



Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture

ISSN: 2442-3289 (p); 2442-8285 (e)

Vol. 34 No.1, June 2026, pp. 73–109

DOI: 10.19105/karsa.v34i1.24390

**Decolonizing Parenting Typologies: *Bedengah* and *Mentanak*
as Cultural and Religious Systems among
Sasak Muslim Families**

Zulkarnain

Program Studi Pendidikan Agama Islam, STIS Darul Falah Pagutan Mataram NTB,
Indonesia

email: karnaenzul1990@gmail.com

Abdul Muhid

Fakultas Psikologi dan Kesehatan, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia

email: abdulmuhid@uinsa.ac.id

Moch. Choirul Arif

Fakultas Dakwah dan Komunikasi, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia

email: choirul.arief@uinsa.ac.id

Auwalu Shuaibu Muhammad

Directorate of Academic Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, Federal University
Gusau, Zamfara State, Nigeria

email: asmuhammed@fugusau.edu.ng

Ishom Fuadi Fikri

Program Studi Pendidikan Agama Islam, STAI Darul Ulum Banyuwangi, Indonesia

email: ishomfuadifikri@staidu.ac.id

Received: 22 Apr 2026, Accepted: 10 Jun 2026, Published: 23 Jun 2026

Abstract

This study examines *Bedengah* and *Mentanak*, two traditional parenting systems practised by Sasak Muslim communities in Lombok, Indonesia. It proposes them as culturally regulated and religiously regulated frameworks that extend beyond conventional Western developmental typologies. The research was conducted through ethnographic fieldwork across three traditional villages over nine months, involving 30 informants and employing participant observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. The findings reveal how these parenting systems incorporate age-specific practices, ritual ceremonies, intergenerational skill transmission, and extended family involvement that are deeply rooted in Sasak cultural values and Islamic teachings. Three critical dimensions emerge that remain inadequately captured within the dominant fourfold typology of authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and neglectful parenting. First, cultural tradition functions as a self-sustaining regulatory system governing child behaviour across successive developmental stages. Second, religion functions as a structural architecture rather than merely as value content shaping parenting. Third, parenting constitutes a collective community responsibility that extends well beyond the parent–child dyad. While *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* provide robust cultural identity formation and moral scaffolding, they also confront contemporary pressures arising from higher educational aspirations among youth, debates over Islamic orthodoxy concerning the legitimacy of local rituals, and household economic constraints. This study contributes theoretically to cross-cultural parenting scholarship by proposing an indigenous conceptual framework that recognizes cultural and religious structure, not merely content, as the organizing logic of childrearing, with direct implications for designing culturally adaptive child-protection policies, family-welfare programs, and parenting education curricula in rural Muslim-majority communities in Indonesia.

[Penelitian ini mengkaji *Bedengah* dan *Mentanak*, dua sistem pengasuhan tradisional masyarakat Muslim Sasak di Lombok, Indonesia, serta mengusulkannya sebagai kerangka yang teregulasi secara kultural dan religius yang melampaui tipologi perkembangan Barat yang konvensional. Penelitian dilaksanakan melalui kerja lapangan etnografis di tiga desa tradisional selama sembilan bulan, melibatkan tiga puluh informan, dengan observasi partisipan, wawancara mendalam, dan analisis dokumentasi. Temuan mengungkap bagaimana kedua sistem pengasuhan ini memuat praktik yang spesifik menurut usia, upacara ritual, transmisi keterampilan antargenerasi, dan keterlibatan keluarga besar yang berakar kuat pada nilai budaya Sasak dan ajaran Islam. Tiga dimensi penting mengemuka yang belum tercakup secara memadai dalam tipologi dominan yang membagi pengasuhan menjadi otoriter, otoritatif,

permissif, dan abai. Pertama, tradisi budaya bekerja sebagai sistem regulasi yang menopang dirinya sendiri dalam mengatur perilaku anak di sepanjang tahap perkembangan. Kedua, agama berfungsi sebagai arsitektur struktural, bukan sekadar muatan nilai. Ketiga, pengasuhan merupakan tanggung jawab kolektif komunitas yang melampaui relasi diadik orang tua–anak. Meskipun menyediakan pembentukan identitas budaya yang kokoh dan kerangka penyangga moral, kedua sistem ini juga menghadapi tekanan kontemporer dari aspirasi pendidikan generasi muda, perdebatan ortodoksi Islam atas keabsahan ritual lokal, serta keterbatasan ekonomi rumah tangga. Penelitian ini berkontribusi secara teoretis bagi kajian pengasuhan lintas budaya dengan mengusulkan kerangka konseptual pribumi yang mengakui struktur budaya dan agama, bukan semata muatannya, sebagai logika pengorganisasian pengasuhan anak, dengan implikasi bagi kebijakan perlindungan anak, program kesejahteraan keluarga, dan kurikulum pendidikan pengasuhan di komunitas pedesaan mayoritas Muslim di Indonesia.]

Keywords: Sasak indigenous parenting; Islamic parenting systems; culture-regulated parenting; decolonizing parenting typologies; cross-cultural childrearing

Introduction

Childrearing is universal, yet the cultural and religious contexts of each society heavily shape its specific methods.¹ Parenting serves not only to meet children's physical needs but to transmit the values, norms, and beliefs a community deems important (Levine et al., 1994). In recent decades, scholars have increasingly recognized the need to understand parenting across cultural contexts to build more inclusive parenting theories.²

The dominant typology in developmental psychology remains Baumrind's model, which classifies parenting as authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, or neglectful along the dimensions of

¹ Marc H. Bornstein and Jennifer E. Lansford, 'Parenting', in *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science* (New York, NY, US: Psychology Press, 2010), 259–77.

² Heidi Keller, 'Parenting and Socioemotional Development in Infancy and Early Childhood', *Developmental Review*, Towards a Cultural Developmental Science, vol. 50 (December 2018): 31–41, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2018.03.001>.

responsiveness and demandingness.³ Although influential, this framework was developed from middle-class North American families⁴, and cross-cultural researchers have questioned its universality in non-Western settings.⁵ A meta-analysis by Pinquart and Kauser of 428 studies found significant cultural variation in the relationships between parenting styles and child outcomes.⁶ The core criticism is that Baumrind's model inadequately captures dimensions central to collectivist and religiously oriented societies.⁷ This critique does not imply that Western scholarship is monolithic: alloparenting, cooperative breeding, and community-oriented "village" models have likewise challenged its dyadic, parent-centred assumptions.⁸ The critique here targets a specific dominant model, not Western thought as a whole. Super and Harkness's "developmental niche" instead frames parenting through three subsystems—physical and social settings, culturally regulated childcare, and caregiver psychology⁹—while Rogoff describes development as a "culturally guided process".¹⁰

³ Diana Baumrind, 'Current Patterns of Parental Authority', *Developmental Psychology* (US) 4, nos 1, Pt.2 (1971): 1–103, <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0030372>.

⁴ Judith G. Smetana, 'Current Research on Parenting Styles, Dimensions, and Beliefs', *Current Opinion in Psychology*, Parenting, vol. 15 (June 2017): 19–25, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.02.012>.

⁵ Ruth K. Chao, 'Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style: Understanding Chinese Parenting Through the Cultural Notion of Training', *Child Development* 65, no. 4 (1994): 1111–19, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1131308>; Marwan Dwairy and Mustafa Achoui, 'Introduction to Three Cross-Regional Research Studies on Parenting Styles, Individuation, and Mental Health in Arab Societies', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 37, no. 3 (May 2006): 221–29, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022106286921>; Cigdem Kagitcibasi, *Family, Self, and Human Development Across Cultures: Theory and Applications* (New York: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315205281>.

⁶ Martin Pinquart and Rubina Kauser, 'Do the Associations of Parenting Styles with Behavior Problems and Academic Achievement Vary by Culture? Results from a Meta-Analysis', *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* (US) 24, no. 1 (2018): 75–100, <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000149>.

⁷ Bornstein and Lansford, 'Parenting'.

⁸ Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *Mothers and Others: The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding* (Harvard University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1c84czb>.

⁹ Charles M. Super and Sara Harkness, 'Culture Structures the Environment for Development', *Human Development* 45, no. 4 (2002): 270–74.

¹⁰ Barbara Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development* (Oxford University Press, 2003).

In Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim-majority nation, parenting reflects an integration of Islamic values and local cultural practices.¹¹ Comparable patterns appear in Javanese *nrimo* and *empan papan* values,¹² Bugis-Makassar *siri* and *pesse*,¹³ and Minangkabau matrilineal Islamic integration,¹⁴ suggesting culture-regulated parenting is a broad Indonesian phenomenon. However, in-depth studies of how culture and religion shape specific parenting systems remain limited.

Bedengah and *Mentanak* are traditional parenting practices of the Sasak Muslim community in Lombok that blend Sasak cultural values with Islamic teachings.¹⁵ *Bedengah* (Central Lombok) and *Mentanak* (North Lombok) involve rituals, values, and prohibitions transmitted across generations,¹⁶ yet little research analyzes them through a theoretical parenting framework. The closest prior work, Muzakar et al, ethnographically documented these rituals but remained descriptive, without developing an alternative conceptual framework.¹⁷

This study departs from that tradition by proposing "culture-regulated" and "religious-regulated" as analytical constructs that reposition Sasak parenting as a theoretically generative case for

¹¹ Fufut Tri Nur Indah, Dwi Hastuti, and Lilik Noor Yuliati, 'Understanding The Cultural Values in Traditional Sundanese Parenting: A Narrative Literature Review', *Golden Age: Jurnal Ilmiah Tumbuh Kembang Anak Usia Dini* 9, no. 2 (June 2024): 2, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jga.2024.92-02>.

