

Popular Islamist Authoritative Parenting: A Contest of Identity in Islamic Education for Early Childhood

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ABSTRACT

Purpose – This article aims to explain the values of Islamism that are reproduced in animated videos of children, the religious style that is developed, and the identity of parenting that is constructed and contested.

Design/methods/approach – The study was conducted qualitatively with a phenomenological approach, namely by constructing understanding, motivation, and parenting practices reproduced in animated videos. The primary data source is the animated film Nussa Data were collected through video documentation and analyzed by discourse analysis.

Findings - It is concluded that: 1) the Islamism reproduced in the animation of Nussa leads to the development of Salafism values in early childhood care. 2) This development uses the Salafi religious style as a parenting style and practice which we call the popular Islamist authoritative parenting model. 3) This parenting model is encouraged to contest with other parenting models and serves as an identity that struggles to win religious authority in the field of early childhood care.

Findings – It is concluded that: 1) the Islamism reproduced in the animation of Nussa leads to the development of Salafism values in early childhood care. 2) This development uses the Salafi religious style as a parenting style and practice which we call the popular Islamist authoritative parenting model. 3) This parenting model is encouraged to contest with other parenting models and serves as an identity that struggles to win religious authority in the field of early childhood care.

Research implications/limitations – The data sources are limited to animated videos and sources on the Internet. There were no direct interviews with the informants but based on the narratives delivered directly through videos on various social media, especially Youtube.

Originality/value – The findings of this study provide an overview of popular Islamist authoritative parenting that is promoted as a model of Islamic early childhood care.

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Introduction

After the 1998 reform, Islamism in general experienced growth and increased escalation in Indonesia. Among others, this view was conveyed by Martin van Bruinessen (van Bruinessen, 2013, p. 3) and Arifianto (Arifianto, 2020). But Islamism did not thrive. This support for political Islam is only given by a small part of the Indonesian Muslim community. Based on research conducted by Sukron Kamil et al. (2011) only 20 percent support Islam being a holistic political ideology, and of the 20 percent, only 5 percent support Islamic political ideology. Meanwhile, the majority of Indonesian Muslims (80 percent) tend to regard Islam as part of an ethical and cultural expression (Kamil et al., 2011, p. 1).

However, the puritanical and literal perspective of Islamist religion in understanding religious texts continues to be reproduced through various approaches. One of them is through digital technology. This is where the puritanical and literal pattern of Islamic religiosity grows and develops again and even tend to dominate digital media. There are several factors that cause puritan and literal religion to dominate digital media. Among other things because of the digital technology packaging that attracts the Muslim middle class as consumers and the shift in autonomous and individualistic religious expression as a feature of urban society.(Fealy & White, 2008, p. 16)

Religious expression, which was originally based on rural culture and had moral certainty and cultural comfort, turned into urban culture, which experienced religious disorientation. As a result, identity instability occurs which has an impact on the search for sources of moral guidance and religious assistance. On the other hand, the development of the spiritual market provides an opportunity for everyone to choose moral guidance and religious assistance autonomously.

Autonomy in choosing moral and religious guidance is one of the new religious characteristics. Previously it obtained religious knowledge from authorized and well-established institutions. In this phase, patterns of religious identification are characterized by a tendency to follow the same spiritual path as a particular cultural or social environment. Meanwhile, at the present time, these patterns are increasingly being replaced by more individualized practices. They are more likely to act as individuals who are free to choose products from various sources available in the market according to their individual needs (Fealy & White, 2008, p. 16).

The meeting of Islamic religious perspectives with the needs of Muslim middle class religious expression gave birth to what is known as popular Islamic culture (Jati, 2015) In subsequent developments, many Islamic religious products are packaged in popular culture and widely consumed by the Muslim community. These include fashion, culinary, banking, and even the world of entertainment such as movies and music. Consuming Islamist religious products that are popularly packaged is understood as a form of piety as well as fulfilling the need for social pride for the perpetrators.

Nussa's animated video is one of the phenomena of this Islamic religious product. Nussa animation is produced by a production house that is professionally managed by professional personnel as well. Nussa represents an animation product with very good quality. The quality of this animation is then used as a frame in packaging a puritanical and literal religious reproduction, especially for early childhood education and families.

