ensure the children's autonomy in gaining the benefits of the internet.

The second main theme was also revealed that the regulation strategy that included agreements on rules, restriction, and space (trust-deference) was applied by the parents to all age groups of the children, while the advice strategy was applied to older children (9-14). The direct intervention was applied depending on the situation and condition of the children, especially when they violated the agreements, and they were facing online risks. The direct intervention done by the parents such as reprimand, device confiscation, and sanction were an

expression of concern about their children's safety from the danger of internet risks or due to violating mutual agreement as they accessed the internet excessively (e.g., accessing the internet when they had to go bed at night). Parents' guarantee for children's autonomy includes guaranteeing their safety not to fall into online risks.

The third main theme showed that the factors related to digital literacy (digital engagement) were virtues, self-control, and digital skill. A sense of moral integrity (i.e., virtues, honesty) expected by parents to appear from trust-based interaction constitutes a form of parenting that expresses concern. The parents felt that by using the internet, they could build connectivity and facilitate a better and closer relationship with their children. The parents believed that by giving their children trust, they learn to become responsible persons:

Because I am sure that my children are honest, and they can distinguish which is good and wrong. (INHIL_phase 2/RESP041:3)

[I] know the password of my children's handphones/laptops. (INTERNSHIP_phase 2/RESP129:3)

Sometimes their mother who always checks my children tells [me] the results of her checking. (INHIL_phase 2/RESP074:5)

[Monitoring strategy] by trusting them, they will develop a sense of responsibility. (INTERNSHIP_phase 2/RES119:5)

I can compensate my longing for my children with video calling so I can see them, see their growth. For me, it is a pleasant experience. (INHIL_phase 2/RESP051:1)

Children do not question their parents' authority because of respect and obedience to their parents. The indicator of happiness is not always accomplishment of a goal, personal ambition, and separation-autonomy from parents and family, in fact, family happiness still becomes the most important thing for young children especially in the Indonesian context (Jaafar et al., 2012; Parker & Nilan, 2013). Indonesia as a country with collective societies (Haar & Krahe, 1999) tends to emphasize the principle of harmony in social relation (harmonious unity) (Lestari et al., 2010; Magnis-Suseno, 2003) like respecting one another, respecting older person, and upholding environmental harmony (Ruswahyuningsih & Afiatin, 2015). Children's respect for parents is the characteristic of a hierarchical relationship that tends to be stable throughout their lives in Indonesian families (Schwarz et al., 2010).

Part of the results of the qualitative study done by Symons et al. (2017) on parents with adolescent children in Belgium are relevant to the results of our qualitative study (ultimately to the fourth main theme). For parents of younger ages, parents need to monitor them more strictly especially when they begin to use social media. The main agenda of parents is to make sure they can protect their children from making mistakes that bring very bad consequences (online risks). As children grow older, the important thing for parents is to show that parents trust them and guarantee their autonomy. The important point we have found different from the study done by Symons et al., (2017) and Van Kruistum and Van Steensel (2017) is the authentic monitoring strategy through advice and how parents understand the values of morality and religion as the core of life, including the life on the internet. The guidance-advice strategy is described as parents' effort to play a role as authority figures (in which there is hierarchical relationship and parents tend to be powerful), and as social agents who can give references of behaviors to children based on the values of morality and religion but still give

them space to explore the benefits of the internet. The values of morality and religion taught in the family become the central antecedents of digital and internet engagement (see also the article of Izrael, 2013; Padilla-Walker & Thompson, 2005). Parents use power and authority (such as advice and direct intervention) because they feel to have a moral and religious responsibility to protect their children from online risks. Like the Indonesian context, parenting in the people of China, which is called *guan* (to govern) also means that parents control their children because they care for them (Etikawati et al., 2019; Yau, 2016).

Symons et al. (2017) revealed that the dilemmatic and challenging situation faced by parents participating in their study was related to children's privacy versus trust and children's autonomy versus parents' authority. When the parents did monitor strategy that was reactive, intervening, and invasive towards the children's privacy, the children lost their trust in their parents, and in turn, it damaged their relationship. On the other hand, when the parents did not intervene, they could not notice if their children were exposed to online risks unless the children themselves told them (Symons et al., 2017). They also explained that the children tended to question the parents' authority towards their autonomy so that parents found it difficult to assure children's obedience to rules and agreement. The dilemma and challenges as told by the parents were not significant because they gave their children enough space to explore the benefits of the internet and in a certain condition, the parents could apply the strategy of direct intervention to regulate the children's online behaviors (Symons et al., 2017). Type of parents' reactive engagement is perceived as a strategy that still enables them to guarantee children's autonomy and to take corrective measures to reduce online risks to children.

