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The tribal education in Indonesia: Detribalization challenges of *Samin* tribe

Abdul Kholiq^{1*}, Agus Mutohar¹ and Bambang Sumintono²

Abstract: The exclusion of certain tribes in an educational system can be best understood from the context of national educational policy. The new national education policy in Indonesia causes the exclusion of minority tribes such as *Samin* community in Indonesia. This study investigates how the National Education law (SISDIKNAS) was implemented, the position of minority groups in the national education system, and the outcomes of the implementation of the national education system for minority groups. This study incorporates the qualitative method to describe the phenomenon that occurs within the minority groups. The results show that some articles of SISDIKNAS indicate the detribalization of ethnic minority communities. This research is limited because of its site and scope; therefore, further research can be carried out on *Samin* community in responding to government policies with a broader research site and scope to produce more comprehensive analysis.

Subjects: Education Studies; Education & Development; Equality & Human Rights; Education Policy; Education Politics

Keywords: *Samin*; detribalization; extinction; uniformity

1. Introduction

The National Education System has been intended to strengthen the Indonesian plural identity. However, the exclusion case of a minority group like *Samin* has still existed in our society. The Law Number 20 Year 2003 on the Indonesian National Education System (SISDIKNAS) not only contains policies that are against minority groups but also further marginalizes them from their participation in educational activities. Ideally, educational institutions should play essential roles in helping minority tribes out of marginalized conditions and facilitating minority groups to participate and contribute to society.

To date, educational discourses in Indonesia tend to be discussed from neo-liberal perspectives that can be seen from three perspectives, namely the issue of educational standards (Alawiyah, 2017; Triwiyanto, 2013) 2013, the discussion of education and its relationship to the industrial market orientation (Handayani, 2016; Hoerniasih, 2017; Ulwiyah et al., 2014), and the discussion of education concerning to innovations (Nurdin, 2016; Puspitasari, 2016; Silahuddin, 2015; Wahyudin & Susilana, 2011). These studies focus more on how national education can produce students with maximum competence to be able to compete in the competitive professional world. One crucial aspect has not been widely discussed is the discussion that places education as a medium for cultural preservation. In fact, the uniqueness of Indonesian culture is also important for its existence and sustainability. In this case, this research will look at the relationship between education and its exclusion to small tribe called *Samin*. *Samin* is named after its founder *Samin Surosentiko* who opposed the Dutch colonialization through spirit and social movement. The tribe

resided in Bora, Central Java has been isolating their group since 1970 to preserve their main principles such as refusing modernity, honesty, and being modest in daily life (Pinasti & Lestari, 2017). Due to their strong attachment to their ancient tradition that is not associated with any religions, Samin children have faced some challenges during schooling activities such as a case of some Samin students being forced to learn a particular religious teaching.

This paper aims to fill in this gap regarding the relationship between the national education system and the issue of detribalization. Accordingly, three questions can be formulated. First, how is SISDIKNAS implemented? Second, what is the position of minority groups in the national education system? Third, what are the consequences of implementing the national education system on minority groups? These three questions are the points of the discussion in this paper.

This paper is based on the assumption that the national education system has not successfully provided education for all. The fundamental rights of minority groups that have distinctive characteristics are threatened due to the implementation of the education system which tends to be uniform without accommodating the local cultural interests of the community. In this context, national education policy poses a threat to the existence of local culture which has been practiced and has become a guide for people's lives.

2. Literature review

2.1. Samin

Wong Samin—or also known as “sedulur sikep” is a socio-cultural entity that cannot escape the changing times, including education. Samin is an ethnic historical reality that has become an icon of “resistance” against hegemonic forces. The factor of marginalization underlies Samin's history of political resistance. This happened in the Samin community residing in Bora, Pati, Bojenegoro and Rembang. Samin Surosentiko, the developer of Samin's teachings, is a local figure who develops non-violent resistance by bringing up the character of “nggendeng” (Sastroatmodjo, 2003). There are three elements in the Samin community. First, the Samin movement is similar to the ancient proletariat organization which opposed the feudal and colonial system with disguised agrarian power. Second, Samin's movement has a utopian nature, without striking physical resistance. Third, the Samin movement challenged the government which was demonstrated by the principle of silence, unwillingness to pay taxes, and unwillingness to contribute labor to the government.

