

SCHOOL AND PARENT PRESTIGE: SCHOOL TRADITION IN INDONESIA AND PHILIPPINES BORDER SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

This paper intends to answer why Kawaluso Island peoples have an orientation to send their children to a higher level. Kawaluso Island as one of the islands in the RI-Philippines border region, like other border areas, has problems in the field of education, both access and infrastructure. This study uses ethnographic methods as part of qualitative research making researchers as the main instrument. Data collection uses participatory observation where the researcher is involved in the activities of the community under study. The findings in this study are that school and prestige for parents (Kawaluso peoples) become discourses that cannot be separated from one and another. A form of recognition or prestige for parent, who are able to send their children to a higher level, is one of the practices of denial of economic practices. Nevertheless, the process of recognizing parents in achieving educational attainment by children, at the same time also benefits economically. The economic benefit in question is when Kawaluso residents who have finished school are able to carry out a process of vertical social mobility.

Keywords: border, education, prestige, symbolic power

INTRODUCTION

I had the opportunity to visit Kawaluso Island, which is located in the Sangihe Islands Regency, North Sulawesi in mid-2016. Kawaluso as most other small islands in the Sangihe Islands District faces problems in access to transportation and communication, getting clean water and other problems, including problems in the field of education. Limitations in educational problems in border areas, in general, are always related to the problem of teacher shortages, both in quantity and quality, limited supporting infrastructure such as school buildings, learning media, no laboratory room and others. In addition, in terms of access, in general, educational institutions are located far from residential areas, coupled with minimal and expensive means of supporting transportation to access these schools (A'ing, 2015; Evans, Tate, Navaro, & Nicolls, 2009; Hasan, 2008; Rosliana, 2015).

The description of the limitations in the education problem also occurred in Kawaluso. When compared to other islands in the border region, Kawaluso Island is quite behind in terms of access to education. Of the islands on the border, only Kawaluso and Kawio islands do not have a Junior High School (SMP). The absence of a junior high school on Kawaluso Island cannot be separated from the government policy which regulates the construction of new school units. The absence of a junior high school on Kawaluso Island requires children together with their parents who wish to continue their schooling after completing primary school to leave their island.

In order to continue school to a higher level requires a lot of money. In addition, parents who accompany their children must adapt by changing their livelihoods. When they first enter the junior high school, parents must pay no less than 10,000,000 (ten million rupiahs). The costs incurred start from making the *daseng*¹, purchasing school children's needs such as uniforms, books and so on. The most cost spent at the beginning of school is the making of the *daseng*. Sometimes it costs more than five million rupiah to make a single *daseng* of 5 X 6 meter sizes. The estimated cost of making a *daseng* is 10,000,000 if the ingredients for making the *daseng*, such as zinc, planks, wooden blocks, are available or are used goods, as well as residues from the houses of Kawaluso residents. The cost of making a *daseng* will be more expensive if all the ingredients have to be bought new.

The costs incurred by the residents of Kawaluso are only for making *dasseng* without having to pay to rent for land use as a place for making *daseng*. If the residents of Kawaluso, who make the *daseng*, must to pay to rent for the land use, the costs incurred will be greater. However, the cost of daily living is a burden that is mostly incurred during school. Living expenses incurred depend on how many family members come and stay in Tahuna while sending children to school. The people of Kawaluso Island, in the midst of various economic and access difficulties, are still trying to send their children to a higher level. High school fees and changes in livelihoods for parents then do not become a barrier for them to send their children to school. In order to explore this problem, the main question of this research was developed, namely why do the residents of Kawaluso Island have the orientation to send their children to a higher level?

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There are many reasons for continuing education to a higher level. Research (Holstrom, Karp, & Gray, 2011) conducted on the middle and upper class groups found that the readiness of parents to pay for children's school fees to a higher level is closely related to the idea of being "good parents". Being a good parent is inseparable from the obligations of parents in readiness to pay for children's education costs. In this study, it also shows how parents see the benefits of education in higher education for their children. They think that education is an investment that parents give to their children. The same opinion was expressed by (Ransaw, 2014) in his research on several African-American parents. African-American parents strive to be good fathers in the school achievements of their children. (Raleigh & Kao, 2010) in their research on minority immigrants found that immigrants are more optimistic about the educational future of their children, compared to natives. Research data also shows immigrants' persistently high aspirations for the education of their children. The high aspirations of immigrants for their children's education are because they don't want to see a bad future for their children. Financing children's education to a higher level is always related to parents' hopes for a better future for their children. This shows that by getting a high school, it is hoped that social mobility will occur from the child. Theoretically, adherents of the functionalist structural paradigm argue that education plays an important role, and even enhances, in explaining class mobility between generations (Deng & Treiman, 1997; Jackson, Goldthorpe, & Mills, 2005).