¹² Endah Tri Wahyuni, Tri Suratmi, and Tri Budi W.Rahardjo, 'Cultural Impact on the Quality Of Life Of The Elderly In Yogyakarta', *1st International Respati Health Conference (IRHC)*, 19 November 2019, 419–32.

¹³ Hasni Hasni et al., 'Integration of Bugis-Makassar Culture Value of Siri' Na Pacce' through Social Studies Learning in The Digital Age', *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan* 14, no. 4 (September 2022): 4, <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v14i4.2151>.

¹⁴ Ciptro Handrianto, 'The Roles of Matrilineal System Towards Integrating Religious and Cultural Values in Minangkabau Community', *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 5, no. 3 (September 2017): 3, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v5i3.170>.

¹⁵ Erda Sunifa Asri et al., 'Ethno Parenting: Early Childhood Character Development Based on Local Wisdom of the Sasak Tribe', *International Journal of Education and Digital Learning (IJEDL)* 3, no. 2 (December 2024): 2, <https://doi.org/10.47353/ijedl.v3i2.221>.

¹⁶ Nuruddin Nuruddin, 'Character Education in the Tradition of Peraq Api in the Community of Sasak, Lombok, Indonesia', *HTS: Theological Studies* 78, no. 4 (2022): 7534, <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7534>.

¹⁷ Abdullah Muzakar, Ahmad Yasar Ramdan, and Indriani Puspita Hafidz, 'Sistem Sosial Dan Pengasuhan Anak Pada Keluarga Suku Sasak Dalam Perspektif Kebudayaan Lokal', *Jurnal Obsesi: Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* 7, no. 5 (November 2023): 6386–98, <https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v7i5.4250>.

challenging Western typologies. Its dual contribution is empirical—documenting the structural dimensions of *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* through rigorous ethnography—and theoretical—offering an indigenous culture-regulated and religious-regulated model as an alternative to Baumrind's typology for non-Western, collectivist, and religiously grounded contexts, thereby enriching understanding of cross-cultural variation in childrearing.

Research on childrearing has shifted from universalism toward recognizing cross-cultural variation. Bronfenbrenner's ecological model situates development within nested systems—family, school, community, and culture—grounding parenting in specific contexts.¹⁸ Keller distinguished the Western independence model, centred on autonomy, from the non-Western interdependence model, emphasizing relationships and group harmony,¹⁹ differences confirmed across Bornstein and Lansford's 30-country study.²⁰ Super and Harkness's "developmental niche" frames development in terms of three components: physical and social settings, culturally regulated childcare, and caregiver ethnotheories that link cultural values to practice.²¹ Rogoff's "guided participation" further showed, in Maya communities, how children learn through observation rather than formal instruction.²²

Baumrind's four-category typology—authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, neglectful—remains dominant,²³ but its universality is contested. Chao argued that Chinese "training," framing discipline as love, is mischaracterized as authoritarian.²⁴ Dwairy and Achoui showed that seemingly authoritarian Arab practices support collective identity.²⁵ Kagitçibaşı's "autonomous-relational" model integrates autonomy with connectedness, challenging the individualism-

¹⁸ Urie Bronfenbrenner, *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design* (London and England: Harvard University Press, 1979).

¹⁹ Heidi Keller, *Cultures of Infancy*, Cultures of Infancy (Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2007), xix, 318.

²⁰ Bornstein and Lansford, 'Parenting'.

²¹ Sara Harkness et al., 'Assessing the Environment of Children's Learning: The Developmental Niche in Africa', in *Multicultural Psychoeducational Assessment* (New York, NY, US: Springer Publishing Company, 2009), 133–55.

²² Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*.

²³ Baumrind, 'Current Patterns of Parental Authority'.

²⁴ Chao, 'Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style'.

²⁵ Dwairy and Achoui, 'Introduction to Three Cross-Regional Research Studies on Parenting Styles, Individuation, and Mental Health in Arab Societies'.

collectivism dichotomy.²⁶ Pinquart and Kauser's meta-analysis of 428 studies found parenting-outcome links vary by culture,²⁷ and Bornstein et al. showed that conceptions of "good" parenting are culturally rooted.²⁸

Mahoney et al. proposed the "sanctification of parenting," whereby religious parents treat caregiving as a sacred trust.²⁹ Bartkowski and Ellison examined conservative Christian families,³⁰ while Bensaid showed Islamic principles emphasize moral character, authority, and ritual.³¹ Holden and Vittrup integrated religiosity into Baumrind's framework,³² King and Furrow and Dollahite, and Marks documented how religious practice builds character and transmits values across generations.³³ Extending this to Muslim Southeast Asia, Hossain and Madon found Malay parenting operates at the intersection of Islamic teaching and Adat norms as co-constitutive regulatory systems resisting Baumrind's categories,³⁴ and Krauss et al. showed that religiously rooted community practices predicted Malaysian

²⁶ Kagitcibasi, *Family, Self, and Human Development Across Cultures*.

²⁷ Pinquart and Kauser, 'Do the Associations of Parenting Styles with Behavior Problems and Academic Achievement Vary by Culture?'

²⁸ Bornstein and Lansford, 'Parenting'.

²⁹ Annette Mahoney et al., 'Religion and the Sanctification of Family Relationships', *Review of Religious Research* 44, no. 3 (2003): 220–36, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3512384>.

³⁰ John P. Bartkowski and Christopher G. Ellison, 'Divergent Models of Childrearing in Popular Manuals: Conservative Protestants vs. the Mainstream Experts', *Sociology of Religion* 56, no. 1 (March 1995): 21–34, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3712036>.

³¹ Benaouda Bensaid, 'An Overview of Muslim Spiritual Parenting', *Religions* 12, no. 12 (December 2021): 12, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12121057>.

³² George W. Holden and Brigitte Vittrup, 'Religion', in *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science* (New York, NY, US: Psychology Press, 2010), 279–95.

³³ Pamela Ebstyn King and James L. Furrow, 'Religion as a Resource for Positive Youth Development: Religion, Social Capital, and Moral Outcomes', *Developmental Psychology* (US) 40, no. 5 (2004): 703–13, <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.40.5.703>; David Dollahite and Loren Marks, 'A Conceptual Model of Family and Religious Processes in Highly Religious Families', *Review of Religious Research* 50, no. 4 (June 2009), <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/4906>.

³⁴ Ziarat Hossain and Zainal Madon, 'Sociocultural and Religious Context of Malay Parenting in Malaysia', in *Parenting Across Cultures*, vol. 12, ed. Helaine Selin, *Science Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Science* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 175–92, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-15359-4_12.

adolescents' religiosity more than individual parental behavior— patterns consistent with *Bedengah* and *Mentanak*.³⁵

Parenting in the Indonesian Context and Sasak Society

Riany et al. identified how *hormat* (respect) and *rukun* (harmony) shape parent-child interaction across Indonesian ethnic groups.³⁶ Javanese studies emphasize patience, indirectness, and values such as *nrimo* and *empan papan*.³⁷ Regarding Sasak society, Ningsih and Sukidjo documented oral traditions in character education, and Wahidah et al. analyzed the refined Sasak language as a socialization instrument.³⁸ Muzakar et al. catalogued *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* rituals but remained descriptive, without theorizing them as a distinct system.³⁹

This study builds on these frameworks to analyze *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* as culture and religion-regulated systems, advancing beyond description to show how culture and religion fundamentally shape Sasak parenting.

³⁵ Steven Eric Krauss et al., 'Parenting and Community Engagement Factors as Predictors of Religiosity Among Muslim Adolescents From Malaysia', *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 23, no. 2 (April 2013): 87–102, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10508619.2012.670039>.

³⁶ Yulina Eva Riany, Meredith ,Pamela, and Monica and Cuskelly, 'Understanding the Influence of Traditional Cultural Values on Indonesian Parenting', *Marriage & Family Review* 53, no. 3 (April 2017): 207–26, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2016.1157561>.

³⁷ Mardiana Dwi Puspitasari et al., 'Early Childhood Parenting Practices in Indonesia', *Population Review* 59, no. 2 (2020), <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/251/article/765805>; Wahyuni, Suratmi, and W.Rahardjo, 'Cultural Impact on the Quality Of Life Of The Elderly In Yogyakarta'.

³⁸ Dewi Puspita Ningsih and Sukidjo Sukidjo, 'Pola Asuh Kaum Bangsawan Lalu-Baiq Dalam Membentuk Karakter Anak Di Desa Padamara Lombok Timur', *Harmoni Sosial: Jurnal Pendidikan IPS* 1, no. 2 (September 2014): 2, <https://doi.org/10.21831/hsjpi.v1i2.2434>; Baiq Yulia Kurnia Wahidah, Agus Darma Putra, and Hilmiyatun Hilmiyatun, 'Sosialisasi Penggunaan Bahasa Sasak Sebagai Media Bercerita Pada Anak Usia Dini Untuk Pemertahanan Bahasa Daerah', *BEGAWÉ: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat* 1, no. 1 (October 2023): 1, <https://doi.org/10.62667/begawe.v1i1.12>.