Studies related to Samin have been carried out by domestic and foreign researchers. Foreign researchers, among others, Benda and Castles (1969) wrote about “The Samin Movement”. King (1973) analyzed the causes of the Samin movement, “Some Observation on The Samin Movement of North-Central Java”. These writers focus more on the aspects of Samin's movement and socio-cultural dynamics. There are quite a number of Indonesian researchers focusing their studies on Samin such as (Retnaningtyas, 2002), (Asrawijaya & Hidayana, 2021), (Setiadi & Rosyid, 2021), (Putri, 2017), and (Maliki, 2019). The approaches and focuses of these studies vary from one researcher to the others. Several researchers focus on the teachings of “saminism” such as. Other researchers focus on studies on Samin from social change's perspective and social changes in the Samin community. Some researchers such as Retnaningtyas focus on their discussion on religious aspects of Samin community.

There are also other researchers who focus on the Samin resistance. For instance, Saputra and Subaharianto (2015) wrote with the title *Sedulur Sikep (Wong Samin): From Passive Resistance with Denial to a Culture of Matching with Text*. He explained that the way the Samin people fight against the hegemonic power of the rulers is through language strategies. The movement through the Sangkak base is considered capable of confusing outsiders' understanding of Samin's social behavior. The text product of the Samin community becomes the material for building a culture of competition against the power of hegemony. This research focuses on the study of the use of the

Sangkak language and the religion of the Samin people as resistance to the power of hegemony. The form of resistance from the Samin community is formulated in various textual formats. Meanwhile, in the religious aspect, the Samin people emphasize the substance of the origin of “humans” with Adam as the reference for their beliefs, so it is known as the Adam Religion. The beliefs of the Samin people are built on the concept of teaching that does not emphasize the normative-legalistic aspects as state religion or formal religion. According to the Samin people, the formal religions recognized by the State are considered inconsistent with the principles of Saminism because apart from their desire to rule, the Samin people also do not want to be governed by “outsiders” who are historically perceived as an oppressive colonial.

2.2. Tribalism

Nothwehr defines tribalism as an attitude and practice of feelings of loyalty or strong ties with one’s tribe (Baloyi, 2018;2). Tribalism is an ideology of thought and sacred values that distorts cognitive and information processes by affirming and strengthening one’s in-group view (Clark & Winegard, 2020;1). Tribalism is often understood with derogatory stereotypes by equating it to tribal terms and primitive lifestyles (Del Río Sánchez, 2019;371). Tribal society tends to be perceived as a social group synonymous with backwardness, uncivilization, the antithesis of modernity, absent from egalitarian principles, and various other negative perceptions (Yulianto & Syaquillah, 2019;20). In the initial analysis, a tribal group is understood as a form of social organization that precedes a nation (Alshawi & Gardner, 2013;48–49). The dimension of tribalism is an important factor in shaping the social structure of Middle Eastern society where Middle East history shows the fact of the large role of tribal groups in influencing socio-political dynamics (Yulianto & Syaquillah, 2019;17).

The study of tribalism in the education setting is mostly influenced by the critical race theory and the nuanced factors rooted in the indigenous society (Writer, 2008). Critical race theory unpacks the complexity around the exclusion of individuals and communities based on their race and characteristics embedded within indigenous people such as the Samin community (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2016). Critical race theory perceives the colonization of the majority group as an endemic problem of one society. One or more small tribes are often being excluded from a major educational policy (McLaughlin & Whatman, 2011). On the other hand, indigenous groups such as Samin have their right to tribal autonomy and sovereignty to preserve their philosophy, belief, custom, tradition,

In many studies, tribalism tends to be seen in two perspectives: tribalism in colonialism and tribalism as a mechanism to emphasize social power (Alshawi & Gardner, 2013; Mohammadpour & Soleimani, 2019). In African society, tribalism is used as an ethnonym that combines African groups’ pre-colonial classification into the supremacist and colonial imperialist ideology (Chigudu, 2019;315). Meanwhile, in contemporary Qatari society, tribalism is used as a mechanism to emphasize the social power which is the symbol of Qatari citizenship (Alshawi & Gardner, 2013;46). In line with this, in Iraq, tribalism has become a response to violence and changes in the socio-political landscape. Tribalism emerged as a socio-political force that was used as an important way to mediate and solve problems (Al-Mohammad, 2011;18). Something similar happened in Libya where tribal authorities played an important role in the security sector used as a buffer between the authorities (formal) and armed groups (informal). The position of tribal community leaders is placed to understand the local security context in which tribal people are considered as the “interlocutors” of armed groups (Al-Shadeedi & Ezzeddine, 2019).