¹ *Daseng* (Sangihe language) can also be interpreted as a house, but the usage is different from the word house. Because the *Daseng* is only made and used for temporary residence.

In terms of social stratification, Michael Hout argues that “individuals who attain a higher level of education are placed at the top of the occupational hierarchy (Hout, 1992). This thinking clearly shows that education can be said to be a social elevator that functions as a means of improving one's social position (Pattinasarany, 2012). The positive influence of education on social mobility is found in a number of countries (see: (Ishida & Miwa, 2005; Park, 2003; Torche, 2005; Vaid, 2005). Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, (1990) in their research on citizens of Asian descent in America also found that a high level of education was very useful for job prestige. This is also reflected in the history of Indonesia. The acceptance of the indigenous people to the colonial education system was closely related to graduates from these schools being accepted to work in government agencies. In addition to education, Colonial can improve social status for *bumiputera* society (Amir, 2013; Nurtjahjo, 2004; Schouten, 1999). The prestige of parents is also the background for readiness to finance school. Ilkhamov (2013) in his research on Uzbek immigrants regarding the number of funds spent on “economic rituals” found that the cost of children's education falls into that category. However, the expenses for children's education are lower than the costs for marriage. The "economic rituals" are carried out for the desire of the family to maintain their own social status and prestige among the local community.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted on Kawaluso Island, Kendah District, Sangihe Islands Regency, and North Sulawesi. This location was chosen in addition to geographical factors as well as the community's reasons for leaving Kawaluso Island when sending their children to school. This study uses ethnographic methods as part of qualitative research. Collecting data in this study, using participatory observational techniques, in which the researcher becomes a part of participating in the community activities he is researching. Ethnography is part of qualitative research, making researchers the main instrument. In the first week at the research location, I made direct observations to see how the daily routine of the residents of Kawaluso Island was. In addition, in these early weeks, I tried to collect secondary data in the form of village demographics (such as: population, education level, occupation, area maps), as well as historical records or important events that had happened in Kawaluso as initial data in the study. The results of the observations, as well as the results of chatting casually with the community either on the road, port, field, mosque or other places, I wrote down in field notes for further analysis using thematic analysis. According to (Hanurawan, 2016) in the process of thematic analysis, the researcher made a list of categories according to the research objectives, then gave labels to the categories that appeared, and were based on the categories that stood out, then the researcher made conclusions. The results of the analysis were then deepened by using in-depth interviews with key informants. Data and findings in the field of course do not describe the overall reality that occurs in society, but the results of observations of empirical symptoms and the results of interactions between researchers and research subjects. The result of this research is ethnographic work which is the result of observed behavior and the interaction of the researcher with the research subject.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Objective Conditions of The Research Site

Kawaluso Island is located in the north of Sangihe Besar Island at 4°13'54 "North Latitude and 125°19'28,991" East Longitude. Kawaluso Island, about 50 miles from mainland Sangihe, can only be accessed by sea. When the sea is calm, Kawaluso Island can be accessed by using a *pambut* boat for approximately three hours, but it costs a lot. One way from Tahuna to Kawaluso requires a minimum of 20 liters of premium. Another alternative can be chosen to reach this island by using a pioneer ship. The cost for one way from Tahuna to Kawaluso is around Rp. 20,000, which is much cheaper when compared to using a *pambut* boat, but with a boat schedule that is only once every two weeks and a trip that takes about six hours.

Kawaluso is a village that is included in the administrative area of Kendahe District, consisting of four hamlets, namely, *Apeng*, *Soa*, *Daruha*, and *Torene*. The government system in Kawaluso began in 1912 with the first Kapitalaung named Dalongke. Until now there have been 14 changes to Kapitalaung. The total population of Kawaluso is 638 people consisting of 334 men and 304 women. Most of the residents of Kawaluso are fishermen and, of course, farmers. In addition, there are also residents of Kawaluso as Civil Servants who are dominated by educators, as well as craftsmen and traders. The religions embraced by the Kawaluso people are Islam and Christianity. Christianity itself is divided into four institutions, namely: the Sangihe and Talaud Christian Gospel Church, Pentecostal Church, the Gospel Tower, and the Gospel Tent.