Nevertheless, parents play a role in balancing their authority and children's development to gain their autonomy (Padilla-Walker & Thompson, 2005). Autonomy in harmony perhaps becomes a more proper term to describe the effort of children and parents to do adaptive strategy in parenting (Yau, 2016). We are recommending other terms related to a contextual principle of internet parental monitoring based on the result of this study in which the parents tried to adapt to reach harmony (adaptation for the harmony). Even though parents' responses to their children's digital media may differ in their daily actions in the family due to cultural and ethnic influences, parenting practices also have a universal component (Rahayu & Amanah, 2016; Sugoto et al., 2012). Furthermore, virtual relations in which the world seems to be a global village (McLuhan & Power, 1989) means that the geographical differences (Java and Sumatra) and the possibility of cultural differences are not that prominent. Therefore, our Javanese and Sumatraness (e.g., ethnic groups of Malay, Minangness, and Batakness) participants may have similarities in making spiritual-moral values anchors for harmonious relationships with children when implementing internet monitoring. Parents also need to identify other aspects of psychological needs that are relevant to the modern era by making a closer relationship with children. The parents participating in our study seemed to modify a conventional monitoring strategy (direct intervention) to guarantee the development of autonomy and welfare in their children for the future. They optimized the benefits of the internet and minimized the online risks by adopting the values of morality and religion as the anchor of harmonization of the internet and values following the belief embraced by the family. Parents and children mutually meet each other's needs for love and to make home a safe and comfortable place (Reginasari et al., 2020).

This finding is in line with evidence that in the Riau Malay community, for example, parent's source of happiness is children, while the sources of unhappiness violate religious values (Masyhuri et al., 2020). Riau Malay and Javanese people internalize the cultural and spiritual-moral values (e.g., Muslim and Hindu) by giving advice, becoming role models or exemplary actions, protecting, and looking after children, providing intensive communication, assistance, and consistency in implementing rules (Hasanah et al., 2019; Tambak et al., 2020).

Conclusion

In response to internet paradoxes, parents try to optimize the benefits and minimize the risks of the internet. Parents' strategies to monitor children's internet access that are considered effective include not only pro-active strategies but also intervening/reactive strategies, especially in the case when children are directly exposed to the risks.

In this study, a regulation strategy that came with agreements on rules, restriction, and space (trust-deference) was done by the parents towards children of all age groups, while advice strategy was applied to the older children only (9-14). The direct intervention was done depending on certain situations and conditions of the children especially when they violated the agreements and faced online risks. The psychosocial factors related to digital literacy capability (digital engagement) are generosity (virtue), self-control, and digital skill.

Although the participants from the study came from different socio-demographic settings, we still made use of the answers of the parents who admitted to being passive in digital media and the internet. Future research can utilize the focus group discussion method, which focuses on the topic of internet monitoring by groups of parents in the Indonesian context, which distinguishes them as passive and active users of the internet. Nevertheless, this study recommended the principle of adaptation to reach the harmony of parents and school-aged children as an authentic effort to monitor children's online activities.

References

- Adi, N. T. (2017). Pola pengawasan orang tua terhadap aktivitas anak di dunia maya: Studi kasus pada keluarga dengan anak remaja usia 12 – 19 tahun di Purwokerto. *Acta Diurna*, 13(2), 1–20.
- Allen, M. (Ed.). (2017). *The Sage encyclopedia of communication research methods*. Sage Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483381411>
- American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) Council on Communication and Media. (2016). Media and young minds. *Pediatrics*, 138(5), e20162591. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2016-2591>
- Anderson, E. L., Steen, E., & Stavropoulos, V. (2017). Internet use and problematic internet use: A systematic review of longitudinal research trends in adolescence and emergent adulthood. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 22(4), 430–454. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2016.1227716>
- Armando, N. M., & Hendriyani. (2012). The effect of parental mediation on television affinity and television watching time in children. *InterAct*, 1(2), 11–20.
- Asmara, A. (2020). Management of government and community information services (InPAS) by the government of Indragiri Hilir Regency in 2018. *Jom Fisip Unri*, 7(2), 1–14.
- Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers (APJII). (2020). APJII Internet Survey Report 2019–2020. *Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia (APJII)*. <https://apjii.or.id/survei>
- Boyden, J., Dawes, A., Dornan, P., & Tredoux, C. (2019). Middle childhood: A key time for healthy development and learning. In J. Boyden, A. Dawes, P. Dornan, & C. Tredoux, *Tracing the consequences of child poverty: Evidence from the young lives study in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam* (pp. 73–100). Bristol University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781447348313.003.0005>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32(7), 513–531. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003->