The world of education is also experiencing a new phenomenon in parenting patterns. The increasingly complex life of society with all its activities impacts family management, especially child-rearing patterns (Munastiwi, 2021). Limited time to gather and interact with children requires the right solution. The development of information technology, especially animation media, is an alternative solution to this problem. Animation produced professionally and attractively can be a medium for teaching children practically and is relevant to existing phenomena.

This animation received an extraordinary response from netizens. At the beginning of its production, this animation was trending on the Youtube channel. In no time, this animation was overrun by millions of subscribers. Until now, Nussa animation already has more than 8.7 million subscribers. The videos have been viewed by nearly 2.4 billion times. The animation, which was originally published on Youtube, has now developed itself in the form of a digital application so that it can reach a wider market. Nussa has also been produced in the form of a feature film.

The questions posed in this study are why are the values of Islamism reproduced in children's animated videos? And how are religious patterns developed, and how are parenting identities constructed and contested?

Methods

This research was conducted qualitatively through a phenomenological approach. Referring to Creswell, phenomenological studies describe the general meaning of a number of individuals to their various life experiences related to concepts or phenomena (Creswell, 2014, p. 105). Based on the understanding of the phenomenological study, this study intends to reveal the understanding, motivation, and parenting practices developed in Nussa animation. The primary data source is the animated film Nussa. sumber data utama berupa film animasi Nussa. Data is collected from 30 episodes of Nussa in the first season. The collected data was then analyzed interpretively using descriptive discourse analysis methods to discover the phenomena behind the childcare practices presented in the Nussa animation.

This article is basically a study of the negotiation of Islamic identity against the domination of Western culture which has been studied quite a lot by academics. Ariel Heryanto, for example, once conducted a study on the film *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* which was booming in the late 90s. Heryanto concluded that this film succeeded in presenting an alternative form of piety that is close to a global lifestyle but still has a deep devotion to Islam (Heryanto, 2018, pp. 1–5). Hoesterey and Clark also found a similar phenomenon after

researching several Indonesian “Islamic films” which had quite a number of fans. They found the values of Islamic piety in a modern lifestyle which is colored by prosperity and consumerism (Hoesterey & Clark, 2012).

Apart from Heryanto, Hoesterey and Clark, there is also Rakhmani who is researching the Identity negotiations on the television screen. Rakhmani found a polarization that is not only between Islamic identity and Western culture and secularism, but also a conflict between mainstream Islam followers that was formed during the New Order and Islamism groups that began to emerge in the public sphere after the New Order. Mainstream Islam displays an Islamic identity that is adaptive to global developments, while Islamism demands Islamic exclusivity (Rakhmani, 2016, p. 198).

This article reveals a study similar to some of these studies. The focus of the study is equally directed at the discourse on Islamic piety which is contested with Western or global culture. However, this article has a difference in setting the object of research. In the previous research the object of research used was Islamic films with adult actors, whereas this article makes Islamic films with young children as actors. In addition, previous studies still use manual technology as the background, while Nussa's animation, which is the object of this research, uses animation technology and social media support.

Result and Discussion

The findings regarding the Nussa animation analysis can be described in two crucial points: different parenting patterns through the Nussa animation video and a parenting model based on Salafi values. These two findings become an interesting discourse because conventional educational values are integrated into sophisticated and professional audio-visual media, resulting in exciting, easy-to-digest results.

1. Nussa animation as a parenting distinction

Nussa Animation is an animated series produced by animation studio The Little Giantz. This studio is located at Jalan M.P.R X number 12 Kav. A West Cilandak, South Jakarta. This animation first appeared on Youtube on November 20, 2018 through the Nussa Official account. At the end of 2020, Nussa animation began to be developed in the form of a digital application under the name "Nussa and Friends". In the same year, Nussa animation is also being prepared to be broadcast on the big screen. However, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the big screen version of Nussa's animation can only be shown in theaters in 2021.

The Little Giantz studio was founded in 2016 by several young professionals who already have enough experience in various fields, especially animation studios. They are Aditya Triantoro as Chief Executive Officer, Yuda Wirafianto as Chief Financial Officer, Ricky Manoppo as Chief Operating Officer, and Bony Wirasmono who acts as Chief Creative Officer. Prior to establishing the Little Giantz, Aditya Triantoro and Bony Wirasmono were

animators at a well-known animation studio in Singapore, One Animation Pte. Ltd. Meanwhile, Yuda Wirafianto has a career as a corporate legal in mining companies, both in foreign companies and in state-owned enterprises. Meanwhile, Ricky Manoppo has experience as an accountant and has worked in an oil company (Manoppo, 2019).

