



Education for all: A study on education for indigenous people in South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Abstract

Getting an education is the right of all citizens wherever they are and from whatever socio-cultural background they belong to. However, in many regions of Indonesia, due to geographical, economic, and socio-cultural issues, the basic rights mentioned above cannot be realized. One community, whose children could not go to school because of economic and socio-cultural reasons, is the Tana Towa, or Kajang indigenous people, in South Sulawesi. One of the reasons is related to formal school procedures that are contrary to the habits of the Kajang community. One of these is related to clothes. The Kajang people generally consider black color very sacred, however, in school they must wear red (Elementary School) and blue (Junior High School). This article aimed to understand a number of issues in indigenous education and identified various educational issues in the Tana Towa area, and a number of policies and initiatives that can be undertaken to address the problem were formulated. In addition, this article aimed to formulate a model that can be used to develop education in Tana Towa Kajang. This model can not only be applied to the Tana Towa, but also can be used for other indigenous peoples who are scattered in many places in Indonesia.

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Introduction

Indonesia is one of many countries that has indigenous peoples who still adhere to their customs. These community groups are scattered in various regions of Indonesia. The

Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) notes that Indonesia has more than 17 million indigenous people. They are joined in around 2,300 communities spread throughout Indonesia. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Social Affairs noted that based on the distribution of aid to *Komunitas Adat Terpencil* (KAT), Isolated Indigenous Communities, there were 1.2 million Indonesian people whose status was referred to as indigenous peoples. Until now, there are 538 customary law communities which have received legal provisions from the local government. The amount is the result of determining 17 regional legal products in 13 districts/cities in 10 provinces. In addition to

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the community, as many as 133 indigenous villages also received legal status from the local government. For example, Rokan Hulu Regency has recorded 89 villages and Siak Regency has determined the status of 8 customary villages in its area, while Jayapura District determined the legal status of 36 traditional villages through the decision of the local government (Harian Nasional, 2020).

The Tana Towa indigenous people (sometimes called the Kajang people) are one of the many indigenous peoples. Besides Tana Towa, in South Sulawesi, there are four other indigenous peoples, namely Sillanan, Karampuang, Kete Kesu, and Pallawa. The Kajang indigenous community is a community residing in an area which is located 250-km away from East Makassar South Sulawesi. They live by adhering to the customs that are bound by a local wisdom called “*pasang*”. “*Pasang*” is a lesson handed down from generation to generation through oral speech. This lesson contains messages, advice, guidelines or instructions for life to all indigenous peoples, for the happiness of the world and the hereafter.

All aspects of Kajang indigenous people’s life are carried out with the *kamase-masea* (unpretentious life) principle or the principle of simplicity. The principle is reflected in daily life such as how to dress, the shape of the house, clothing, and also affects their literary and artistic works. With the principles summarized in “*pasang*” and the “*kamase-masea*”, people can co-exist in harmony with nature. Maintaining and strengthening these principles also means strengthening the supporting communities. They live in simplicity and do not use any modern items, such as motor vehicles, radios, televisions, and others.

Educating the children of the Kajang indigenous community is a strategic way for these life principles to survive. Unfortunately, because of economic and socio-cultural issues, education as a basic right cannot be realized properly. There are at least three hypotheses why education cannot be carried out properly in this community. First, there are some formal school procedures that are contrary to the indigenous habits of the Kajang community. One of them is the matter of clothing. In general, the Kajang community considers black a very sacred color, while in schools they have to wear red for elementary schools and blue for junior high schools. Second, parents generally consider children to be family assets, especially in terms of work. If the harvest time arrives, for example, some students must leave the class to help their parents in the fields. Third, Tana Towa people are very familiar with various rites and ceremonies, from birth, approaching adulthood, adulthood, until death. These ceremonies must be carried out and followed by all indigenous people, including their children.

Starting from the description above, this article aimed to explain a number of problems that hamper education, and formulate a model that can be used to develop education in Tana Towa Kajang. It is hoped that this model can not only be applied to the Tana Towa indigenous people, but also can be used for other indigenous peoples who are scattered in many places in Indonesia.