[066X.32.7.513](#)

- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2019). *Child development: Middle childhood (6-8 years of age)*. U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. <https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/childdevelopment/positiveparenting/middle2.html>
- Clark, L. S. (2011). Parental mediation theory for the digital age. *Communication Theory*, 21(4), 323–343. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2011.01391.x>
- Collins, W. A. (Ed.). (1984). *Development during middle childhood: The years from six to twelve*. National Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00004703-198604000-00017>
- Coyne, S. M., Bushman, B. J., & Nathanson, A. I. (2012). Media and the family: A note from the guest editors. *Family Relations*, 61(3), 359–362. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2012.00713.x>
- Danovitch, J. H. (2019). Growing up with Google: How children's understanding and use of internet-based devices relates to cognitive development. *Human Behavior and Emerging Technologies*, 1(2), 81–90. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hbe2.142>
- de Farias, B. G., Dutra-Thomé, L., Koller, S. H., & de Castro, T. G. (2020). Formulation of themes in qualitative research: Logical procedures and analytical paths. *Trends in Psychology*, 29, 155–166. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s43076-020-00052-0>
- Dhir, A., & Khalil, A. (2018). Underpinnings of internet parenting styles: The development and validation of the internet parenting scale using repeated cross-sectional studies. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 56(7), 1149–1175. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0735633117731492>
- Dishion, T. J., & McMahon, R. J. (1998). Parental monitoring and the prevention of child and adolescent problem behavior: A conceptual and empirical formulation. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology*, 1(1), 61–75.
- Etikawati, A. I., Siregar, J. R., Widjaja, H., & Jatnika, R. (2019). Mengembangkan Konsep dan Pengukuran Pengasuhan dalam Perspektif Kontekstual Budaya. *Buletin Psikologi*, 27(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.22146/buletinpsikologi.41079>
- Haar, B. F., & Krahe, B. (1999). Strategies for resolving interpersonal conflicts in adolescence: A German-Indonesian comparison. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 30(6), 667–683.
- Haddon, L. (2015). Children's critical evaluation of parental mediation. *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.5817/CP2015-1-2>
- Hasanah, E., Zamroni, Z., Dardiri, A., & Supardi, S. (2019). Indonesian adolescents experience of parenting processes that positively impacted youth identity. *The Qualitative Report*, 24(3), 499–512. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2019.3825>
- Helsper, E. (2016). Inequalities in digital literacy: Definitions, measurements, explanations and policy implications. In E. Helsper (Ed.), *Pesquisa sobre o uso das tecnologias de informação e comunicação nos domicílios brasileiros: TIC domicílios 2015 = Survey on the use of information and communication technologies in Brazilian households: ICT households 2015* (pp. 175–185). The London School Economic and Political Science Research Online. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/68329/>
- Helsper, E. J., & Eynon, R. (2013). Distinct skill pathways to digital engagement. *European Journal of Communication*, 28(6), 696–713. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323113499113>
- Helsper, E. J., & van Deursen, A. J. A. M. (2017). Do the rich get digitally richer? Quantity and quality of support for digital engagement. *Information Communication and Society*, 20(5), 700–714. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1203454>
- Hosokawa, R., & Katsura, T. (2018). Association between mobile technology use and child adjustment in early elementary school age. *PLoS ONE*, 13(7), 1–17.