They are aggregated by a phenomenon that Fealy and White call 'the destabilization of religious identity' (Fealy & White, 2008, p. 28). This instability is due to the development of new technology and the accelerated development of the flow of information combined with urbanization and the increasing prosperity of contemporary Indonesian Islamic society. This development gave birth to the urban middle class which resulted in the birth of the formation of a new identity. The impact of this identity instability is a new pattern in the search for sources of moral guidance and religious assistance (Manoppo, 2019).

The appearance of Aditya and his friends leads to this new religious expression. They are basically members of the new Muslim middle class who are searching for identity amid global identity contestation. They are united on a common quest amid of their increasing prosperity, namely religious identity. They then found their search in the "Yuk Ngaji" community. In the next stage this search for identity leads them to a new phenomenon called "hijrah."

During this spirit of searching for identity, Nussa's animation was produced. That spirit can be seen in some of the expressions that are shown, for example, the use of the phrase "A New Islamic Edutainment Animated Web Series for the Family" as a profile description on Youtube. Likewise with Aditya's expression in describing Nussa's animation vision as not just for people but the "ummah" (Andalina, 2019). The use of the words "Islamic" and "ummah" indicates a contested identity.

Nussa animation tells the daily life of a family of brothers, Nussa and Rarra, who live with their mother named Umma. Each episode has a theme about the values of religious education. The themes that appear in each episode are packaged in a problematic situation. The situation begins with the problems faced by Nussa and Rarra in their daily lives. The problems presented are then resolved with advice in the form of religious values and religious texts that stem from the Qur'an and hadith through film scenes.

Nussa has produced three broadcast seasons with a total of 65 video episodes. The first season has 23 episodes, the second season has 28 episodes, and the third season has 14 episodes. Currently, Nussa has entered its fourth season. New episodes of Nussa are released every Friday at 04.30. All Nussa episodes can be viewed on the "Nussa and Friends" app. Nussa's videos can also be accessed through the Nussa Official Youtube account.

Based on the published videos, it can be concluded that Nussa's animation was produced in order to reproduce Salafism values in early childhood care. This conclusion is based on the view of Salafism expressed by Roel Meijer (Meijer, 2014b, pp. 4–19). First, in terms of doctrine, Salafism teaches the followers to return to the basic sources of Islam,

namely the Qur'an and Hadith, which are understood both scripturally and literally. A Muslim must behave exactly like the pious ancestors (*al-salaf al-salih*), whose actions and thoughts refer to the basic sources of Islam (Meijer, 2014b, p. 4). This doctrine appears in several scenes in various episodes of Nussa in the form of dialogues which base the dialogue material on scriptural and literal references to the Qur'an and hadith of the Prophet Muhammad.

Second, in term of identity, Salafism adopts a new identity that is different from the existing identity in the dominant culture in which they live. This new identity is believed to be superior in faith and piety. Salafi identity is manifested in the form of rituals and special clothes that function as differentiators from other communities (Meijer, 2014b, p. 16). This doctrine is translated into Nussa's animation in the form of rituals and clothes worn. In the ritual aspect, for example, the animation of Nussa teaches saying *basmalah* only before eating and not reading the prayer which is popularly taught in early childhood education programs. Meanwhile, in terms of the clothes worn, clothing models such as robes, pants above the ankles, and headscarves are the typical clothes worn by the characters in the Nussa animation.

Third, from a political perspective, Meijer mapped Salafism into three groups in response to the practice of power politics, namely the quiet, covert group, and the group that openly voiced political reform (Meijer, 2014b, p. 17). In Indonesia, Hasan (Meijer, 2014a, pp. 177–178) mentions some of these Salafi fragments in several Islamic organizations, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizbut Tahrir, Negara Islam Indonesia (NII), Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), to Jamaah Islamiyah in transnational Islamic networks (Meijer, 2014, p. 179). In this context, there are several popular names in the animation of Nussa who are already known to the public as supporters of the transnational Islamic movement. There are also several popular figures who are known to the public as having networking with political Islam groups who are directly involved in electoral politics.