Literature Review

A preliminary study we conducted in 2009 on the Tana Towa indigenous people provided basic knowledge that was very useful in understanding general matters relating to this community. A study conducted by Husain and Kinasih (2010) showed the observance and obedience of the Tana Towa community to the *pasang* as a way of life inherited from the ancestors whom they hold in high regard. In other words, all people's behavior is based on *pasang*. Literally, the word *pasang* means verbal messages that must be obeyed and implemented and will cause undesirable consequences if not implemented. In other words, *pasang* contain messages, mandates, edicts, advice, guidance, and warnings. It not only contains something good which must be done, but also bad things that must be avoided or what can and should not be done.

In addition, *pasang* not only regulates how the community relates to God and other communities, but also regulates how to maintain relations with nature. The entire system of natural preservation in the Kajang land is closely related to the perspective of the Tana Towa indigenous people towards nature. They assume that in nature there are magical powers that if not treated properly will cause disaster. Therefore, the Tana Towa indigenous community considers the forest as a sacred area. In another study it was mentioned that this community is one of the unique tribes and charms not only travelers, but also researchers. This uniqueness is reflected in various aspects of their lives, both their origin, belief systems and social-community systems.

The land where these people live is often called the “*kamase-masea land*”, with a natural boundary marked by four small rivers that flank the *kamase-masea* area, which is estimated to be ± 3,728.50 ha. (SPSP, 1983). . If the Bugis-Makassar community embraces Islam as their belief and Allah SWT as their Lord, then the Ammatowa people believe in *Turi’eAra’na* as God. This belief is the conception of divinity in “*pasang*” lesson (Katu, 2008; Hijjang, 2005). The entire Ammatowa community trust system is summarized in *Patuntung*. The word *Patuntung* can also mean: study, peak or height, and searching. In other words, all Ammatowa people are required to learn the nature of the truth summarized in “*Pasang ri Kajang*”, which contains

messages, advice, guidelines or instructions for life that are required for the happiness of the world and the hereafter. All *pasang* (messages) are spoken in Makassar, especially the *Konjo* dialect (Sutton, 1995). These lessons are passed down from generation to generation, from the first to the last (Druce, 2009). Ammatowa is the leader of the *Patuntung ri Kajang* belief (Husain & Kinasih, 2010; Pelras, 1993; Rossler 1990).

According to Paeni (1988) and Adhan (2005), the basic lessons of *Patuntung* is “*Pasang ri Kajang*”, which contains messages from *Ammatowa Mariolo* (First Ammatowa). The doctrine symbolized and elaborated in all aspects of community life which contains important events concerning government and society, about how something must be treated and how it must be applied. This lesson is used as a source of rules, norms, laws and predictions for a certain period.

The Tana Towa community also believe in or have a conception of the universe. They believe that the origin of natural events with all their contents was created by *Turie A'ra'na*, which at that time, did not contain anything and was only a vast ocean, and there was a land in the form of a shell, called *tombolo* (coconut shell). Since the existence of humans in this world, the existence of Ammatowa has also existed (Penerangan, 1985). According to Ammatowa (Puto Palasa), at the beginning of the emergence of Kajang indigenous land together with the formation of heaven and earth (land), Ammatowa descended to give birth to tradition, ocean, and kingdoms in various regions (Interview with Puto Pallasa, October 2019).

To carry out all aspects of community life, this area has a number of traditional instruments led by an Ammatowa, who is often called *bohe* or father. According to Ammatowa (Puto Pallasa), he has an obligation to protect all groups; *tau dongo* (stupid people), *tau macca* (smart people), *tau kalumanyang* (rich people), and *tau kasi-asi* (poor people). Ammatowa also applies the same law to all these strata without discrimination among groups. In carrying out the “government”, the Ammatowa was assisted by Galla Pantama, Galla Lombo, Galla Puto, Galla Malleleng, Karaeng Tallu, Labbiriya, Sallihatang, Moncong Boloa, Galla Lembanna, Galla Ganta, Galla Sangkala, Galla Sapa, Galla Bantala, Galla Jojolo, Galla Pattongko, Anrong Gurua, Kadahaya, Totowa Ganta, Sangkala, Lompo Karaeng, Lompo Adat, Loha, Kamula, Panre, Kali Kua, and Galla Bonto (Puto Pallasa, Interviewed, October 2019; Disnawati, 2013).