Initially, the people of Kawaluso were mostly Muslims until around the 1960s. However, the Islam adopted is "Old Islam". Since church attendance, many have converted to Christianity. Now the majority religion of Kawaluso is Protestant Christians. In the early 1990s, some Kawaluso residents who had lived outside the island of Kawaluso (mainly the Philippines and Bitung), came to introduce and start Gospel Tower Church. There were also those who started the Gospel Tent Church. The presence of these two new church institutions had brought conflict to the Kawaluso community. However, this conflict was resolved because of the strong family ties (See, Macpal & Abdullah, 2019). Late in the 1990s the Pentecostal Church was introduced and pioneered in Kawaluso.

Kawaluso is one of the islands included in the main development area, but the infrastructure available on this island is very minimal. For educational facilities, there is only one SD with five teachers, and one PAUD with one teacher. Meanwhile, for health facilities, there is a supporting Puskesmas² building without a doctor. There is only one midwife who is also a nurse. The supply of clean water is still very dependent on the weather; almost all houses must have rainwater collection tanks. The size of the reservoir usually has a length and width of about three meters with a height of two to three meters. If the tub is fully filled, then the clean water supply can last three to four months. This collected water is used for cooking and drinking water. Meanwhile, for bathing and washing, the residents use puddle water, namely rainwater that is collected in the excavation of the land that has been prepared by the residents. Almost all houses have a sanitation facility in the form of a toilet. In addition, there are three public toilets made by

² Puskesmas – Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat; Community Health Centre

the government through the PNPM program which are located in hamlet one, two and four. Kawaluso Island does not have a market, so the supply of foodstuffs and other necessities relies heavily on the Sangihe mainland. When the residents of Borneo want to sell agricultural products in the form of copra, nutmeg and cloves to Tahuna, they also buy food supplies such as rice, sugar, eggs and spices.

The educational institution in Kawaluso existed together with the church institution. It is estimated that around 1915, a teacher who was also an indigenous priest named Salama who came from Manganitu came to Kawaluso. The people of Kawaluso know him as *Tuan Pinolong Salama*. In the same year, Salama founded a church and named it "Pniel". Through this church institution, Salama teaches Christian teachings to the residents of Kawaluso. According to Adel Kawowode³ before 1915, there had been evangelistic missions from the *Zending* in Kawaluso. In subsequent developments, a formal educational institution was born under the auspices of the church. The educational institutions founded by these zanders still exist today. This educational institution is now under the auspices of the GMIST Christian Education Foundation.

The Importance of School for The People of Kawaluso

Prior to the 1980s, the land on Kawaluso Island was not heavily planted with production crops as the economic base for the Kawaluso people. The lack of production plants has made many residents of Kawaluso make home on Memanuk and Matutuang Islands to look for fish, especially sharks to take their fins and then sell them. The income from the sale of shark fins, which is quite expensive, was then accumulated by some residents of Kawaluso as economic capital to start a business or to buy a plot of land both in Java and in Kawaluso. In addition, there are also residents of Kawaluso who accumulated economic capital by becoming border crossers. This accumulation of economic capital made some residents of Kawaluso, who initially did not have to land, then became the land owners. Around the end of the 1980s when shark catches began to decline, the people of Kawaluso started to return to Kawaluso and planted crops on their land. The proceeds from fishing, crossing borders and from these production plants serve as the basis for the economic capital of the Kawaluso people.

The ownership of economic capital causes the people of Kawaluso to behave in consumerism. This consumerist behavior is a form of affirming the status of ownership of economic capital. Apart from this consumerist behavior, sending children to school is also a form of class marker. Schools become a social arena where control of economic and social capital is at stake. The trend of sending children to Kawaluso residents for decades and being accessible to all classes has made Kawaluso residents, with a bigger economic capital; try to differentiate them by sending their children to universities in Manado. School can then be read as an affirmation of the status of the dominant class, which, according to Bourdieu (2015), those in a dominant position apply survival strategies designed to maintain the status quo by affirming themselves and the principles that become their domination. The position of those who are already in the dominant class skillfully demonstrates the power of the means they have through the economy and the means they have (Bourdieu 2015: 89)