- <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0199959>
- Hu, B. Y., Johnson, G. K., & Wu, H. (2018). Screen time relationship of Chinese parents and their children. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 94, 659–669. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.09.008>
- Hurlock, E. B. (1978). *Child development* (6th ed.). McGraw Hill International Editions.
- Iivari, N., Sharma, S., & Ventä-Olkkonen, L. (2020). Digital transformation of everyday life – How COVID-19 pandemic transformed the basic education of the young generation and why information management research should care? *International Journal of Information Management*, 55, 2–6. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijinfomgt.2020.102183>
- Indonesian Internet Service Providers & Technopreneur Association. (2017). *Indonesian internet user penetration and behavior survey*. Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia. <https://apjii.or.id/content/read/39/342/Hasil-Survei-Penetrasi-dan-Perilaku-Pengguna-Internet-Indonesia-2017>
- Internet World Stats. (2020). *Internet 2021 usage in Asia: Internet users, Facebook subscribers & population statistics for 35 countries and regions in Asia*. Miniwatts Marketing Group. <https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats3.htm>
- Izrael, P. (2013). Religiousness, values, and parental mediation of children's television viewing in Slovakia. *Journal of Children and Media*, 7(4), 507–524. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2013.827129>
- Jaafar, J. L., Idris, M. A., Ismuni, J., Fei, Y., Jaafar, S., Ahmad, Z., Ariff, M. R. M., Takwin, B., & Sugandi, Y. S. (2012). The sources of happiness to the Malaysians and Indonesians: Data from a smaller nation. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 65, 549–556. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.11.164>
- Jacobson, K. C., & Crockett, L. J. (2000). Parental monitoring and adolescent adjustment: An ecological perspective. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 10(1), 65–97. https://doi.org/10.1207/SJRA1001_4
- Johnson, G. (2006). Internet use and cognitive development: A theoretical framework. *E-Learning and Digital Media*, 3(4), 565–573. <https://doi.org/10.2304/elea.2006.3.4.565>
- Karaseva, A. (2016). Relationship of internet self-efficacy and online search performance of secondary school teachers. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 231, 278–285. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.09.103>
- Keijsers, L. (2016). Parental monitoring and adolescent problem behaviors: How much do we really know? *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 40(3), 271–281. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025415592515>
- Kerr, M., Stattin, H., & Burk, W. J. (2010). A reinterpretation of parental monitoring in longitudinal perspective. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 20(1), 39–64. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00623.x>
- Knitter, B., & Zemp, M. (2020). Digital family life: A systematic review of the impact of parental smartphone use on parent-child interactions. *Digital Psychology*, 1(1), 29–43. <https://doi.org/10.24989/dp.v1i1.1809>
- König, J., Jäger-Biela, D. J., & Glutsch, N. (2020). Adapting to online teaching during COVID-19 school closure: Teacher education and teacher competence effects among early career teachers in Germany. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 43(4), 608–622. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02619768.2020.1809650>
- Kuckartz, U., & Radiker, S. (2019). *Analyzing qualitative data with MAXQDA: Text, audio, video*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-15671-8>
- Lestari, S., Faturochman, & Kim, U. (2010). Trust in parent-child relationship among undergraduate students: Indigeneous psychological analysis. *Jurnal Psikologi*, 37(2), 140–152.
- Li, X., Feigelman, S., & Stanton, B. (2000). Perceived parental monitoring and health risk