2.3. Local identity

Identity is a multifaceted social construction that fundamentally constructs perceptions, experiences, and expressions in a person (Y. Wang, 2019; 420). Specifically, identity is something that is constructed by the community to give meaning to their lives (Mubah, 2011b–256). In the process, identity is related to all things in relationship to the culture that is directly related to the formation and maintenance of identity. In a society, identity is needed to maintain membership in

accordance with symbols and behavior (Kristina Andryani, 2015;8). Identity in a society is manifested in local identity. Local identity is defined as a mental representation in which a person feels part of and identifies with the local community and has trust and respect for local traditions and customs, recognizes the uniqueness of local communities, and is interested in local events (Lu, 2018; Tu et al., 2012). Four aspects make up local identity: physical, social, sensory, and memory aspects (Barkat et al., 2019;1440).

Local identity is a form of wealth from local wisdom, each region has its own local wisdom (Erawati & Nuffida, 2017). Local identity is an inseparable part of cultural characteristics, treasures or repertoires and is an important part of national identity as part of local wisdom values (Shavab & Yani, 2022; 180). However, local identities can change over time due to possible shifts in the value of social, political, economic and cultural priorities (Barkat et al., 2019; 1351), therefore, the discussions about local identity are often based on the dialectical relationship between local and global as two discursive constructs contested (Y. Wang, 2019;421). The rapidly spreading globalization is a threat to the existence of local identities where the erosion of local cultural values is caused by the faded regional boundaries (Mubah, 2011b), therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the identity of an ethnic group or nation (local identity) for the homogeneity that causes the loss of local identity to not occur (Brata Ida Bagus, 2016;12)

2.4. Primordialism

Primordialism is a view or understanding that holds fast to things that have been carried since childhood, both regarding traditions, customs, beliefs, and everything in its first environment (Bakarbesy, 2012; 44). Meanwhile, Weinreich et al. defines primordialism as a sentiment, or something that affects a set of beliefs and discourses that are full of the essential continuity felt from ancestors to descendants (tithes and relatives) that are symbolically located in a particular region or place (Coakley, 2018;3). Primordialism occurs due to the social ties based on equality (Diana, 2018). In the perception of primordialism, a bond that holds true to commonalities—ethnicity, culture, history, origin, religion, values, way of life—is passed down from generation to generation to create collaborative action between groups of people. In other words, primordialism can form a connection that is built from the direct closeness of kinship because it is born in a particular community with similarities in religion, culture, mother tongue, and carries out the same social practices (Pratama et al., 2016; 86).

Primordialism proposes that identity is based on the basis of attachment to the cultural gift of social existence (C. C. Wang, 2018; 140), therefore, a person's bond in the first group with all the values he gets through socialization will play a role in shaping primordial attitudes (Bakarbesy, 2012: 44). However, in various contexts, especially in the multicultural society context, primordialism often causes conflicts in the form of intolerance as an effort to impose the interests of the majority (Rochadi, 2018). The primordialism attitude or excessive ethnic-nationalism by certain tribe/ethnic groups causes them to not respect the customs and culture of other ethnic groups, therefore, it gives rise to prejudice and stereotypes given by certain ethnic groups to other ethnic groups (Nuraedah & B, 2020).

2.5. A lack of support of the national education system (SISDIKNAS) to minority groups

The debacle of Soeharto's New Order government in 1998 led to changing new landscape of Indonesian education from highly centralized system since the colonial era to drastic decentralization (Bennet, 2010). In order to keep the country survive and ensure the nation legitimacy, the new government decentralizing nearly all public sectors, including education, to district level (Aspinall & Fealy, 2003; Sumintono, 2010). It is intended that with the autonomy at the same time offer provide democratization and efficiency to the local level. This situation shocked the central government apparatus like ministry of education, which previously enjoying exercise big power and authority in the country. Zamjani (2016) argues, the changing system to decentralisation actually give central government an opportunity to rearrange education system based on their interest since the initiative and process handle at the central level, the ministry and the parliament.