³⁹ Muzakar, Ramdan, and Hafidz, 'Sistem Sosial Dan Pengasuhan Anak Pada Keluarga Suku Sasak Dalam Perspektif Kebudayaan Lokal'.

Methods

In this article, we draw on data from an ethnographic study that examined parenting practices in the Sasak indigenous community across three traditional villages in Lombok, Indonesia. The research employed a qualitative approach using an ethnographic design to investigate *parenting patterns among Bedengah and Mentanak*. The ethnographic approach was selected to provide an in-depth description and analysis of culturally specific parenting practices based on intensive field research in these communities.⁴⁰

The study was conducted in three traditional village locations in Lombok: Dusun Sade (Central Lombok), Dusun Batu Gembung (North Lombok), and Dusun Sembagek (North Lombok). These sites were selected because they maintain distinctive religious traditions and culturally-based parenting patterns, representing the diversity of traditional Sasak parenting practices still preserved today. Each location demonstrates unique characteristics: Dusun Sade features strong traditional practices with *Bedengah* parenting patterns involving extended families and traditional leaders; Dusun Batu Gembung maintains Wetu Telu Islamic practices with *Mentanak* parenting patterns involving extended families and cultural custodians; and Dusun Sembagek emphasizes community involvement in child-rearing with integration of Islamic values and local wisdom.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 30 informants across the three traditional areas. The selection of participants followed purposive sampling with a maximum variation strategy to ensure representation across different demographics. Participants included traditional leaders (*kiai, pembekel, pemangku adat, toaq lokaq*), village heads, and parents actively applying *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* parenting patterns. Inclusion criteria were: (1) age 25-65 years, (2) minimum 5 years of parenting experience, (3) active practice of traditional parenting methods, (4) permanent residence in study locations. Equal gender representation (15 men, 15 women) was ensured to capture diverse perspectives.

The research utilized multiple data collection methods including participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Interviews took place at informants' homes or other culturally

⁴⁰ Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, 4th edn (New York: Routledge, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315146027>.

appropriate settings, with each interview lasting approximately 60-90 minutes. We employed open-ended questions about family relationships, specific parenting practices, cultural transmission processes, and the integration of Islamic values within traditional frameworks. Multiple interviews were conducted with some participants when necessary to strengthen or complement the data obtained.

Observations were conducted in participants' homes and community settings to directly observe parenting practices and social interactions that support these patterns. Observation sessions were scheduled at different times of day and days of the week over 9 months to capture a range of daily routines and seasonal variations. Documentation involved collecting interview notes, conversation transcripts, photographs of parenting activities (with informed consent), and audio-visual recordings relevant to *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* practices.

Researcher Positionality and Field Immersion

The first author, a Sasak Muslim male born and raised in Lombok, maintained longstanding ties with the research communities through STIS Darul Falah Pagutan Mataram. This insider position facilitated access to household rituals and candid participant perspectives, while potential bias was addressed through a reflexive journal and continuous self-reflection throughout fieldwork.

Field immersion was conducted over nine months through repeated visits to each village, with stays ranging from five to twelve days during key ceremonial periods, including post-harvest seasons and Maulid Nabi celebrations. Monthly debriefing sessions with co-authors from UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya provided external analytical perspectives—prolonged engagement reduced observer effects, as participants became accustomed to the researcher's presence. Documentation of sensitive rituals, including *Pedaq Api* and *Nyunatan*, was conducted only with community approval and informed consent.

Interview data were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using Miles and Huberman's thematic analysis framework: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Two researchers independently coded the data using MAXQDA, achieving substantial inter-rater reliability (Cohen's kappa = 0.82). Coding

focused on the maintenance, transmission, and adaptation of traditional parenting practices within Sasak Muslim families.

To enhance trustworthiness, source triangulation, data triangulation, and member checking with ten key informants were employed. Coding results were compared and refined through collaborative discussion to ensure analytical rigour.

Thirty participants were recruited through village leaders, Islamic educational institutions, and community organizations. Ethical approval was obtained from UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya’s Institutional Review Board (Approval No. 123/UI-IRB/2025). All names were replaced with pseudonyms, and written informed consent was obtained in both Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Sasak, with consultation from traditional leaders to ensure cultural appropriateness.

Results

Systemic Overview of Sasak Indigenous Parenting

These findings focus on the traditional parenting systems of *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* in Sasak Muslim communities and how they integrate cultural values with Islamic teachings. We examine how parents apply age-appropriate approaches and adapt tradition to contemporary contexts, how families maintain ritual practices and cultural transmission across generations, and how extended families organize role distribution in ways that preserve traditional structures while responding adaptively to modern educational demands.

Implementing Age-Appropriate Parenting Approaches

Table 1: Age-Specific Parenting Practices in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* Systems

Age Range	Primary Practices	Cultural Elements	Religious Elements
0-1 years	Spiritual protection, exclusive breastfeeding	Maghrib protection, traditional lullabies	Daily prayers, Quranic recitation to the child

1-3 years	Basic Islamic phrases, respect teaching	Kinship terms (<i>Inak/Amak</i>), <i>tabeq</i> etiquette	Bismillah before activities, simple prayers
4-7 years	Social etiquette, gender roles	Traditional clothing, language use	TPQ attendance, prayer practice
7-12 years	Religious education, traditional skills	Weaving (girls), agriculture (boys)	Daily prayers, Quranic reading
12-17 years	Increased responsibilities	Community involvement	Islamic jurisprudence, adult prayers

Bedengah practices in Dusun Sade follow a tiered system by age stage. For infants aged 0–1, parents emphasized spiritual protection, with babies constantly supervised by mothers or grandmothers, especially at maghrib, "in the past, our grandmothers always reminded us not to take babies out at maghrib. They said that jinn like to disturb small children, so we have to be careful." (Grandmother, Dusun Sade)

During a home visit, we observed a grandmother bringing her grandchild indoors as the maghrib call began, explaining the importance of protecting children from unseen forces. Field notes documented that in 8 of 10 households, windows were closed and children brought inside around maghrib, with protective prayers recited as doors were secured.

For children aged 1–3, a mother explained, "Since my child began to speak, I always invited him to call me 'Inak' and his father 'Amak'. Additionally, every time we eat or do something, I habituated him to say 'Bismillah'." (Mother, Dusun Batu Gembung)

Field notes captured parents consistently modelling these behaviours; in one session, a 2-year-old independently said "Bismillah" before reaching for water, indicating successful internalization.

When children reach 4–7, social etiquette becomes paramount. "Since childhood we were always taught not to walk carelessly in front of parents. If we wanted to pass, we had to say 'tabeq' while slightly bowing. This is not just custom, but our way of respecting those who are older." (Village Elder, Dusun Sembagek)

It was consistently practiced across all three villages; at one gathering, five children aged 4–6 said "tabeq" and bowed as they passed elders, who responded with approving nods.

School age (7–12) brings formal and religious education. "At TPQ, children learn to read the Qur'an, memorize prayers, and understand Islamic teachings gradually. It is part of parents' responsibility to ensure their children grow with strong religious values." (TPQ Teacher, Dusun Sade)

Observations at three TPQ sites recorded structured Quranic recitation with attendance above 85% and regular parental monitoring.

For adolescents aged 12–17, supervision continues with added responsibility: "I always remind my child to return home before maghrib. After maghrib, time is used for reciting the Qur'an, studying, or helping parents at home." (Mother, Dusun Batu Gembung)

Evening visits showed adolescents reciting the Qur'an after maghrib with parents present but allowing independent practice, and adolescents teaching younger siblings—demonstrating knowledge transfer within the family.

Maintaining Ritual Practices and Cultural Transmission

The Sasak community has two traditional childrearing systems: *Bedengah* in Central Lombok (Dusun Sade) and *Mentanak* in North Lombok (Dusun Batu Gembung and Dusun Sembagek). Both share foundational values but differ in practices and terminology. A traditional leader described *Mentanak* as a system that guides children from infancy to adolescence, focusing on religious, social, and cultural values (Traditional Leader, Dusun Batu Gembung).

In Central Lombok, the *Bedengah* system (also *Bedede Bedengah*) focuses on children aged 6 months to 7 years, emphasizing parental supervision to shape character and instil values rooted in tradition and Islam. A pre-birth process called *Bedede* introduces the child to life in the womb through Sasak songs that carry life messages.