Salafism values in animation Nussa are encouraged as parenting models with different tastes and styles compared to existing parenting models. Bourdieu calls this kind of taste a distinction. Distinction refers to the actions taken by agents based on certain positions according to the social class that is their preference (Fashri, 2014, pp. 57–58). In the context of the study in this article, the intended preference does not refer to social class, but ideological class. Through the distinction produced in Nussa's animation, parenting with Salafism values wants to dominate the parenting model practiced by other ideologies.

2. Reproduction of Salafism Values as Parenting Identity

According to Nancy Darling and Laurence Steinberg (David Canter et al., 2007), there are three factors that influence the success of parenting. The three factors are goals, practices, and parenting styles. Parenting goals are related to the direction of parenting,

namely in the form of developmental achievements to be achieved. Parenting practices are related to the strategies used by parents in helping children to achieve goals. While the parenting style is closely related to the atmosphere that occurs in the parenting process (Canter et al., 2007).

In this case, parenting styles and practices vary from person to person. The difference depends on the attitudes, beliefs, and ways of thinking of parents about their behavior in parenting. Differences in parenting styles have an effect on differences in the parenting atmosphere at home, the choice of parenting strategies, and the parenting practices developed. The parenting style of a person can be seen from the relationship between the development of various parenting variables such as warmth, permissiveness, control, and practice with various kinds of behavior in children, such as anxiety, fear, aggressiveness, curiosity, originality, and responsibility (Brooks, 2013, p. 59).

Based on these variables, Baumrind mapped the existence of three parenting styles, namely authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive (Baumrind, 1971). Authoritative parents exercise strong control over their children's behavior, but they also emphasize the child's independence and individuality. Even though parents have a clear understanding of their child's standards of behavior, they are rational, flexible and considerate of the child's needs and preferences. Their children grow up with independence and confidence and explore their world with pleasure and joy (Brooks, 2013, p. 59).

Authoritarian parents exercise the same firm control as authoritative parents. However, this control is carried out arbitrarily, oriented to parental power, and without regard to the individuality of the child. They emphasize control without nurturing support to achieve it. When compared with other groups of children, children of authoritarian parents tend to be unhappy, aloof, inhibited, and insecure (Brooks, 2013, p. 59).

Permissive parents set some limits on children. They accept the child's impulses and provide as much freedom as possible while maintaining the child's physical safety. They are not involved in the decisions made by the child. Permissive parents sometimes allow behavior that makes them angry, but they are not comfortable enough with their own anger. As a result, anger becomes uncontrollable. They then persist and tend to harm the child more than they would like. Children of permissive parents are the least independent, unable to control themselves and experience slow maturity (Brooks, 2013, p. 59).

Parenting in Nussa animation is developed in the setting of an urban family. Abba, the character who plays the parent works out of town. Nussa lives with her small family, namely Umma and Rarra and a kitten named Anta. The holder of nurturing responsibility is Umma. Umma is described as a housewife with a good background in religious knowledge. The parenting practices developed by Umma are always based on the values and practices of parenting in the Islamic religion that she understands.

The goal to be achieved is the achievement of pious early childhood development. The pious child that is aspired to in the animated series Nussa is described as a child who

knows God and his religion well, is accustomed to worshiping and carrying out religious orders, behaves well, celebrates religious holidays, and respects other religions. The profile of a pious child to be achieved refers to the character profile of Nussa, which is a child who has aspirations to bring his mother to heaven through good deeds and become hafiz al-Qur'an. Good deeds are manifested in the form of behavior that is in accordance with religious teachings which refer directly to religious practices at the time of the Prophet and the early generations. While the *hafiz al-Qur'an* is a representation of the identity of early childhood to be achieved.

In order to achieve this development, based on the mapping of Baumrind's parenting style, I think that the parenting style developed in Nussa's animation is a representation of the authoritative style. This view is based on the appearance of Umma's character as a mother figure who has strong control over the behavior of Nussa and Rarra, including Abdul and Syifa. Even so, Umma still provides space for independence and individuality to them. Umma also has standards of behavior for Nussa and Rarra based on *Salafi* religion. However, this standard is applied rationally, flexibly, and takes into account the needs of children.