- behaviors among urban low-income African-American children and adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 27(1), 43–48.
- Livingstone, S., & Blum-Ross, A. (2020). *Parenting for a digital future: How hopes and fears about technology shape children's lives*. Oxford University Press.
- Livingstone, S., & Helsper, E. (2010). Balancing opportunities and risks in teenagers' use of the internet: The role of online skills and internet self-efficacy. *New Media and Society*, 12(2), 309–329. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809342697>
- Livingstone, S., & Helsper, E. J. (2008). Parental mediation of children's internet use. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52(4), 581–599. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838150802437396>
- Livingstone, S., Mascheroni, G., & Staksrud, E. (2018). European research on children's internet use: Assessing the past and anticipating the future. *New Media and Society*, 20(3), 1103–1122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816685930>
- Magnis-Suseno, F. (2003). *Etika Jawa: Sebuah analisa falsafi tentang kebijaksanaan hidup Jawa*. Gramedia.
- Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S., & Felsman, R. J. (1996). Culture and basic psychological principles. In E. T. Higgins & A. W. Kruglanski (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (pp. 857–913). Guilford Press.
- Maruyama, G., & Ryan, C. S. (2014). *Research methods in social relation* (8th ed.). Wiley Blackwell.
- Masyhuri, Subandi, Azhar, M., & Suud, F. M. (2020). The concept of happiness for Islamic community of melayu kampar Riau Indonesia. *Journal of Critical Reviews*, 7(12), 833–838. <https://doi.org/10.31838/jcr.07.12.147>
- MAXQDA. (2020). *MAXQDA 2020 Manual*. VERBI: Software-consult-Sozialforschung GmbH. <https://www.maxqda.com/help-mx20/welcome%0Ahttp://www.maxqda.com/support/help/maxqda-11/>
- May-Chahal, C., Mason, C., Rashid, A., Walkerdine, J., Rayson, P., & Greenwood, P. (2014). Safeguarding cyborg childhoods: Incorporating the on/offline behaviour of children into everyday social work practices. *British Journal of Social Work*, 44(3), 596–614. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcs121>
- McDool, E., Powell, P., Roberts, J., & Taylor, K. (2020). The internet and children's psychological wellbeing. *Journal of Health Economics*, 69, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhealeco.2019.102274>
- McHale, S., Dotterer, A., & Kim, J.-Y. (2009). An ecological perspective on the media and youth development. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(8), 1186–1203. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764209331541>
- McLuhan, M., & Power, B. R. (1989). *The global village transformations in world life and media in the 21st century*. Oxford University Press.
- Meshi, D., Tamir, D. I., & Heekeren, H. R. (2015). The emerging neuroscience of social media. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 19(12), 771–782. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2015.09.004>
- Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of the Republic of Indonesia Directorate General of Informatics Applications. (2021a). *Smart city implementation, accelerate digital governance in national priority tourism areas and new national capitals*. Kominfo. <https://aptika.kominfo.go.id/2021/05/smart-city-percepat-pemerintahan-digital-di-kppn-dan-ikn-baru/>
- Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of the Republic of Indonesia Directorate General of Informatics Applications. (2021b). *Smart province, collaboration between regions towards smart city*. Kominfo. <https://aptika.kominfo.go.id/2021/02/smart-province-kolaborasi-antar-daerah-menuju->

- [smart-city/](#)
- Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. (2017). *Digital literacy enrichment guidebook: National Literacy Movement*. Tut Wuri Handayani. <http://gln.kemdikbud.go.id/glnsite/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/literasi-DIGITAL.pdf>
- Ministry of Education Culture Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia. (2021). *Internet data quota package assistance in 2021 for the period September-November 2021*. Kemendikbud. <https://kuota-belajar.kemdikbud.go.id>
- Minza, W. M., Herdiyanto, Y. K., Reginasari, A., & Inayaturobbani, F. (Eds.). (2020). *Human relatedness: Tinjauan Psikologi keterhubungan manusia dan sekitarnya*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- Morrow, J. R., Jackson, A. W., Disch, J. G., & Mood, D. P. (2011). *Measurement and evaluation in human performance* (4th ed.). Human Kinetics.
- Nathanson, A. I. (2002). The unintended effects of parental mediation of television on adolescents. *Media Psychology*, 4(3), 207–230. <https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532785XMEP0403>
- Neuman, W. L. (2011). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (7th ed.). Pearson.
- Nikken, P. (2017). Implications of low or high media use among parents for young children's media use. *Cyberpsychology*, 11(3), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.5817/CP2017-3-1>
- Nikken, P., & Jansz, J. (2014). Developing scales to measure parental mediation of young children's internet use. *Learning, Media and Technology*, 39(2), 250–266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439884.2013.782038>
- Nikken, P., & Schols, M. (2015). How and why parents guide the media use of young children. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 24, 3423–3435. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-015-0144-4>
- Nirma. (2020). *Smart city towards Indonesia's digital society*. Media Center News. <https://mediacenter.inhilkab.go.id/berita/smartcity-menuju-masyarakat-digital-indonesia>
- Padilla-Walker, L. M., Coyne, S. M., Fraser, A. M., Dyer, W. J., & Yorgason, J. B. (2012). Parents and adolescents growing up in the digital age: Latent growth curve analysis of proactive media monitoring. *Journal of Adolescence*, 35(5), 1153–1165. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2012.03.005>
- Padilla-Walker, L. M., & Thompson, R. A. (2005). Combating conflicting messages of values: A closer look at parental strategies. *Social Development*, 14(2), 305–323. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2005.00303.x>
- Parker, L., & Nilan, P. (2013). *Adolescents in contemporary Indonesia*. Routledge.
- Pons-Salvador, G., Zubieta-Méndez, X., & Frias-Navarro, D. (2018). Internet use by children aged six to nine: Parents' beliefs and knowledge about risk prevention. *Child Indicators Research*, 11(6), 1983–2000. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-018-9529-4>
- Puspitasari, L., & Ishii, K. (2016). Digital divides and mobile Internet in Indonesia: Impact of smartphones. *Telematics and Informatics*, 33(2), 472–483. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2015.11.001>
- Qanitatin, N., Faturochman, Kartowagiran, B., & Helmi, A. F. (2019). Relasi remaja-orang tua berbasis teknologi informasi dan komunikasi, *Buletin Psikologi*, 28(1), 28–44. DOI: 10.22146/buletinpsikologi.44372
- Rachmawati, R., Ramadhan, E., & Rohmah, A. (2018). Aplikasi smart province “Jogja Istimewa”: Penyediaan informasi terintegrasi dan pemanfaatannya. *Majalah Geografi Indonesia*, 32(1), 14–23.
- Rahayu, M. D., & Amanah, S. (2016). Faktor-faktor yang berhubungan dengan pola asuh anak pada keluarga etnis Minang, Jawa dan Batak. *Jurnal Penyuluhan*, 6(2).