³ pastor assigned to the GMIST Pniel Kawaluso church

The choice of higher education institution in Manado⁴ to continue education determines (in Bourdieu, 1996) the "taste" of the Kawaluso people. This taste then classifies the object to be selected and also classifies the classifier. Social subjects are classified by their own classifications and differentiate themselves based on the choices they make (Bourdieu 1996: 6-7). In the view of Kawaluso peoples, continuing their education to Manado is the "high class taste" of the Kawaluso people. This resulted in the prestige of the parents getting higher in the view of other Kawaluso residents. By gaining this prestige, the people of Kawaluso received what Bourdieu called symbolic power. Symbolic power is one of the most important assets in the arena of cultural production which refers to the degree of accumulated prestige, fame, consecration or honor, and is built on a dialectic of knowledge (*connaissance*) and recognition (*reconnaissance*) (Bourdieu, 1990: 22).

Kawaluso residents who send their children to Tahuna do not mean they do not get prestige. However, schools in Tahuna almost be accessed by all classes, it makes the prestige of parents not like those who are able to send their children to Manado. For Kawaluso peoples who send their children to Tahuna, the level of prestige is determined by the department chosen their child to continue their education. For residents with small economic capital, sending their children to Tahuna is one of the ways to gain symbolic power in the form of prestige. In this case, the school for the residents of Kawaluso can be a differentiator for residents with large economic capital, but also an "equal effort" for residents with small economic capital. Kawaluso residents who send their children to a higher level to gain prestige but at different levels (See Wegener 1992)

School and prestige for parents (residents of Kawaluso) are inseparable discourses. According to Bourdieu, 2015, the form of recognition or prestige for parents who are able to send their children to a higher level is one of the practices of denial of economic practices. However, the process of recognizing parents in the educational attainment of children at the same time also gets economic benefits. The economic benefit in question is when the Kawaluso residents who have finished school are able to carry out the process of vertical social mobility. This opposition between rejection and the search for economic gain is, in Bourdieu's view, genuine and commercial opposition. Furthermore, according to Bourdieu, genuine opposition in the form of seeking cultural benefits is always directly proportional to commercial opposition which seeks direct economic benefits (2015: 88).

In other practices, Kawaluso residents who have been in a dominant position to gain symbolic power use modest strategies, such as preparing the land as a place to build a *daseng* for Kawaluso residents who send their children to school for free. In addition, residents who have entered the bureaucracy sometimes visit the *daseng* in the afternoon or evening even though they are just sharing stories with other residents of Kawaluso. According to (Bourdieu, 2011) the strategy of being humble is used by agents to occupy a higher position in an objective spatial hierarchy to deny or deny the social distance between them and others, a distance that will not be erased by this strategy, so that the advantage is in the form of recognition of the consequences. Purely symbolic perceptions of distance ("he is kept simple", "he is not arrogant" and so on), which implies an acknowledgment of distance. In short, the objective distances to gain advantage

⁴ Manado is Capital City of North Sulawesi Province, Indonesia

are due to proximity and because of distance, i.e. distance and recognition of the distance guaranteed by its symbolic appearance (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 169)

The Beginning of Vertical Social Mobility

Since the beginning, school attendance in Indonesia has always been synonymous with the vertical mobility process. This is related to the existing education system not intended to prepare oneself to be able to stand on their own feet, but rather to prepare themselves to become civil servants. The higher a people position in the government bureaucracy, the higher his or her status in society. Education is the only means to achieve this position, so studying at school is an absolute path that must be followed, even though it is not easy (Naim, 1999). Schools respond to the demands of producing skilled workers so that the education process becomes a training process to produce workers demanded by industrial development (Tilaar & Nugroho, 2016, p.33) The school for the residents of Kawaluso is not much different from what is described above. Getting to a higher level of school is always related to the desire of both children and parents to get a good status. This good status is always related to being accepted as a Civil Servant. Therefore, the people of Kawaluso always choose schools that are considered to be immediately accepted as PNS. Another route chosen by the residents is after completing school they become honorary staff at government institutions in Tahuna. Even though they are honorary employees, according to the residents of Kawaluso, they have carried out one of the vertical mobility processes. This is related to the prestige of work, where being an office worker always offers a higher status when compared to jobs such as farmers and fishermen, which are mostly done by Kawaluso residents.