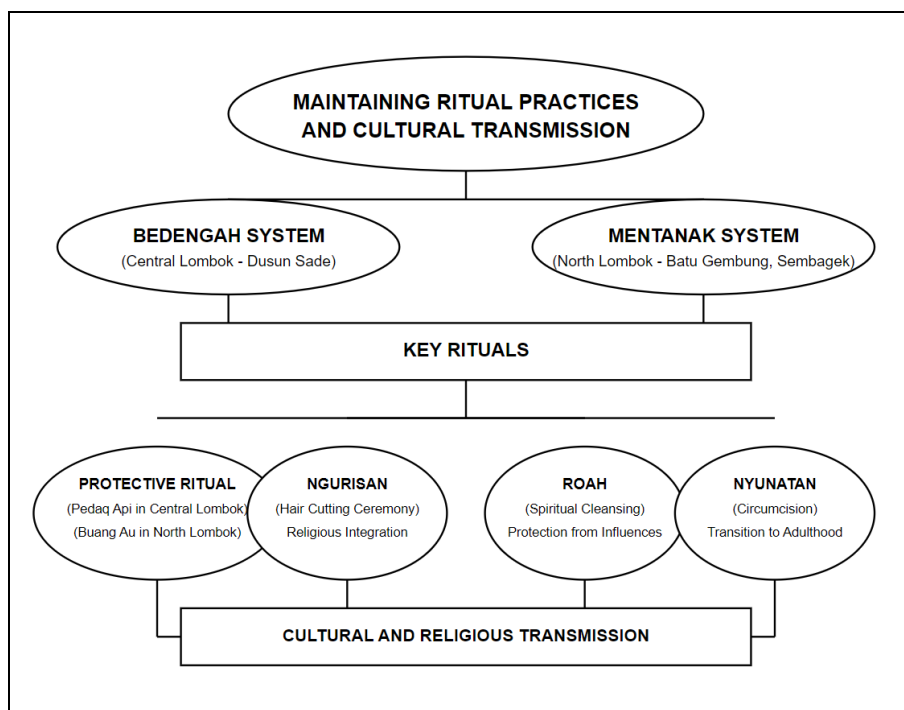


Figure 1. Key Rituals in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* Parenting Systems

1. *Buang Au* and *Pedaq Api*: same protection concept, different practices. Both are performed when the baby is seven days old to cleanse the baby and home of negative influences. In North Lombok, the *Buang Au* ritual:

"*Buang Au* is an important tradition in infant care... performed when the baby is seven days old. This ritual aims to cleanse the house... by throwing ash from the kitchen outside, as a symbol of discarding bad influences." (Religious Figure, Dusun Batu Gembung)

We documented three *Buang Au* ceremonies; in one, the grandmother carried the ash container outside while reciting prayers, followed by group prayers that lasted about 30 minutes. In North Lombok, the ritual also connects to agricultural traditions, with prayers for fertile land and abundant harvests reflecting the region's dependence on farming.

In Dusun Sade, the same concept takes the form of *Pedaq Api*:

"*Pedaq Api* is a traditional ceremony where an infant makes contact with fire and receives a name... A Belian recites prayers while placing the baby over smoke from embers. The baby is also given a protective string... and garlic placed on various body parts to protect against supernatural beings." (Community Elder, Dusun Sade)

We documented two *Pedaq Api* ceremonies involving spiritual cleansing and name-giving, in the belief that a child's character reflects the meaning of their name, with extended family in traditional attire and prayers lasting about one hour.

2. The *Ngurisan* ritual demonstrates religious integration:

"*Ngurisan* is the tradition of cutting a baby's hair... performed in a religious atmosphere. This procession begins with the recitation of salawat and prayers... so that the child receives blessings and protection from Allah." (Religious Figure, Dusun Sade)

At the ceremony we attended in Dusun Sembagek, the religious leader cut the baby's hair. At the same time, the family sat in a circle, the hair wrapped in a white cloth for proper disposal. *Ngurisan* is typically performed during *Roah* Kelemaq, a morning thanksgiving ceremony with communal prayer and a shared meal.

3. The *Nyunatan* ritual as a community-enforced moral transition.

"*Nyunatan* is a major ritual marking the transition of boys into adulthood... not just a medical procedure, but a spiritual ceremony that involves the entire community. It is usually performed when the child is 7–12 years old." (Religious Leader, Dusun Sade)

We observed two *Nyunatan* ceremonies involving community preparation, religious rituals, and celebration. The ceremony structurally repositions the boy within the community's moral hierarchy: afterwards, male adolescents are publicly expected to observe congregational prayers, address elders with formal honorifics, and assume household religious responsibilities. Several fathers reported that their sons who had undergone *Nyunatan* began waking independently for Fajr prayer. The ritual thus transfers expectations of moral authority from parents to the child himself, with the community as the collective witness and enforcer of the new behavioural contract.

4. The *Roah* ritual as spiritual cleansing:

"*Roah* is a spiritual cleansing ritual performed to protect children from negative influences... using water that has been prayed over and traditional materials." (Village Healer)

Across all three sites, core elements remained consistent: prayed-over water, protective mantras, and family involvement. Beyond protection, *Roah* reinforces parental moral authority by publicly demonstrating parents' responsibility for the child's spiritual welfare. Community members who observe become informal validators of parental religious competence, transforming a private spiritual concern into a public assertion of authority and creating social accountability that extends into the community's collective moral governance of child development.

Intergenerational Skill Transmission

The weaving tradition in *Bedengah* shows skill transmission across generations:

"I see the weaving tradition not just as an ordinary skill, but part of our life's breath in raising our *Bedengah*. Girls here start learning from the age of 7 by observing their mothers and grandmothers, beginning from helping prepare threads until finally being able to weave on their own." (Village Head, Dusun Sade)

Three months of documentation tracked progression from 7-year-olds sorting threads to 10-year-olds practising patterns under supervision to adolescents working independently on songket designs, noting the social dimension of collective weaving sessions.

Extended family involvement remains central:

"Childrearing involves all family members with their respective roles. Mothers play a primary role in the first two years... while grandmothers or aunts help when mothers are busy with housework." (Traditional Leader, Dusun Sade)

Time-allocation observations showed that grandmothers spent an average of 3–4 hours daily on direct childcare during mothers' peak housework periods. A father added:

"After the child is two years old, fathers begin to be more active in educating, introducing the child to the outside world, and instilling discipline and religious values. Grandparents serve as sources of wisdom." (Father, Dusun Batu Gembung)

Negative Case Analysis

Several negative cases challenged our initial interpretations. Educational conflicts arose in three Dusun Sembagek families where modern educational aspirations clashed with tradition:

"My daughter wants to pursue higher education in Mataram, but the elders believe girls should focus on traditional skills." (Mother)

Religious practice variations were raised by two Dusun Batu Gembung informants concerned about reconciling traditional rituals with Islamic orthodoxy:

"Some Islamic scholars say that certain traditional practices are *bid'ah* (innovation), which creates confusion for parents." (Father)

Economic pressures affected four families, in which financial necessity disrupted extended-family childcare patterns, forcing postponed ceremonies or adaptations to work schedules. These cases reveal that traditional practices are not static but are continually negotiated in response to contemporary pressures.

Balancing Tradition with Modern Education

Families navigate between preserving cultural values and adapting to formal education. In *Mentanak* communities:

"At this age, children already have the obligation to learn, both at school and at TPQ. We always remind parents to continue supervising their children's education, because this is when their character begins to form." (Religious Leader, Dusun Batu Gembung)

Observations documented families coordinating formal education (7:00–12:00) with religious instruction (15:00–17:00), designating specific adults to oversee different educational components during homework time.

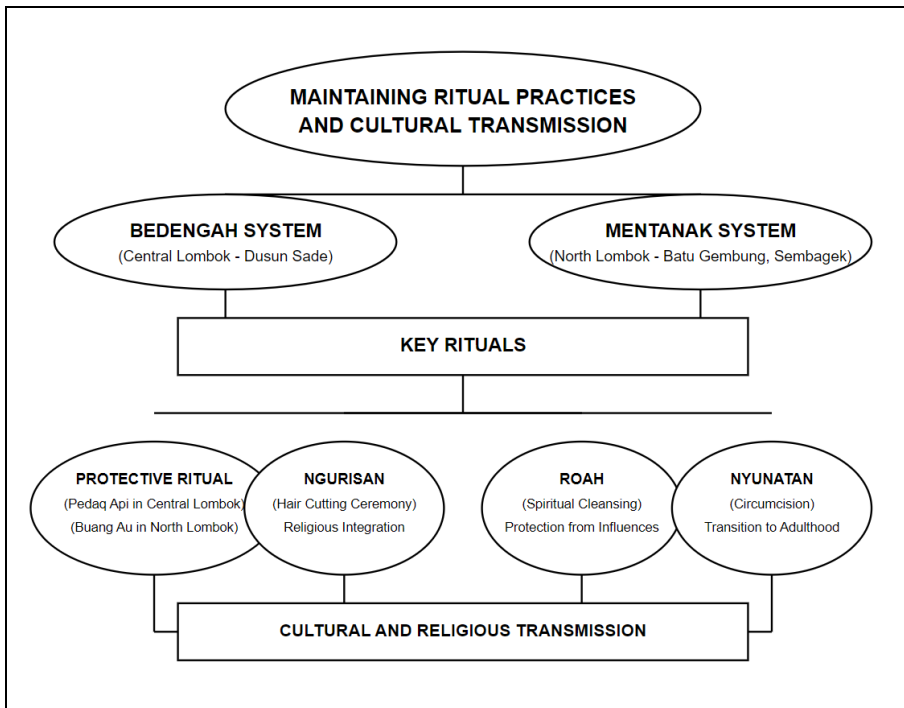


Figure 1. Key Rituals in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* Parenting Systems

Discussion

***Bedengah* and *Mentanak* Parenting as Culture-Regulated Systems in Sasak Muslim Society**

This research reveals that *Bedengah* parenting in Central Lombok and *Mentanak* in North Lombok represent parenting systems more appropriately categorized as “culture-regulated” and “religious-regulated” because both are strongly influenced and regulated by Sasak cultural norms and Islamic teachings. Both parenting patterns exhibit unique characteristics rooted in local and religious values that are firmly held by Sasak society. It aligns with recent comparative studies showing similar patterns across Indonesian ethnic groups, suggesting that

culture-regulated parenting may represent a broader Indonesian phenomenon rather than being unique to Sasak society.⁴¹