Umma's control can be seen from various scenes that show the clarity of Umma's attitude in giving boundaries about what Nussa and Rarra should, may and should not do. These boundaries are embedded in Nussa and Rarra. So that when they are active, Nussa and Rarra's behavior is controlled by the boundaries created in the parenting process. For example, in the episode "*Ambil Gak Ya???*". When Nussa and Rarra find money on the road, according to Umma's message, Nussa guides Rarra not to spend the money immediately. Even if it ends up being spent because no one has it, then not all the money found is spent on buying snacks. They then spend enough money to buy snacks and put the rest into the *infaq* box.

The space for individuality and independence given by Umma to Nussa and Rarra can be seen, for example, in the episode "*Stop!! Jangan Berebut*". In this episode, Umma gave Nussa and Rarra an opportunity to resolve the problems between them. The problem arose when Nussa and Rarra scrambled to use the cellphone of Umma which resulted in the cellphone screen breaking. Umma did not intervene, but Umma accompanied them by participating in discussing the points of agreement made by Nussa and Rarra.

While rationality and flexibility can be found in the episode "*Berhutang atau Tidak???*" In this episode, Nussa and Rarra violate the restrictions given by Umma, namely buying groceries that are not according to the order of Umma. There was information that Nussa and Rarra misunderstood which resulted in them having debts at Pak Ucok's stall. Even so, Umma did not scold them both, but gave a reaffirmation of the values they had neglected. Likewise, when Rarra made a mistake while making bread with Umma in the episode "*Chef Rarra*". Rarra, who couldn't wait for Umma, did some ridiculous things that caused the bread they made to spoil. In this case, Umma was neither angry nor punishing Rarra. Umma gave an explanation and reaffirmation of the importance of patience in daily life.

These examples show that as a parent, Umma has a strong sense of control and control over the child's behavior. However, this control is not based on a parental power approach. Umma develops that control while still paying attention to the independence and individuality of the child. Umma also applies that control and control flexibly by developing ways of communicating that are comfortable for children. Therefore, I conclude that the parenting style represented by Nussa's animation is an authoritative style.

The parenting practice has a more specific dimension when compared to parenting style. Parenting styles are general in nature, relating to expressions, attitudes, behavior, and ways of communicating that are practiced by parents in raising their children. While parenting practices lead to the way parents develop more specific parenting materials in order to achieve the desired skills. Therefore, parenting style has an effect on children's development in general, such as independence, responsibility, self-confidence, and communication skills. While parenting practices affect individual characteristics that are specific, such as ways of worshiping, cultural orientation, academic orientation, identity orientation, and so on. (Canter et al., 2007, p. 10)

In the context of Islamic education practice, parenting can be related to three basic concepts, namely *tarbiyyah*, *ta'dib*, and *ta'lim*. These three concepts are very popular among Muslim academics, especially in the field of Islamic education. In this study, I interpret these three concepts based on the views of Yusef Waghid (Waghid, 2014) and Najwan Saada (Saada, 2018). The choice of Waghid and Saada because both of them use this concept in the study of contemporary Islamic studies in accordance with the object of study in this article.

According to Waghid and Saada (2014), *tarbiyyah* is a concept in Islamic education that aims to instill and develop elements of Islamic spirituality, such as the pillars of faith, the pillars of Islam, as well as knowledge of God and his attributes. While *ta'dib* is a concept that implies that education aims to instill Islamic morality, namely virtue and good behavior in social life. The *ta'lim* is a pedagogical approach that is used to achieve goals in learning activities (Waghid & Saada, 2014).

In particular, Saada maps *ta'lim* into two typologies. These two typologies are widely practiced and developed in the Islamic world, namely non-critical and critical *ta'lim* (Saada, 2018). Saada divides the typology based on the mapping of the tradition of interpretation of Islam in the Muslim community by Adis Duderija. Duderija mapped it into two groups, namely neo-traditional Salafis and liberal-progressive Islamic groups (Duderija, 2007).

Neo-traditional Salafi groups tend to understand the Qur'an and hadith textually. Against Western culture, they accept the technological achievements of modern civilization, but reject its intellectual premises. This group understands that the authenticity of a person's identity can only be determined by going back to the starting point of Islamic history, namely the time of the Prophet and the early Muslim community. The group also

provided the ideological foundation on which to operate as a political movement. For this group, rationality and the development of social sciences and humanities is a new thing that is considered contrary to the Qur'an and sunnah.