The community of Tana Towa looks at the sacred nature of the surroundings and all of its contents because it is the place of the first human descending from and ascending to the sky. The beliefs they profess are also equipped with various prohibitions on taking everything in

the forest, for example, taking from honey bees, taking rattan, and cutting wood because such can bring bad consequences. This is, for example, contained in *pasang* which reads: “*Punna ni ta'banggi kayunna, nuni papi rongga ngurangi bosi, pantare rumbusu*” and means that if the wood is cut down it can reduce rain, so there is no water in the well (Husain and Kinasih, 2010; Disnawati, 2013).

From some of the descriptions above, it appears that the *Tana Towa* people have made simplicity of life as a foundation for their lives. In addition, they are able to manage and maintain social order because it puts forward the principles of harmony in relations between humans and the natural environment. Borrowing the terms from George and Wilding (1992), a society with such typical paradigmatic order; which emphasizes the existence of consensus, stability, integration, and functional relations.

According to George and Wilding (1992), every part of society is considered to have a function, in the sense that it helps the system run smoothly. Therefore, if a part of society is not in line with other parts, then there is a push towards reintegration or re-alliance with other parts that are related. In this way, stability in society in general will be created, both stability based on functional necessity alone, and based on the consensus of values. This order paradigm emphasizes that individuals in society have the same basic values so that they have an agreement on how to behave in society, both as individuals and as group members. Shared values and morals will lead to a general agreement on the community's value system. According to Parsons (1969) a community value system is a normative assessment tool adopted by members of a society that establishes, with specific reference to their own society, what for them constitutes a good form of society.

Methodology

Location, Approach and Data Collection

The research area was an area inhabited by the Tana Towa indigenous people, in Kajang District, Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi. This research used an ethnographic approach, by collecting, classifying, and analyzing various educational issues for indigenous people in the Tana Towa or Kajang community (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Barab, Thomas, Dodge, Squire, & Newell, 2004).

Data were collected through various methods such as field study, interview, and literature study. First, the research team conducted a one-month field study. In this activity, researchers observed the daily lives of the Tana Towa people, participated in their various ceremonies and rituals, and also observed the teaching-learning process at

the school. Second, in-depth interviews were conducted with selected communities and officials at the local level, traditional and community leaders in Kajang. The people interviewed were not only those who lived in the customary area, but also the people who lived outside Kajang, who were not too attached to local customs. Interviewees came from traditional leader of Tana Towa, students' parents, local governments, and teachers. This interview aimed to gather as much information as possible about various educational problems faced by the Tana Towa. Third, the research team re-read a variety of literature that had been written relating to this community.

Data Analysis

The data collected were analyzed using Interactive Analysis models proposed by Milles and Huberman (1984). The models included three components; first, data reduction, classifying both required and unrequired data. Second, presenting data; the researchers presented the data by analysing them. Third, conclusion; the researchers made a conclusion based on an analysis of the data that had been reduced.

Results and Discussion

Problems of Education

The issue of education for indigenous people is an interesting and important issue. This problem has been studied by many scholars in various places. May and Aikman (2003), for example, studied about ILO conventions and education for local communities. Meanwhile, Faircloth and Tippeconnic III (2013) and Hohepa (2013) examined the relationship between leadership and education for local communities.

Related to traditional issues, there are three things that greatly affect education in Tana Towa Kajang; clothing, traditional ceremonies, and harvesting activities. Regarding clothes, Kajang people are generally sacred in black and white. Black is a symbol of the human origin in the dark womb before delivered to the world, and at the same time, a sign of the decrepit soil which has been occupied. On the other hand, white is a symbol where humans enter the brightly lit world after they are born.

Therefore, when public schools, especially primary schools require students to wear red (pants) and white (shirt), the number of students attending school can be counted. For parents of students and prospective students, clothing other than black and white is a form of violation of traditions, especially in the manner of dress. Facing this reality, The School and the Education Office of Bulukumba

Regency negotiated with indigenous people. The result is that schools in the traditional area of Tana Towa are allowed to use white clothes (clothes) and black (pants or skirts).

According to the former head of the Regional Elementary School, since the black-and-white clothing policy was implemented, the number of students attending school has increased significantly, although they still face other obstacles in the form of traditional ceremonies and work in agriculture, especially during the harvesting (Interview with Sutta, October 2019).