- <https://doi.org/10.25015/penyuluhan.v6i2.11449>
- Reginasari, A., Afiatin, T., Patria, B., & Komariah, K. (2020). Digital monitoring experience in digital media and the Internet. *Annual International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities (AICOSH 2020)*, 452, 27–32. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200728.007>
- Rodhiya, A. Y. F. (2020). What we talk about when we talk about: “Digital parenting.” *Psikobuletin: Buletin Ilmiah Psikologi*, 1(1), 29–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528820601138683>
- Ruswahyuningsih, M. C., & Afiatin, T. (2015). Resiliensi pada Remaja Jawa. *Gadjah Mada Journal of Psychology (GamaJoP)*, 1(2), 96–105. <https://doi.org/10.22146/gamajop.7347>
- Sălceanu, C. (2014). The influence of computer games on children’s development: Exploratory study on the attitudes of parents. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 149, 837–841. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.08.323>
- Santhoso, F. H. (2019). The mediating role of parents and anonymity on students’ cyberbullying tendencies. *Jurnal Psikologi*, 46(3), 261–272. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jpsi.44126>
- Sasson, H., & Mesch, G. (2014). Parental mediation, peer norms, and risky online behavior among adolescents. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 33, 32–38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.12.025>
- Schwarz, B., Albert, I., Trommsdorff, G., Zheng, G., Shi, S., & Nelwan, P. R. (2010). Intergenerational support and life satisfaction: A comparison of Chinese, Indonesian, and German elderly mothers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 41(5–6), 706–722. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022110372197>
- Stanton, B. F., Li, X., Galbraith, J., Cornick, G., Feigelman, S., Kaljee, L., & Zhou, Y. (2000). Parental underestimates of adolescent risk behavior: A randomized, controlled trial of a parental monitoring intervention. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 26(1), 18–26.
- Stattin, H., & Kerr, M. (2000). Parental monitoring: A reinterpretation. *Child Development*, 71(4), 1072–1085. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1132345>
- Sugoto, S., Ismail, R., & Herman, I. (2012, March 30 – April 1). *Parenting style of Indonesian and Malaysian families: Ecological context influences* [Paper]. International Symposium on Educational and Psychology, Hong Kong SkyCity Marriott Hotel. [http://repository.ubaya.ac.id/32114/6/Parenting style Srisiuni 2012.pdf](http://repository.ubaya.ac.id/32114/6/Parenting%20style%20Srisiuni%202012.pdf)
- Suler, J. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *Cyberpsychology and Behavior*, 7(3), 321–326. <https://doi.org/10.1089/1094931041291295>
- Svensson, R. (2003). Gender differences in adolescent drug use: The impact of parental monitoring and peer deviance. *Youth and Society*, 34(3), 300–329. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X02250095>
- Symons, K., Ponnet, K., Walrave, M., & Heirman, W. (2017). A qualitative study into parental mediation of adolescents’ internet use. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 73, 423–432. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.04.004>
- Tambak, S., Humairoh, S., Noer, M. A., & Ahmad, M. (2020). Internalization of Riau Malay culture in developing the morals of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah students. *Al Ibtida: Jurnal Pendidikan Guru MI*, 7(1), 69. <https://doi.org/10.24235/al.ibtida.snj.v7i1.5954>
- The Australian Parenting Raising Children. (2018a). *Internet safety: Children 6-8 years*. Raising Children. <https://raisingchildren.net.au/school-age/play-media-technology/online-safety/internet-safety-6-8-years>
- The Australian Parenting Raising Children. (2018b). *Internet safety: Children 9-11 years*. Raising Children. <https://raisingchildren.net.au/pre-teens/entertainment-technology/cyberbullying-online-safety/internet-safety-9-11-years>