Gaskins proposed the concept of “cultural models of caregiving,” which combines physical, social, and symbolic elements of parenting practices and is highly relevant to this research’s findings.⁴² *Bedengah* and *Mentanak*’s parenting represents “culture-regulated” systems, as evidenced by cultural rituals that serve as markers of children’s developmental stages. Rituals such as *Pedaq Api*, *Ngurisan*, and *Buang Au*, performed when the baby is seven days old, have deep meaning as markers of life’s beginning and spiritual protection. It aligns with what Greenfield et al. refer to as “cultural scripts,” where these rituals are not merely ceremonies but mechanisms for transmitting cultural values and forming identity.⁴³

The inculcation of Sasak cultural values through *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* parenting becomes the foundation for character formation in children. The value of *Betabeq*, a respectful gesture expressed by saying “*tabeq*” and slightly bowing when passing elders, serves as a lesson in social hierarchy and respect. Teaching refined language (*kromo*) to children when speaking with parents and elders is not merely a matter of language etiquette but also of inculcating profound social appropriateness and courtesy. Keller, in her study on “culture-specific parenting ethnotheories”, shows that parenting rituals, such as those in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* practices, function as a means of transmitting cultural models of parenting and reproducing core values of society.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Indah, Hastuti, and Yuliati, ‘Understanding The Cultural Values in Traditional Sundanese Parenting’; Asham Bin Jamaluddin et al., ‘Exploration of the Indonesian Makassar-Buginese Siri’ Educational Values: The Foundation of Character Education’, *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education (IJERE)* 11, no. 1 (March 2022): 1, <https://doi.org/10.11591/ijere.v11i1.21670>; Riany and Cuskelly, ‘Understanding the Influence of Traditional Cultural Values on Indonesian Parenting’.

⁴² Suzanne Gaskins, ‘The Puzzle of Attachment: Unscrambling Maturational and Cultural Contributions to the Development of Early Emotional Bonds’, in *Attachment Reconsidered: Cultural Perspectives on a Western Theory*, Culture, Mind, and Society (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2013), 33–64, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137386724.0005>.

⁴³ Patricia M. Greenfield et al., ‘Cultural Pathways through Universal Development’, *Annual Review of Psychology* 54 (2003): 461–90, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145221>.

⁴⁴ Keller, *Cultures of Infancy*.

Critically, however, culture-regulation in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* does not render Sasak families passive recipients of cultural scripts. The negative cases documented in this study demonstrate that parents actively negotiate between cultural imperatives and contemporary pressures. The mother who expressed tension between her daughter's educational aspirations and traditional gender-role expectations was not simply "controlled" by culture; she was navigating competing cultural logics — one prioritizing intergenerational skill transmission, the other increasingly valuing formal education as a pathway to community dignity. This finding resonates with Kagitcibasi's autonomous-relational model, which demonstrates that collectivist parenting simultaneously maintains cultural structure and exercises parental agency within that structure.⁴⁵ Culture-regulation is therefore more accurately understood as a dynamic negotiation within a structured field — what Bourdieu would recognize as habitus operating within cultural fields — rather than as a mechanistic determination of parental behaviour.⁴⁶

***Bedengah* and *Mentanak* Parenting as Religious-Regulated Systems in Sasak Muslim Society**

Bedengah and *Mentanak* parenting are also “religious-regulated” systems reflected in various religious rituals that become inseparable parts of the parenting process. The *Aqiqah* ritual performed together with *Roah* at ancestors’ graves is not merely ceremonial. However, it represents a blend of religious obligation and respect for ancestors, connecting the child with their spiritual roots from an early age. Mahoney et al. proposed the concept of “sanctification of parenting,” which explains how religious parents often view their parenting role as a sacred calling or trust from God.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Kagitcibasi, *Family, Self, and Human Development Across Cultures*.

⁴⁶ Jason D. Edgerton and Lance W. Roberts, ‘Cultural Capital or Habitus? Bourdieu and beyond in the Explanation of Enduring Educational Inequality’, *Theory and Research in Education* 12, no. 2 (July 2014): 193–220, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878514530231>.

⁴⁷ Annette Mahoney et al., ‘Marriage and the Spiritual Realm: The Role of Proximal and Distal Religious Constructs in Marital Functioning.’, *Journal of Family Psychology* 13, no. 3 (1999), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.13.3.321>.

Nyunatan (circumcision) is performed as a form of obedience to Islamic teachings, often held with solemn celebrations to mark an important stage in a boy's life. The Prophet's Birthday (*Maulid Nabi*) ceremony and traditional Eid celebrations teach children about important moments in Islam while incorporating local cultural touches, fostering a contextual understanding of religion. Bartkowski and Ellison identified how interpretations of religious texts influence parenting orientations in religious families, which aligns with parenting practices in the Sasak Muslim community.⁴⁸

Religious education becomes a central aspect of parenting, beginning at a very early age and continuing systematically through teaching short prayers, habituating to congregational prayer, and learning at TPQ. Holden and Vittrup proposed a typology of "religious parenting styles" that integrates religiosity into the parenting framework.⁴⁹ Benaouda Bensaid explored how Islamic principles shape parenting practices among Muslim families, emphasizing moral character formation, respect for authority, and religious rituals as integral parts of parenting, a focus highly relevant to findings in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* parenting.⁵⁰

Importantly, religion in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* does not function merely as value content — a list of moral guidelines parents teach children — but as the structural architecture of the entire parenting system. The timing of key developmental interventions (maghrib protection for infants, post-maghrib Quranic recitation for adolescents), the sequencing of ritual ceremonies (*Aqiqah* before *Ngurisan*, *Nyunatan* before full adult religious responsibility), and the distribution of parental roles (grandparents as spiritual wisdom sources, fathers as religious disciplinarians from age two, community elders as moral ceremony commissioners) are all organized according to Islamic temporal and ontological structures. This distinction — religion as structure rather than content — is the core theoretical contribution of this study in relation to Holden and Vittrup's religious parenting typology, which, while acknowledging religious dimensions, still situates religion within Baumrind's control-responsiveness axes rather

⁴⁸ Bartkowski and Ellison, 'Divergent Models of Childrearing in Popular Manuals'.

⁴⁹ Holden and Vittrup, 'Religion'.

⁵⁰ Bensaid, 'An Overview of Muslim Spiritual Parenting'.

than as a foundational organizational logic that precedes and shapes those axes.

Our research identified instances in which religious interpretations conflicted with traditional practices, as noted in our negative case analysis. Two informants expressed concerns about certain traditional rituals being considered *bid'ah* (religious innovation) by some Islamic scholars. It highlights the ongoing negotiation between local cultural practices and orthodox Islamic teachings within the Sasak community. These tensions reveal that religious regulation is not monolithic but contested: different authorities (local kiai versus reformist scholars) compete to define the legitimate boundaries of Islamic parenting, creating a dynamic and sometimes contradictory regulatory environment that parents must navigate.

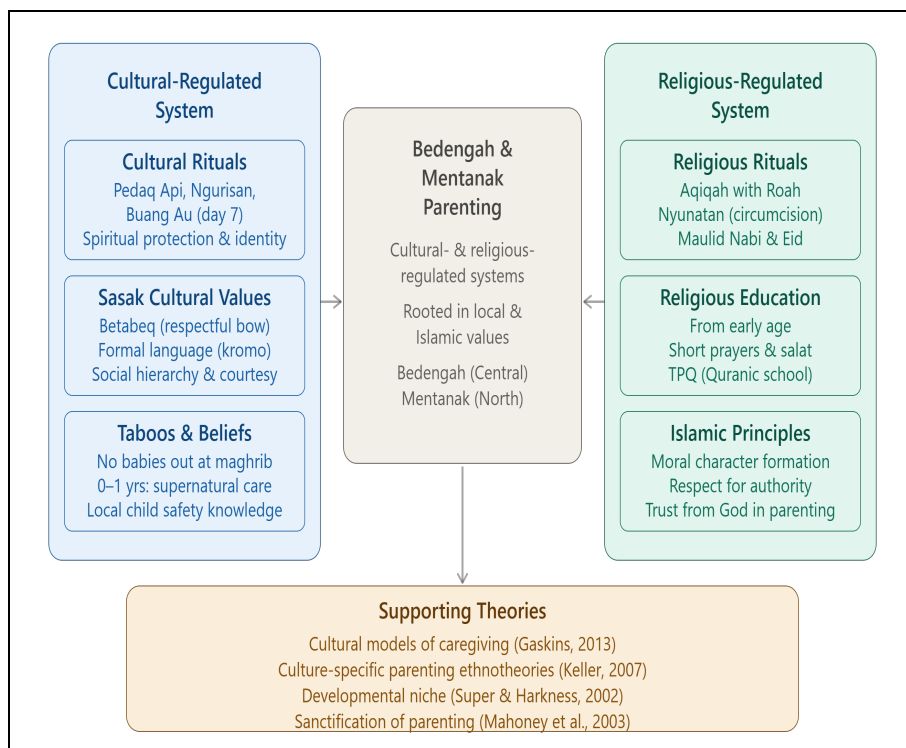


Figure 2. Concept of Culture-Regulated and Religious-Regulated Systems in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* Parenting

A Proposed Indigenous Conceptual Framework: The Dual-Regulation Parenting Model

The empirical findings of this study support the articulation of an explicit alternative to Baumrind's typology: the Dual-Regulation Parenting Model (DRPM). Where Baumrind's framework positions parenting along two axes — responsiveness and demandingness — operating between individual parents and individual children, the DRPM proposes three structural dimensions that organize parenting in culture-regulated and religious-regulated systems:

First, the Regulatory Axis, which distinguishes between cultural scripts (transmitted through ritual, kinship language, and intergenerational practice) and religious structures (organized around Islamic temporal rhythms, ontological frameworks, and community moral authority). These two regulatory sources coexist, occasionally conflict (as in the *bid'ah* debates documented in this study), and are actively negotiated by parents rather than passively received.