Another traditional issue is related to traditional ceremonies. Indigenous people of Tana Towa are people who are very familiar with various rites and ceremonies; from birth, approaching adulthood, adulthood, until death. The first step is a ceremony to begin celebrating to welcome a new born baby, including *Angngarru* (take an oath), *Akkattere* (purify yourself), *Aklammasa* (insert hair), *Akkalomba* (elimination of bad luck). After that, they have to do ceremonies when approaching adulthood, namely, *Assunat* (circumcision) and *Attarasa* (flatten teeth). The ceremony after growing up is marriage. The death ceremony is *Aklajo-lajo* (ritual of the seventh day of death), *Addangang* (ritual of the 40th day ritual of death), and *Addampo* (ritual of the 100th day ritual of death) (Katu, 2008).

These ceremonies must be carried out and followed by all indigenous people. The problem is that relatives who carry out traditional ceremonies often live far away from people's homes. In other words, this ceremony is not only performed by neighbors or families whose houses are close together or neighbors, but often also carried out by families who live in other districts, although still remaining within the same general area.

The problems arise when the ceremony is held in another village. The relatives who will attend the traditional ceremony must stay a few days at the home of relatives who will carry out the ceremony. Thus, their children are forced to skip school for days and miss school lessons. According to the headmaster of the region's school, whether permitted or not to go to attend the family ceremony, they still leave without thinking about the continuity of their lessons. In other words, the appeal of traditional ceremonies is far greater than the appeal of going to school. What makes it worse is that a ceremony does not just happen one or two times, but continues and moves from one family to another, from one village to another, even from one district to another.

The next issue that makes education less successful in this region is related to the community's view of their children. Parents generally consider their children to be part of the daily work, so if the harvest arrives, some

students must leave the class to help their parents in the fields. In other words, children are very important economic assets. Interview with Sanuddin, October 2019. This is actually not solely related to economic issues. For the Kajang community, the children who are suitable for marriage are those who can be physically independent. And, work is one way to teach their children to be independent.

Educational Model for Indigenous People of Kajang

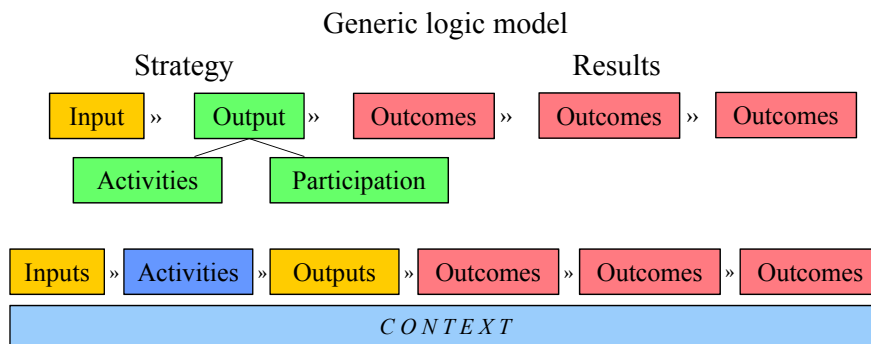
As mentioned above, the Tana Towa community is not a community that cannot be negotiated with. In the case of clothing, for example, the leader of Tana Towa asked that school children be allowed to wear white and black clothes, so that children do not violate their customs. This was then approved by the local Education and Culture Office. That is, in the customs that are held firmly by the community, negotiation and adaptation can still be carried out. These practices are good models so that children stay in school and customs continue. Surely this model (good practices) can also be applied in other indigenous communities so that the two can walk side by side and not negate each other.

The model helped researchers and the community to find the best way to achieve a goal, in this case education based on local wisdom in the indigenous community of Tana Towa, Kajang, South Sulawesi. According to Hadiyanti (2009), the model is a picture of a physical system that can be used to predict and explain system behavior. The basic principle of a model is simple and can capture the important behavior of a system. The model is useful for: (1) describing a phenomenon that is being investigated in detail; (2) helps researchers to better understand the relationships between the various

components of the phenomenon; (3) helps researchers control certain factors to find out how the parts of the phenomenon function. The shape of the model can be diagrams, mathematical formulas, pictures, or three-dimensional objects. Therefore, the education model based on local wisdom in the Tana Towa indigenous people must be made simply, able to predict and explain the behavior of participants in the education process.