Liberal progressive groups have the opposite perspective with neo-traditional Salafis. They understand the Qur'an contextually. They also accept Western intellectual premises, such as pluralism, democracy, and human rights. For this group, Islamic identity does not lie in something physical, but values. The movement that was developed did not lead to ideological politics but as civil Islam. For this group, rationality and development of social sciences and humanities is a view that is compatible and does not conflict with the Qur'an and the sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (Duderija, 2007a).

The neo-traditional Salafi perspective and religiosity results in the practice of non-critical *ta'lim*. Non-critical *ta'lim* teaches about the "what" and "how" of Islam. This approach is based on a textual and strict interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith. The non-critical *ta'lim* approach was developed through traditional and non-reflective pedagogical methods, such as memorizing the Qur'an and hadith, rote learning, direct teaching, role modeling, and developing regret discourse in Islamic education.

Meanwhile, the perspective and religiosity of progressive liberal Islam produces a critical *ta'lim* model. *Ta'lim* critically teaches about the "why" of Islam. This approach seeks to make Islam more adaptable to a democratic, open and pluralistic society. The critical *ta'lim* approach is developed through critical and independent reasoning, the search for justice through *ijtihad* in understanding Islamic teachings, and critical self-reflection (Saada, 2018).

In general, Adis Duderija did a mapping between neo-traditional Salafis and liberal progressive Islam based on five categories. First, the perspective of the Qur'an and Sunnah. Second, the perspective of authentic Islam. Third, ideological conflict with Western culture. Fourth, interest in socio-religious and political movements that are ideological in nature. Fifth, the monopoly of truth on the understanding and interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith (Duderija, 2007).

Among the five categories, there are three categories that show the neo-traditional Salafi religious style in the Nussa animation. *First*, the construction of reality in Nussa's animation is based on a neo-traditional Salafi world view in using the text of the Qur'an and hadith as a source of knowledge. Parenting materials are developed within the framework of *bayani* epistemology which is constructed from the textual interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith. For example, the material on the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith comes from the hadith of the prophet Muhammad saw. Likewise, the material about knowing God and his attributes is also sourced directly from the Qur'an. Another example, Nussa animation prefers the theme of Asmaul Husna which is based on the Qur'an in explaining the attributes of Allah rather than the concept developed by the *mutakallimin* concerning *wajib*, *mustahil*, and *jaiz* for Allah which is popular among Indonesian Muslims.

Second, Nussa's animation makes the authenticity of the tradition that refers to the early Islamic generation (*al-salaf al-salih*) as the background for the social reality that is displayed. In this case, Nussa's animation makes the authenticity of the tradition that refers to the early Islamic generation (*al-salaf al-salih*) as the background for the social reality that is displayed. This social reality setting is not presented in the form of a special theme, but in the form of social practice which is the background for Nussa's animation as a whole. One of them is the construction of the family. Nussa's animation only shows one form of family as the background, namely the husband works to earn a living, while the wife does not work. This setting is shown in positioning Abba and Umma. Abba is described as a father figure who works away from home in a place that is not described in detail. While Umma is described as a housewife who takes care of all household chores.

Third, the authentic Islamic style in the neo-traditional Salafi understanding of family construction in the animation Nussa also leads to the next category in Duderija's mapping, namely the rejection of the Western premise. In this case, the Western premise that Nussa animation indirectly rejects is feminism. Indeed, there are no episodes that specifically talk about feminism. However, there are several episodes that implicitly display a rejection of this issue.

The existence of these three neo-traditional Salafi styles shows a strong indication that this animation represents the values of Salafism. These values serve as recommended materials in early childhood care, both in style and practice of parenting. Nussa animation, thus becomes a source of reference in creating an Islamic parenting identity. This identity is then contested with other styles and parenting developed using a different identity.

Based on the existence of Salafism values in the Nussa animation and the political Islam network of its founders, the religious style represented leads to what van Bruinessen calls fundamentalist Islam. Based on van Bruinessen's formulation, fundamentalist Islam is an Islamic movement that invites a return to the Qur'an and hadith. This movement negates established Islamic practices which are considered to have no direct textual reference to the text. Fundamentalist Islam also rejects (van Bruinessen, 2013, p. 17).