Without much of opposition, Law Number 20 Year 2003 about National education is passed, which the framework following the changing nature of governance, supporting local autonomy. The central government regulates the implementation of the national education system through this laws and derivative regulations. However, some certain regulations still practicing one-size-fits-all approach, which actually downplay the spirit of decentralization. Sumintono (2010), for instance, shows that establishment of educational council at district level and school committee at school level in terms supporting school-based management policy, it is still applying a uniform model regardless of the variety of Indonesian schools in term of size, location, type of community, and public-private school type distinction (Fitriah et al., 2013). Further, Zamjani (2016) found that spirit of uniformity is continued through the establishment of standards, set by the center, that all education providers (organized by both the government (public schools) and communities (private schools)) must comply with. This situation also supported by the fact that when talking about district readiness, because expertise, experience and resources mostly not available sufficiently at district level.

As a result, policies in the field of education that lead to uniformity also can be shown in the articles of the SISDIKNAS Law, which as a whole contain the standardization of national education and there is not a single article that accommodates the interests of ethnicity, especially ethnic minorities. The government sets national education standards consisting of standards for content, process, competency of graduates, educational staff, facilities and infrastructure, management, finance, and education assessment (Article 35 of the SISDIKNAS Law). Even in the SISDIKNAS Law, some articles can potentially harm minority groups as can be seen in Table 1 below.

The articles described in Table 2 above indicate that the government policies do not favor the interests of minority groups. In Article 30, which regulates religious education, the government only pays attention to the religious followers of officially recognized religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism). Article 33, which reads “Indonesian as the state language becomes the language of instruction in national education” also contains regulations that are not in favor of minority groups, who have regional languages. They continue to strive to

Table 1. “Discriminative” articles of the SISDIKNAS law

No	Article/paragraph	Contents	Category
1	Article 30	Religious education is organized by the Government and/or community groups of religious followers according to Law regulations.	Management standard
2	Article 33	Indonesian as the national language is the language of instruction in national education	Process standard
3	Article 37	The compulsory elementary and middle education curriculum includes (religious education; civic education; language; mathematics; natural sciences; social sciences; arts and culture; physical education and sports; skills/vocational education; and local content.	Content standard

Source: Processed from the National Education System Law.

maintain it. As for Article 37, which contains standard content or educational curriculum, does not provide room for any other education system apart from the national education curriculum.

3. Method

This study was conducted in Karangrowo Village, Kudus. The selection of this research site was based on several considerations. First, the Samin community in the village is historically an old community that still exists today. Second, the sign of detribalization occurs in the Samin community, indicating that the Samin population is decreasing, especially in Kudus. This study was done using the qualitative method to describe a phenomenon that occurs in this minority group through the interview of six key figures within the community. The data collected consisted of primary data and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through observation and interviews. The observations were made by observing the educational practices in elementary schools that had students belonging to the Samin community. Interviews were conducted with five people who were those with authorities to provide the required information such as Samin figures, government officials, school principals, and teachers.

Meanwhile, the secondary data were obtained from library sources and documents. These data were collected from related writings such as journals and previous studies. The documentary data, related to the village documents and regulations and legislation documents, were obtained from tracing policies regarding the national education system. In summary, the interviewed informants are presented in Table 2 below.

All names are pseudonym

The data obtained were then grouped based on their respective themes according to the questions asked. The next stage was displaying the data, which were divided into three parts. This phase comprised activities of rearranging information that provides possibilities for concluding. The data were analyzed using descriptive-analytical techniques (Maxwell, 2008).

4. Results

4.1. *Minority groups as objects of national education (not subject/passive)*

The education system in Indonesia positions the minority groups as objects in education. Minority groups receive ready-made education packages standardized by the government, without being given the space to ask questions or convey their educational needs. Although minority groups have their own views on education, they cannot determine for themselves what education is needed and what kind of teachers are desired. The current availability of religious teachers only accommodates the fulfillment of educational needs and the learning process for the followers of official state religions.