Koberg and Bagnall (1974) quoted by Hadiyanti (2009) detailed the stages of the modelling, namely: (1) acceptance of the situation as a problem that needs to be solved (2) identify and conduct analysis to find out the problem clearly and in detail (3) define the main issues of the existing problems and formulate the objectives to be achieved (4) formulating various alternative solutions to achieve the goal (5) choosing and determining alternatives that have better opportunities to achieve goals and are efficient in the use of resources (6) implementing selected alternatives and (7) or finally do an evaluation to determine the impact of the design or model implementation. The stages referred to by Koberg and Bagnall (1974) must proceed in sequence, the first stage is a prerequisite for the next stage. Thus, conditions must be created in the Kajang customary community as subjects of the education process that they realize there are a number of problems in their community that need to be resolved. An analysis was conducted to identify the problem clearly and in detail. Without these two stages, modelling is difficult.

One form of out-of-school education model that supports the empowerment of indigenous communities in Tana Towa Kajang in the aspects of power, cognitive, psychological, economic, and political aspects is the logic model. According to Powell (2005), the generic logic model is as shown in Figure 1.



A diagram of the theory of how a program is supposed to work
A graphic depiction of relationships between activities and results

Figure 1 Generic Logic Model
Source: Taylor-Powell (2005)

According to Hadiyanti (2009), Generic Logic Model can be applied easily because the model is simple and familiar. In this model, there are several keywords for each sub model: (1) Inputs: What do we invest? Man, money, method, machine, material, research base, time, curriculum, etcetera (2) Outputs: What do we do? Training, delivery service, lessons, demonstration, farm and plot, discuss, focus group, etc. (3) Outcomes (short term): What are the short term results? Behavior change; cognitive, affective, psychomotor (4) Outcomes (medium term): What are the medium term results? Productivity growth (5) Outcomes (long term impact); What are the long term results? Income raising- welfare degree.

If made in the form of a table, then all the activities of modeling education based on local wisdom in indigenous community in Tana Towa can be arranged as shown in Table 1. It should be realized that changing community awareness requires a long time, therefore the application of the model until reaching the end result requires quite a long time.

If the input and output from this model can be done well, it can ensure that all children living under Tana Towa customary law can enjoy proper education. On the other hand, if the inputs and outputs are not synchronous, then the ideals and hopes that Tana Towa's children can enjoy education like their peers in other places is unlikely to be achieved. Therefore, sustainable cooperation is needed from all parties.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Education in Kajang, especially basic education, cannot be separated from the issues of tradition which are still heavily adhered to by the community. The issues are related to the color of clothing, traditional ceremonies, and assumption that children are family economic assets. Therefore, in some aspects related to the customs and habits of the Tana Towa indigenous people, it seems to be an obstacle for their children to go to school. For the Tana Towa community, education will reduce the noble values embodied in their customs. However, the Tana Towa community can negotiate with the development of the community, so that the school can continue to run without disturbing customs, even though it has not been maximized. Therefore, the application of an educational model for indigenous peoples needs to be implemented immediately. With the application of this model, their rights as citizens, namely education, can be implemented.

Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest.

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Table 1 Educational model for indigenous people

Input	Output		Short Term	Outcome	
	Activities	Participants		Mid Term	Long Term
- Non Government Organisation (NGO) Fund Research result Curriculum Equipment	- Accompaniment - Demonstration - Capacity building of –traditional – institutions –School – capacity development - <i>Focus Group Discussion</i> (FGD) - Workshop	- Indigenous people - Local government –Universities – NGO –Informal leader - Mass media	- Increased understanding and awareness of the importance of education for the future of Tana Towa's children - Growing awareness for parents that their children are not only economic assets for families, but also have their own future	- The diminishing number of dropouts is decreasing - More and more children are continuing their education to a higher level - Creation of literacy awareness for Tana Towa's children	- There is real support from traditional leaders for the continuity of education in Tana Towa - A number of reading parks for Kajang children are available - No more school dropout rates were found - No problems were found between customary law and education

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