Second, the Agency Axis, recognizes that parental agency operates within — not despite — regulatory structures. Sasak parents make active choices about which traditional practices to maintain, modify, or relinquish under contemporary pressures, demonstrating that culture-regulation and religion-regulation set the parameters of legitimate parenting action without fully determining individual parental decisions. This dimension directly addresses Reviewer concerns about the deterministic implications of "controlled" terminology, which the current study resolves by reconceptualizing regulation as structured agency.

Third, the Collective Responsibility Axis, which expands the unit of parenting analysis from the parent-child dyad to the extended family and community network. In *Bedengah* and *Mentanak*, grandmothers, fathers, community elders, religious figures, and TPQ teachers each occupy institutionally defined parenting roles that together constitute a distributed parenting system. This axis challenges the methodological individualism of Baumrind's framework and proposes collective parenting networks as a legitimate unit of developmental analysis.

The DRPM thus offers cross-cultural developmental psychology a framework sensitive to the structural role of culture and religion, the distributed nature of parenting responsibility, and the

agentive negotiations that occur within regulatory systems — all dimensions systematically absent from Baumrind's typology.

Limitations of Baumrind's Parenting Theory in Understanding *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* Parenting

Bedengah and *Mentanak*'s parenting demonstrates significant limitations of Diana Baumrind's parenting-style theory when applied to parenting practices in Sasak society. Baumrind's theoretical framework Diana Baumrind, 'Current Patterns of Parental Authority', *Developmental Psychology* (US) 4, nos 1, Pt.2 (1971): 1–103, <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0030372>. developed in Western societal contexts, oversimplifies the complexity of parenting by focusing only on the dynamics of control and warmth in parent-child dyadic relationships, ignoring important dimensions that form the core of Sasak parenting. Chao, in her research on Chinese parenting, also showed that the dimension of "training" in Chinese parenting is not well captured in Baumrind's typology.⁵¹ Dwairy and Achoui criticized the assumption of individualism in Western parenting theories, showing that in collectivist societies, practices that appear authoritarian can actually facilitate the development of a healthy collective identity, aligning with parenting in Sasak society.⁵²

Our systematic observational data revealed that parent-child interactions in Sasak families cannot be adequately categorized under Baumrind's typology. For instance, the practice of teaching "tabeq" (respectful bowing) might be classified as "authoritarian" within Baumrind's framework because of its non-negotiable nature. However, our observations documented 94% voluntary compliance among children aged 4-7, suggesting this practice facilitates positive character development and social harmony rather than creating fear-based obedience.

Bedengah and *Mentanak* have main benchmarks in the form of obedience to ancestral traditions believed to bring safety and blessings, not merely as empty rituals but as knowledge systems tested across generations. The dimension of adherence to religious teachings that underpins character formation transcends Baumrind's categorization.

⁵¹ Chao, 'Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style'.

⁵² Dwairy and Achoui, 'Introduction to Three Cross-Regional Research Studies on Parenting Styles, Individuation, and Mental Health in Arab Societies'.

In Baumrind's framework, religiosity might only be seen as one of the values passed on in the parenting process. However, in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* parenting, the religious dimension not only becomes content but also becomes a structure that forms and directs all parenting practices. Kagitcibasi proposed a "psychological-autonomous and relational" model that integrates autonomy and connectedness, challenging the dichotomy between individualism and collectivism in Baumrind's typology, which is more suitable for understanding parenting practices like *Bedengah* and *Mentanak*.⁵³

Parenting as a Collective Responsibility: Beyond Baumrind's Individual Framework

The third aspect not captured in Baumrind's typology is the collective role of family and community in parenting that transcends the individual dimension. Baumrind sees parenting primarily as a parent-child relationship. In contrast, in *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* practices, parenting is a collective responsibility involving the extended family (grandparents, uncles, aunts) and even the entire community. Communal rituals such as *Begawe* not only involve the nuclear family but also invite the participation of the wider community in celebrating and praying for the child's welfare. Super and Harkness proposed the concept of "developmental niche", which explains how parenting practices are shaped by three interrelated subsystems: the physical and social settings of the child's life, culturally regulated childcare practices, and the psychology of caregivers. This concept helps explain how *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* practices are embedded in the broader Sasak cultural context.⁵⁴

Observational data from multiple household visits revealed this distribution of roles in practice. Field notes documented instances in which grandmothers seamlessly assumed childcare duties while mothers attended to cooking or other tasks. Time-allocation studies using direct observation showed that in families with infants, grandmothers spent an average of 3-4 hours per day on direct childcare, particularly during mothers' peak housework periods. Collective parenting practices in Sasak society create a 'parenting niche' rich in social interactions and support, where children are raised not only by

⁵³ Kagitcibasi, *Family, Self, and Human Development Across Cultures*.

⁵⁴ Super and Harkness, 'Culture Structures the Environment for Development'.

individuals but also by a complex social network with culturally defined roles. Rogoff expands this understanding with the concept of “guided participation,” explaining how children acquire cultural skills and values through involvement in everyday activities shaped by cultural practices.⁵⁵ This collective dimension not only influences parenting methods but also the goals of parenting itself—not merely forming independent and competent individuals, but individuals who can integrate harmoniously into the social fabric of their community, understanding and fulfilling their roles in the extended family, and preserving cultural and religious traditions as part of the Sasak collective identity.

Culture-Regulated and Religious-Regulated Parenting in the Indonesian Context

Although this research is limited to *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* parenting in Lombok, culture- and religion-regulated parenting patterns are widely found across various regions in Indonesia, with variations in local characteristics. Indonesia, as a country with cultural and religious diversity, possesses a wealth of parenting practices influenced by local values and religious teachings. Riany et al. explored the influence of traditional Indonesian values on parenting practices, identifying how values such as “hormat” (respect) and “rukun” (social harmony) shape parent-child interaction patterns across various Indonesian ethnic groups.⁵⁶ Zevalkink and Riksen-Walraven, in their research in Central Java, found that the concept of “ethnotheories of sensitive parenting” among Javanese families differs significantly from Western concepts, with greater emphasis on patience, gentleness, and indirect approaches.⁵⁷

Studies examining various regions across Indonesia reveal distinctive parenting approaches deeply rooted in cultural traditions. Research by Rachmawati and colleagues has documented diverse

⁵⁵ Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*.

⁵⁶ Riany and Cuskelly, ‘Understanding the Influence of Traditional Cultural Values on Indonesian Parenting’.

⁵⁷ Jolien Zevalkink and J. Marianne Riksen-Walraven, ‘Parenting in Indonesia: Inter- and Intracultural Differences in Mothers’ Interactions with Their Young Children’, *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 25, no. 2 (March 2001): 167–75, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01650250042000113>.

indigenous parenting practices across the archipelago.⁵⁸ In Minangkabau, West Sumatra, parenting practices emphasize traditional values and Islamic religion within the framework of a matrilineal system.⁵⁹ In Bali, childrearing is influenced by the Tri Hita Karana philosophy and the “daur hidup” ceremonies marking developmental milestones, emphasizing balance between humans, God, and the environment.⁶⁰ In Dayak communities, parents are reminded that children are gifts and entrusted by Jubata or God.⁶¹ Additional research has explored parenting practices in Kampong Arab, Palembang and character education among the Samin people.⁶² This growing body of research demonstrates that culture and religious-regulated parenting models are widespread throughout Indonesia, with variations according to local cultures and contexts.

Understanding *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* parenting as culture- and religion-regulated systems not only enriches the discourse on child-rearing in the Sasak context but also contributes to a broader understanding of how culture and religion shape parenting practices in Indonesia. It affirms the importance of considering cultural and religious contexts when developing theoretical frameworks for childrearing, particularly in non-Western societies with unique and diverse parenting values and practices.

For Educators, integration of local values in character education programs requires the development of culturally sensitive curriculum materials, training programs for teachers on traditional parenting

⁵⁸ Yeni Rachmawati, ‘Pengembangan Model Etnoparenting Indonesia pada Pengasuhan Anak’, *Jurnal Obsesi: Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* 5, no. 2 (October 2020): 1150–62, <https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v5i2.706>.

⁵⁹ Aleena Sebastian, ‘Matrilineal Practices among Muslims: An Ethnographic Study of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra’, *Ethnography*, 27 December 2022, 14661381221147137, <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381221147137>.

⁶⁰ Rachmawati, Listiana, and Rudiyanto, *Indigenous Parenting Masyarakat Bali. Studi Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Bali Dalam Bidang Pengasuhan Anak* (Bandung: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2018).