In addition to fundamentalism, van Bruinessen mapped Islam into several other variants, namely liberalism, progressivism, conservatism, and Islamism (van Bruinessen, 2013). The variant of Islam presented by van Bruinessen seems wider than the analysis from other academics. For example, Bassam Tibi, who divides Islam diametrically into civil-liberal Islamist groups vis a vis Islamists. Bassam Tibi distinguishes between the two based on the existence of political Islam ideology in it. Those who use political Islam as a religious point of view are classified as an Islamist group. As for those who do not have it, they enter the civil-liberal Islamic group (Tibi, 2012, p. 12).

Compared to Bassam Tibi, van Bruinessen accepts the existence of factions between civil-liberal Islam and Islamism based on acceptance of certain issues. For example, separating progressive Islam from liberal Islam which tends to accept economic and

political liberalization. van Bruinessen also excluded conservative Islam from fundamentalist Islam based on its acceptance of established religious traditions. And van Bruinessen also distinguishes fundamentalism from Islamism based on acceptance of the ideology of political Islam (van Bruinessen, 2013, p. 17).

However, van Bruinessen's concept of fundamentalism seems to be confused by the use of the same term by other academics. In general, fundamentalism is often understood as an understanding of Islam that leads to acts of violence that lead to the practice of terrorism. For example, Sahrasad and Al-Chaidar view fundamentalism as a totalitarian ideology that aims to establish a transnational Islamic state (Sahrasad & Chaidar, 2019). Likewise, Armstrong puts fundamentalism in a vision of a cosmic war between good (Islam) and evil (other than Islam) that leads to acts of terrorism (Armstrong, 2013).

Therefore, I do not use the term fundamentalism to give a predicate to Nussa's parenting practice. The reason is because the term fundamentalism is associated with totalitarianism and terrorism. Where as in the videos produced by Nussa there is no material that leads to it. There is even one episode that shows Nussa's acceptance of the concept of the nation state which is part of the premise of Western culture.

This acceptance, for example, is found in the episode "*Viral!!! Bersih Kota Kita Bersih Indonesia.*" The use of the word Indonesia shows acceptance of the premise of nationalism. This acceptance is also seen in the episode "*Merdeka*" This episode uses the background of the celebration of the birthday of the Republic of Indonesia (HUT RI). This episode also shows the use of red and white flags as accessories in several scenes. This shows that Nussa's animation does not represent a fundamentalist style as the concept of Sahrasad, Al-Chaidar, and Armstrong.

The term that can represent the religious style in Nussa's animation is the term used by Dominic Müller, namely pop-Islamism or popular Islamism (Müller, 2013). Popular Islamism is used by Müller to show the shift of Islamism from the political sphere to the realm of individual piety expression in the public sphere. Müller stated that there was a necessity for this transformation of Islamism and held the view that Islamism was not a monolithic reality. Therefore, political ideology is no longer an absolute Islamism orientation (Müller, 2015).

Referring to this formulation, we are of the view that the parenting constructed in Nussa's animation is a Popular Islamist authoritative parenting model. This parenting was developed using the authoritative style and practices of popular Islamism. The authoritative style reflects strong parenting control from parents, but is still developed rationally and flexibly by paying attention to the independence and individuality of the child. While the practice of popular Islamism is a form of achievement of religious development in parenting which refers to the popular Islamist style, namely Islamism as a form of expression of individual piety and aspirations of political Islam.

This parenting model is reproduced through the animated web series Nussa in order to create an Islamic parenting identity amid global identity contestation. Through various developments of Nussa animation programs, popular Islamist authoritative parenting identities are encouraged to become habitus in social practice. The practiced habitus is encouraged to dominate parenting practices in the Muslim middle class. This parenting model thus becomes an identity that is fought for to win religious authority in the field of early childhood care.

Conclusion

Islamism reproduced in Nussa animation leads to the development of Salafism values in early childhood parenting. These values are encouraged as a distinction of parenting for early Islamic children. Through the distinction of parenting presented, animation Nussa intends to make the values of salafism as a reference for Islamic parenting. This parenting model, which in this article is referred to as popular Islamist authoritative parenting, is then encouraged to contest with other parenting models and serve as an identity that is fought to win religious authority in the field of early childhood care.

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