- UNICEF. (2017). *State of the world's children 2017: Children in a digital world*. Unicef. https://www.unicef.org/publications/index_101992.html
- Vaala, S. E., & Bleakley, A. (2015). Monitoring, mediating, and modeling: Parental influence on adolescent computer and internet use in United States. *Journal of Children and Media*, 9(1), 40–57.
- van Kruistum, C., & van Steensel, R. (2017). The tacit dimension of parental mediation. *Cyberpsychology*, 11(3), 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.5817/CP2017-3-3>
- Wahyuningrum, E., Suryanto, S., & Suminar, D. R. (2020). Parenting in digital era: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Educational, Health, and Community Psychology*, 9(3), 226–258.
- Whitty, M. T., & Young, G. (2017). *Cyberpsychology: The study of individuals, society, and digital technology*. Wiley Blackwell.
- Wismarin, B. (2020). *Online learning during a pandemic, solution or problem*. International Association for Public Participation (Indonesia). <https://iap2.or.id/pembelajaran-daring-di-masa-pandemi-solusi-atau-masalah/>
- Wisniewski, P., Jia, H., Xu, H., Rosson, M. B., & Carroll, J. M. (2015). “Preventative” vs. “reactive”: How parental mediation influences teens’ social media privacy behaviors. *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*, 302–316. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1145/2675133.2675293>
- Yau, J. (2016). Adolescent nondisclosure in cultural context: Voices of Chinese American adolescents and parents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 31(5), 606–630. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558415604218>

Author Note

Annisa Reginasari is in the doctoral program in Faculty of Psychology at the Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Tina Afiatin, Subandi, and Bhina Patria are members of the Faculty of Psychology at the Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Muchlisah is in the doctoral program in Faculty of Psychology at the Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Muchlisah also works in the Islamic Early Childhood Education Program as faculty of Tarbiyah and a teacher Training in UIN Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Annisa Reginasari, in the doctoral program of Psychology, Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Sosio Humaniora Street, Bulaksumur, Karang Malang, Caturtunggal, Depok sub-district, Sleman district, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 55281. Email: annisa.reginasari@mail.ugm.ac.id

Acknowledgements: We declare the article has not been published in any language before and is not being considered concurrently for publication elsewhere. The research reported in the manuscript was conducted under general ethical guidelines in psychology. As Corresponding Author, I confirm the manuscript has been read and approved for submission by all the named authors. We know of no conflicts of interest associated with this publication. This research was conducted in collaboration with the doctoral program in Psychology at the Universitas Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta, the Center for Women's and Gender Studies, Institute of Research and Community Services, Yogyakarta State University, and the Applied Family and Child Psychology Laboratory, Muhammadiyah University, Malang.

Copyright 2021: Annisa Reginasari, Tina Afiatin, Subandi, Bhina Patria, Muchlisah and Nova Southeastern University.

Article Citation

Reginasari, A., Afiatin, T., Subandi, Patria, B., & Muchlisah (2021). Adaptation for harmony: A thematic analysis study of internet parental monitoring strategy in Indonesian context. *The Qualitative Report*, 26(10), 3234-3261. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2021.4979>