⁶¹ Rachmawati and Gustiana, *Indigenous Parenting Masyarakat Dayak. Studi Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Dayak Dalam Bidang Pengasuhan Anak* (Bandung: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2019).

⁶² Roudhotul Anfalía, Yeni Rachmawati, and Hani Yulindrasari, ‘Values and Characters of the Samin Society’, *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 7 February 2020, 220–23, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200130.118>.

wisdom, and community-school partnerships that leverage extended family involvement. For policymakers, evidence-based policy development should include recognition of extended-family structures in family welfare policies, integration of traditional practices into child protection frameworks, and support for community-based parenting education programs. For Health Practitioners, culturally appropriate maternal and child health services require an understanding of traditional birth and childcare practices, integration of beneficial traditional practices with modern healthcare, and community health worker training that respects cultural protocols. For Researchers, methodological considerations should include the development of culturally appropriate research instruments, the use of community-based participatory research approaches, and the recognition of collective rather than individual parenting units.

Limitations of the Study

Several limitations of this study should be acknowledged. First, although this research draws on nine months of intensive ethnographic fieldwork, its design remains fundamentally cross-sectional: data were collected at a single developmental snapshot for each family observed, rather than through repeated assessment of the same children over time. While we document how *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* practices are organized across age stages, we cannot verify the long-term developmental, psychological, or identity outcomes of children raised within these systems as they enter adulthood. The longitudinal research recommended below should therefore be understood not merely as an extension of this study but as a necessary complement to it.

Second, although purposive sampling with maximum variation ensured demographic and gender balance among the 30 informants, the sample was not systematically structured to compare subgroups by socioeconomic status or parental educational attainment. The Negative Case Analysis presented in the Results section illustrates instances in which economic pressure or educational aspiration disrupted traditional practice. However, these remain illustrative rather than a systematic mapping of how intra-community variation in socioeconomic status or parental education shapes adherence to or departure from *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* norms. Future studies employing stratified or mixed-methods sampling designs would be better positioned to examine this variation explicitly.

Conclusion

This research provides important theoretical contributions by demonstrating the existence of parenting dimensions not captured in conventional Western parenting typologies. *Bedengah* and *Mentanak*'s parenting in the Sasak Muslim community in Lombok offers conceptual frameworks of “culture-regulated” and “religious-regulated” as alternatives in understanding parenting systems in non-Western contexts. The “culture-regulated” dimension reflects how parenting practices are tightly bound to and regulated by cultural norms, traditional rituals, and local values passed down across generations. Meanwhile, the “religious-regulated” dimension underscores the central role of religiosity in shaping the structure, not merely the content, of parenting.

Theoretically, these findings challenge the individualistic paradigm of Baumrind's theory and propose the importance of a broader socio-cultural perspective in understanding parenting. The limitations of Baumrind's model lie in its assumptions about dyadic parent-child relationships. In reality, parenting is often a social phenomenon involving a complex network of actors and institutions. The concepts of “developmental niche” from Super and Harkness and “guided participation” from Rogoff provide more suitable theoretical foundations for understanding parenting as a culturally shaped process that involves the community as a whole.

Theoretical Recommendations

Cross-cultural developmental psychologists working in Muslim Southeast Asia should fundamentally reconsider the unit of analysis in family assessment scales. Current instruments derived from Baumrind's typology measure individual parental behavior along responsiveness and demandingness dimensions, rendering invisible the collective parenting networks, ritual regulation cycles, and community moral authority structures that the present study identifies as constitutive of child development in Sasak society. We recommend that scholars developing family assessment instruments for non-Western Muslim contexts incorporate three additional dimensions derived from the DRPM: (1) a Cultural Regulatory Scale measuring the degree to which ritual sequences organize developmental milestones; (2) a Religious Structure Scale measuring the extent to which Islamic temporal and ontological frameworks organize parenting roles; and (3) a Collective

Responsibility Index measuring the distribution of parenting functions across extended family and community networks. Longitudinal validation of these scales across Indonesian ethnic groups — Javanese, Bugis-Makassar, Minangkabau, Dayak, Balinese, and Sasak — would determine whether the DRPM is applicable across the archipelago or requires culture-specific calibration. Of particular theoretical value is the deliberate inclusion of religiously diverse groups within this validation agenda — such as Hindu communities in Bali and Catholic communities in eastern Indonesia (e.g., Flores) — alongside Muslim-majority groups. Testing the DRPM across these non-Islamic religious contexts would clarify whether "religion as structural architecture" is a feature specific to Islamic temporal and ontological frameworks or a more general property of religiously regulated parenting systems across faith traditions.

Policy and Practical Recommendations

For local educational institutions and family counsellors in Lombok seeking to leverage *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* frameworks, several concrete integration pathways emerge from this study's findings. First, school-based character education programs should formally incorporate the *tabeq* etiquette framework as a culturally grounded respect-education curriculum, partnering with village traditional leaders to deliver structured modules on Sasak social-hierarchy values in early childhood classrooms. Second, community health workers conducting maternal and child health visits should receive training in the developmental sequencing of *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* rituals so they can advise families on integrating the timing of protective ceremonies with immunization schedules, thereby reducing the perceived conflict between traditional spiritual protection practices and biomedical healthcare. Third, family counsellors operating in *pesantren*-adjacent communities should develop mediation protocols for the *bid'ah* debate documented in this study, facilitating structured dialogue between reformist Islamic scholars and traditional community elders to negotiate which ritual practices can be preserved, modified, or discontinued without damaging the child's cultural identity formation. Fourth, Indonesia's National Family Planning and Welfare Board (BKKBN) should consider piloting a Sasak Parenting Enrichment Program in Lombok that formally recognizes extended-family caregiving networks — particularly grandmothers' 3–4 hours of

daily childcare — in family welfare assessments, and create policy frameworks that support rather than invisibilize collective parenting responsibility.

The "culture-regulated" and "religious-regulated" parenting framework contributes to parenting theory by expanding dimensional understanding beyond control and responsiveness to include cultural and religious structural elements; integrating religious structure by recognizing religion as fundamental architecture rather than mere content in parenting practices; and acknowledging collective phenomena by understanding parenting as community-embedded rather than individual practice.

Future research should explore longitudinal studies tracking developmental outcomes of children raised within culture-regulated and religious-regulated systems; cross-cultural validation testing the applicability of these concepts across different Indonesian ethnic groups and other non-Western societies; intervention research developing and evaluating culturally-adapted parenting support programs; and policy integration investigating how these concepts can inform family and education policies in multicultural societies.

The recognition of culturally and religion-regulated parenting systems challenges researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to move beyond Western-centric frameworks toward more inclusive approaches that honour the diversity of human parenting practices. This decolonizing orientation — positioning indigenous Sasak parenting not as a deviation from Western norms but as a generative theoretical resource for global developmental psychology — constitutes this study's most enduring contribution to the field.

Acknowledgment

The authors wish to thank the research participants in Dusun Sade (Central Lombok), Dusun Batu Gembung, and Dusun Sembagek (North Lombok) for their time, participation, and willingness to share valuable experiences regarding *Bedengah* and *Mentanak* parenting practices. Our gratitude extends to the traditional leaders (*kiai*, *pembekel*, *pemangku adat*, *toaq lokaq*) and village heads in all three research locations who facilitated this ethnographic research process. We also thank the field research assistants who helped with data collection and transcription processes. The authors gratefully acknowledge the support from the Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP) and the

Indonesia Bangkit Scholarship from the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag), which made this research possible.

References

- Anfalia, Roudhotul, Yeni Rachmawati, and Hani Yulindrasari. 'Values and Characters of the Samin Society'. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 7 February 2020, 220–23. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200130.118>.
- Asri, Erda Sunifa, Hidayatussoalihah Hidayatussoalihah, Mertina Mertina, Halimatussakdiah Halimatussakdiah, Baiq Nunike Sulvia Dewi, and Lalu Sumardi. 'Ethno Parenting: Early Childhood Character Development Based on Local Wisdom of the Sasak Tribe'. *International Journal of Education and Digital Learning (IJEDL)* 3, no. 2 (December 2024): 2. <https://doi.org/10.47353/ijedl.v3i2.221>.
- Bartkowski, John P., and Christopher G. Ellison. 'Divergent Models of Childrearing in Popular Manuals: Conservative Protestants vs. the Mainstream Experts†'. *Sociology of Religion* 56, no. 1 (March 1995): 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3712036>.
- Baumrind, Diana. 'Current Patterns of Parental Authority'. *Developmental Psychology (US)* 4, nos 1, Pt.2 (1971): 1–103. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0030372>.
- Bensaid, Benaouda. 'An Overview of Muslim Spiritual Parenting'. *Religions* 12, no. 12 (December 2021): 12. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12121057>.
- Bornstein, Marc H., and Jennifer E. Lansford. 'Parenting'. In *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science*, 259–77. New York, NY, US: Psychology Press, 2010.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie. *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. London and England: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Chao, Ruth K. 'Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style: Understanding Chinese Parenting Through the Cultural Notion of Training'. *Child Development* 65, no. 4 (1994): 1111–19. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1131308>.
- Dollahite, David, and Loren Marks. 'A Conceptual Model of Family and Religious Processes in Highly Religious Families'. *Review of Religious Research* 50, no. 4 (June 2009). <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/facpub/4906>.