In response to the condition where the Samin people are not actively involved in education, they have their own premises. It is not uncommon among parents of Samin children to encourage their

Table 2. List of informants

No	Name	Job and identity	Place of Origin
1.	Budi Santoso (R.1)	Samin figure	Karangrowo
2.	Kamadi (R.2)	Samin figure	Karangrowo
3.	Nurhadi (R.3)	Government agency	Karangrowo
4.	Rohani (R.4)	Elementary School Principal /Religion Teacher	Karangrowo
5.	Musriati (R.5)	Elementary School Religion Teacher	Karangrowo

children to learn from nature, such as in paddy fields for boys and at home for girls through the Samin people's education system called *Sinau Macul* (learning how to farm). One of the residents, R.1, said:

the children of bad people (*Samin* people) do not need to be forced to attend religious education the religion will become bad because (those other children) hang out with bad children (*Samin* children). (Interview, R.1, 50 y.o, in Kudus).

Almost the same statement was also conveyed by R.2; he proposed that *Samin* children be taught by their parents. He said:

those who have the obligation to educate the children of *sedulur sikep* (*Samin* people) are their respective parents, not the government. The ancestors of *Samin* people's teaching say that 'ana tulis tanpa papan, ana papan sakjeroning tulis', which means that the teachings of *sikep* are taught through verbal words and daily behavior according to the teachings of the ancestors ... (Interview, R.2, 50 y.o, Kudus)

A similar statement was also made by R.3, a *non-sikep* (non-*Samin* person) who feels sympathetic towards the *Samin* people. He said:

... *sedulur sikep* (*Samin* people) uphold the teachings of life taught by our ancestors; there are two purposes of life namely to speak the truth and to act out noble behavior. Those who teach *Samin* children at school should be the people who adhere to the teachings of *Sikep*, so leave it to the *Samin* people. The *sedulur sikep* (*Samin* people) already have an association; just leave the matter of teaching religion to the association ... (R.3, 60 y.o., Kudus) (Interview, R.3, 60 y.o, Kudus)

The statements made by R.1, R.2, and R.3 prove that the policy on education as regulated in the SISDIKNAS Law, in practice, positions *Samin* people as objects, parties who can only accept and are not given the space to convey the concept of education they need even though *Samin* community has their own concept of ideal education. Therefore, the followers of the official religions in this minority group have been proven to be discriminatory victims due to government policies that do not accommodate the interest of minority groups.

4.2. Detribalization occurs as a result of the implementation of the education system

Detribalism against *Samin* community occurs as a result of the penetration of the national education system that does not accommodate their interests. The national education system is considered a threat as it threatens to erode *Samin* people's identity has held up to the present. One of *Samin* people, R.1, complained about the existence of the national education system, which he considered a barrier for *Samin* families to internalize their values to their younger generation. He says:

the people of *sedulur sikep* (*Samin* people) already have their own beliefs; why are *Samin* children required to learn about a different religion at school? It should be enough for them to be taught by their own parents. This shows that the government is being unfair to their own people. (Interview, R.1 (50), Kudus).

Samin community has their own education, system which is different from the national education system. In summary, the differences in the education system between *Samin* people's and in Sisdiknas can be seen in Table 3 below.

4.3. Discussion

Some aspects of education system in Indonesia are currently still centralized despite the wave of decentralization of education (Tilaar, 1998). The centralized element of education system has an impact on providing a little or minimum space to accommodate plurality and differences. State policies are more likely to simplify the education system by adhering to the uniformity principle. This

Table 3. The comparison between the formal school curriculum and *Sedulur Sikep* education *

Aspects	Formal School	<i>Sinau Samin</i>
• Curriculum	• “Packages” designed by government/a foundation.	• The daily life of <i>sedulur sikep</i> (<i>Samin</i> people)
• Educator	• Teachers with the required competence	• Parents and family members
• Materials	• Many subjects in both hard and social science (including religious subjects)	• <i>Sinau macul</i> (learning how to farm), cooking, sweeping, washing, and “getting married” • <i>Sikep</i> teachings
• Learning interactions	• Using a variety of methods although generally lecture. • Verbal reasoning	• Interaction with family members • Learning by doing
• Facilities and infrastructure	• Buildings, classrooms, boards, LCD projectors, and other learning equipment	• Household and agricultural appliances or tools
• Evaluation	• Periodic: daily test, midterm, semester, and national exam	• Assessment is conducted at all times.