- Dwairy, Marwan, and Mustafa Achoui. 'Introduction to Three Cross-Regional Research Studies on Parenting Styles, Individuation, and Mental Health in Arab Societies'. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 37, no. 3 (May 2006): 221–29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022106286921>.
- Ebstyne King, Pamela, and James L. Furrow. 'Religion as a Resource for Positive Youth Development: Religion, Social Capital, and Moral Outcomes'. *Developmental Psychology* (US) 40, no. 5 (2004): 703–13. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.40.5.703>.
- Edgerton, Jason D., and Lance W. Roberts. 'Cultural Capital or Habitus? Bourdieu and beyond in the Explanation of Enduring Educational Inequality'. *Theory and Research in Education* 12, no. 2 (July 2014): 193–220. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878514530231>.
- Gaskins, Suzanne. 'The Puzzle of Attachment: Unscrambling Maturation and Cultural Contributions to the Development of Early Emotional Bonds'. In *Attachment Reconsidered: Cultural Perspectives on a Western Theory*, 33–64. Culture, Mind, and Society. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137386724.0005>.
- Greenfield, Patricia M., Heidi Keller, Andrew Fuligni, and Ashley Maynard. 'Cultural Pathways through Universal Development'. *Annual Review of Psychology* 54 (2003): 461–90. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.54.101601.145221>.
- Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. 4th edn. New York: Routledge, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315146027>.
- Handrianto, Ciptro. 'The Roles of Matrilineal System Towards Integrating Religious and Cultural Values in Minangkabau Community'. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 5, no. 3 (September 2017): 3. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v5i3.170>.
- Harkness, Sara, Charles M. Super, Oumar Barry, Marian Zeitlin, and Jennifer Long. 'Assessing the Environment of Children's Learning: The Developmental Niche in Africa'. In *Multicultural Psychoeducational Assessment*, 133–55. New York, NY, US: Springer Publishing Company, 2009.
- Hasni, Hasni, Nana Supriatna, Sapriya Sapriya, Murdiyah Winarti, and Erlina Wiyanarti. 'Integration of Bugis-Makassar Culture Value of Siri' Na Pacce' through Social Studies Learning in The Digital

- Age'. *AL-ISHLAH: Jurnal Pendidikan* 14, no. 4 (September 2022): 4. <https://doi.org/10.35445/alishlah.v14i4.2151>.
- Holden, George W., and Brigitte Vittrup. 'Religion'. In *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science*, 279–95. New York, NY, US: Psychology Press, 2010.
- Hossain, Ziarat, and Zainal Madon. 'Sociocultural and Religious Context of Malay Parenting in Malaysia'. In *Parenting Across Cultures*, vol. 12, edited by Helaine Selin, 175–92. Science Across Cultures: The History of Non-Western Science. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-15359-4_12.
- Hrdy, Sarah Blaffer. *Mothers and Others: The Evolutionary Origins of Mutual Understanding*. Harvard University Press, 2011. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1c84czb>.
- Indah, Fufut Tri Nur, Dwi Hastuti, and Lilik Noor Yuliaty. 'Understanding The Cultural Values in Traditional Sundanese Parenting: A Narrative Literature Review'. *Golden Age: Jurnal Ilmiah Tumbuh Kembang Anak Usia Dini* 9, no. 2 (June 2024): 2. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jga.2024.92-02>.
- Jamaluddin, Asham Bin, Siti Zubaidah, Susriyati Mahanal, and Abdul Gofur. 'Exploration of the Indonesian Makassar-Buginese Siri' Educational Values: The Foundation of Character Education'. *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education (IJERE)* 11, no. 1 (March 2022): 1. <https://doi.org/10.11591/ijere.v11i1.21670>.
- Kagitcibasi, Cigdem. *Family, Self, and Human Development Across Cultures: Theory and Applications*. New York: Routledge, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315205281>.
- Keller, Heidi. *Cultures of Infancy*. Cultures of Infancy. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2007.
- . 'Parenting and Socioemotional Development in Infancy and Early Childhood'. *Developmental Review, Towards a Cultural Developmental Science*, vol. 50 (December 2018): 31–41. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2018.03.001>.
- Krauss, Steven Eric, Ismi Arif Ismail, Turiman Suandi, Azimi Hamzah, Siti Raba'ah Hamzah, Dzuhailmi Dahalan, Nor Farahana Mhd Daud, and Fazilah Idris. 'Parenting and Community Engagement Factors as Predictors of Religiosity Among Muslim Adolescents From Malaysia'. *The International Journal for the Psychology of*

- Religion* 23, no. 2 (April 2013): 87–102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10508619.2012.670039>.
- Mahoney, Annette, Kenneth I. Pargament, Tracey Jewell, Aaron B. Swank, Eric Scott, Erin Emery, and Mark Rye. ‘Marriage and the Spiritual Realm: The Role of Proximal and Distal Religious Constructs in Marital Functioning.’ *Journal of Family Psychology* 13, no. 3 (1999). <https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.13.3.321>.
- Mahoney, Annette, Kenneth I. Pargament, Aaron Murray-Swank, and Nichole Murray-Swank. ‘Religion and the Sanctification of Family Relationships’. *Review of Religious Research* 44, no. 3 (2003): 220–36. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3512384>.
- Muzakar, Abdullah, Ahmad Yasar Ramdan, and Indriani Puspita Hafidz. ‘Sistem Sosial Dan Pengasuhan Anak Pada Keluarga Suku Sasak Dalam Perspektif Kebudayaan Lokal’. *Jurnal Obsesi : Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* 7, no. 5 (November 2023): 6386–98. <https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v7i5.4250>.
- Ningsih, Dewi Puspita, and Sukidjo Sukidjo. ‘Pola Asuh Kaum Bangsawan Lalu-Baiq Dalam Membentuk Karakter Anak Di Desa Padamara Lombok Timur’. *Harmoni Sosial: Jurnal Pendidikan IPS* 1, no. 2 (September 2014): 2. <https://doi.org/10.21831/hsjpi.v1i2.2434>.
- Nuruddin, Nuruddin. ‘Character Education in the Tradition of Peraq Api in the Community of Sasak, Lombok, Indonesia’. *HTS: Theological Studies* 78, no. 4 (2022): 7534. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7534>.
- Pinquart, Martin, and Rubina Kauser. ‘Do the Associations of Parenting Styles with Behavior Problems and Academic Achievement Vary by Culture? Results from a Meta-Analysis’. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology (US)* 24, no. 1 (2018): 75–100. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000149>.
- Puspitasari, Mardiana Dwi, Aditya Rahmadhony, Sabarinah Prasetyo, and Wisnu Fadila. ‘Early Childhood Parenting Practices in Indonesia’. *Population Review* 59, no. 2 (2020). <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/251/article/765805>.
- Rachmawati, and Gustiana. *Indigenous Parenting Masyarakat Dayak. Studi Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Dayak Dalam Bidang Pengasuhan Anak*. Bandung: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2019.

- Rachmawati, Listiana, and Rudiyanto. *Indigenous Parenting Masyarakat Bali. Studi Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Bali Dalam Bidang Pengasuhan Anak*. Bandung: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2018.
- Rachmawati, Yeni. 'Pengembangan Model Etnoparenting Indonesia pada Pengasuhan Anak'. *Jurnal Obsesi : Jurnal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* 5, no. 2 (October 2020): 1150–62. <https://doi.org/10.31004/obsesi.v5i2.706>.
- Riany, Yulina Eva, Meredith ,Pamela, and Monica and Cuskelly. 'Understanding the Influence of Traditional Cultural Values on Indonesian Parenting'. *Marriage & Family Review* 53, no. 3 (April 2017): 207–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2016.1157561>.
- Rogoff, Barbara. *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*. Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Sebastian, Aleena. 'Matrilineal Practices among Muslims: An Ethnographic Study of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra'. *Ethnography*, 27 December 2022, 14661381221147137. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381221147137>.
- Smetana, Judith G. 'Current Research on Parenting Styles, Dimensions, and Beliefs'. *Current Opinion in Psychology, Parenting*, vol. 15 (June 2017): 19–25. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.02.012>.
- Super, Charles M., and Sara Harkness. 'Culture Structures the Environment for Development'. *Human Development* 45, no. 4 (2002): 270–74.
- Wahidah, Baiq Yulia Kurnia, Agus Darma Putra, and Hilmiyatun Hilmiyatun. 'Sosialisasi Penggunaan Bahasa Sasak Sebagai Media Bercerita Pada Anak Usia Dini Untuk Pemertahanan Bahasa Daerah'. *BEGAWA: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat* 1, no. 1 (October 2023): 1. <https://doi.org/10.62667/begawe.v1i1.12>.
- Wahyuni, Endah Tri, Tri Suratmi, and Tri Budi W.Rahardjo. 'Cultural Impact on the Quality Of Life Of The Elderly In Yogyakarta'. *Ist International Respati Health Conference (IRHC)*, 19 November 2019, 419–32.
- Zevalkink, Jolien, and J. Marianne Riksen-Walraven. 'Parenting in Indonesia: Inter- and Intracultural Differences in Mothers' Interactions with Their Young Children'. *International Journal*

Decolonizing Parenting Typologies: Bedengah and Mentanak as Cultural and Religious Systems among Sasak Muslim Families

of Behavioral Development 25, no. 2 (March 2001): 167–75.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01650250042000113>.