Source: Processed from 2018 research data.

tendency emphasizes on the achievement of education that refers to one pattern, uniformity. The uniformity of this system provides wide opportunities for discrimination in education because the involvement of all elements of society does not work optimally. The involvement of social groups in the learning process supports the achievement of the vision and mission of education, which is not only educating the whole nation, but it is also fair. Unfairness in the world of education directly impacts the erosion of the cultural values in society, which are also their identity (Corson, 1996; Ruyadi, 2010).

This research shows that the national education system brings consequences, which are the discriminations against minority groups. Despite the fact that the government mandated the need to provide equal access to minority groups as stated in the national education system article five section three, the national education system has not been able to accommodate the interests whose existence is culturally threatened. In fact, the minority group in this study criticized or questioned the education system, which is strictly centralized and there is no adequate space for accommodation. While the mission of education is a part of the state’s efforts to educate all citizens including *Samin* people, the national education system has become part of the detribalization of these people, which can eventually lead to their cultural extinction.

The detribalization of minority groups reflects an unfair education policy. The religious education system, which has been positioned as one of the subjects that can foster the character of the nation (Abdullah, 2015), has turned into a medium facilitating the erosion of the unique characteristics of minority groups. *Samin* tribe, as one of the affected groups, is only a monolithic-centralistic object of education. Efforts to maintain local identity have become a dream faced with a number of challenges and problems. *Samin*’s difficult position has resulted in the birth of rejection of the state’s education policy in general. Accommodation of *Samin*’s interests is not reflected in the education policy because it only prioritizes the interests of the majority group (religion).

The phenomenon of the ethnic minority detribalization of *Samin* is influenced by two factors, namely internal and external factor. Internal factors are related to the ethnocentric level of the

Samin people themselves in maintaining their cultural identity. Generally, the ethnocentrism of the *Samin* community is formed through families that possess different intensities in transmitting the teachings of *Samin*. The low level of family ethnocentrism is one of the factors for the detribalization of the *Samin* tribe. On the other hand, external factors are related to the intensity level of *Samin* people in interacting with the outside world. Education is one of the external factors that can influence the occurrence of changes among the *Samin* people. Through education, the children of *Samin* are introduced to, accept, and ultimately affect their mental-intellectual development. This can have more effects if the education they receive does not favor their community (a minority group). In this situation, the children of *Samin* must intensively accept new values that are different from those they receive from their families. In conclusion, the national education system that tends to be uniform can be a threat in itself to the sustainability of the *Samin* ethnic group.

The findings of this study indicate that the detribalization of ethnic minorities is caused by the national education system that does not take sides with these minority groups. Apart from this, other studies also show that there has been discrimination by the state against the existence of the local religion embraced by *Samin* people. Discriminatory treatment can be seen on the Indonesian Citizen Identity Card (KTP) of *Samin* people in Pati and Kudus. The religion section in their ID card is written as blank (-) because they adhere to Adamism taught by the founder of *Sedulur Sikep* community. It is not one of the official state religions (Sukirno, 2018).

Based on these findings, it seems that the threat of ethnic minorities extinction in Indonesia is increasingly real. This threat is evidenced by the declining population of *Samin* people in Kudus. In the next few years, it is likely that the ethnic minorities will become extinct. In order to prevent such an extinction, it is necessary to take strategic steps to protect ethnic minorities. Some of the actions that must be taken are (1) revising the SISDIKNAS Law by including articles specifically regulating education rights for the minority groups, (2) formulating a special curriculum for minority groups without neglecting their efforts continue to become good citizens with all their rights, obligations, and desire to maintain their cultural identity.

4.4. Conclusion

This study found the fact that the phenomenon of detribalization against *Samin* community was caused by the country's centralized national education system. This system causes the practice of education in Indonesia to be discriminatory against the maintenance of the cultural identity of *Samin* community, resulting in the detribalization of this community. The use of the concept of detribalization has enabled this study to understand that changes in ethnic identity can be reduced as a result of government's policies that do not accommodate minority groups.

This research has two limitations. First, the findings of this research only represent the community in the research site, namely *Samin* community in Karangrowo village. Therefore, these cannot be used as a conclusion with regard to the detribalization of *Samin* community as a whole. Second, this research is limited to the perspective that only looks at the symptoms of detribalization in relation to the national education system without looking at how the public responds to government's policies on education. Based on these limitations, further research needs to be done by involving a larger research site and looking at other perspectives, namely the responses of *Samin* community to government's policies on education, making the research more comprehensive.

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Correction

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