Becoming an honorary staff with the hope of being appointed as a Civil Servant is greatly influenced by the experiences that have happened to some Kawaluso residents who have become civil servants. Most of them become honorary staff first, and then they are appointed as Civil Servants. Apart from being a civil servant, the process of vertical mobility of the Kawaluso population is to become a member of the TNI⁵ / POLRI⁶. After finishing high school/ vocational high school at least, several residents of Kawaluso participate in the admission selection as members of the TNI / Polri. However, the admission system that costs a lot of money, becoming a military soldier can only be accessed by residents of Kawaluso with large economic capital. Another vertical mobility process undertaken by Kawaluso residents (especially women) is to marry a man outside Kawaluso. By continuing to study in Sangihe Besar, or to other mainland Sulawesi, many Kawaluso women later get husbands who are not from Kawaluso. Generally, they married men who could be said to have large economic capital. Married with a man outside Kawaluso Island is also one of the hopes of parents who send their daughters to school because they are related to the position of women in the family. Married with men from outside Kawaluso Island is also a strategy to maintain or increase the symbolic capital of the family.

⁵ TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*- Indonesia National Army)

⁶ POLRI (Kepolisian Republik Indonesia – Indonesia Republic Police)

Against The Domination of The Mainland

There is still a strong stigma from the mainland population that the *Orang Pulo*⁷ are a community that is still strong with the *doti*⁸ tradition. Apart from the stigma, *Orang Pulo* are also those who are stupid, hick, uneducated, and other negative stigma attached to the term *Orang Pulo*. The existence of these stigmas made the people of Kawaluso inferior. On several occasions, the residents of Kawaluso seemed to distance themselves from me who was considered to have higher education. In addition, according to the confession of the pastor, in church organization, some residents of Kawaluso always felt inferior and thought they knew nothing. This man doesn't have a school; these people are ignorant — we are people without education; we are stupid. It is a phrase that is often heard from the residents of Kawaluso. The negative stigma about the “Orang Pulo” turns out to be not only constructed by residents on the mainland, but also by the people of Kawaluso themselves.

The view of the mainland population regarding the ignorant “Orang Pulo” were not taken for granted by some of the Kawaluso populations. By getting high schools, the residents of Kawaluso tried to escape from this negative stigma. Escape from this negative stigma by engaging in vertical mobility as previously described. The people of Kawaluso, who are able to perform vertical mobility and enter the bureaucracy, are slowly starting to remove the stigma, as Rimpulaeng⁹ said that the Kawaluso people are better at education when compared to other islanders. They go to school more, and some have become people (meaning civil servants). Schools here can be understood as a form of resistance to domination from the mainland which has been holding the bureaucracy. Some of the residents of Kawaluso who went to school by leaving Kawaluso then began to enter the government bureaucracy. When there is an opportunity to become a Civil Servant, the residents of Kawaluso enter and participate in the selection of these PNS admissions. One resident of Kawaluso currently belongs to the district government level, namely the Head of the Sangihe Islands Regency Learning Activity Center, the other is a staff at the sub-district office and the Transportation Agency. Not to mention the residents of Kawaluso who are included in the government bureaucracy but are not within the scope of Sangihe Regency.

Seeing a trend like this, the vertical mobility of the Kawaluso population could lead to what is described by (Amin, 2016) regarding the vertical mobility of the Makeang people. Of course, the change process does not take place instantaneously but gradually. The people of Kawaluso who are still trapped in the old structure and continue to reproduce these structures are what make the difference with the mobility process of the Makeang people. The process of mobility of the Makeang people is fairly fast because they do not just accept myths as a cultural instrument for political and state legitimacy (see Geertz 1973), but have actively interpreted it as

⁷ “Orang Pulo” Refers to the mention of the mainland population to the people who live on small islands around Sangihe Island.

⁸ Witchcraft or magic

⁹ Rimpulaeng, 60 years old, is a resident of Kendahe II, located on the mainland of Sangihe. He has been the Head of the UPT of the Education and Youth Office at Kendahe District. The same opinion was also conveyed by Alex J. Ulaen who is a lecturer in the anthropology department as well as a researcher from the Manado Samratulangi University on one occasion when I personally visited his house on Jalan Sea, Malalayang District, and Manado City.

a space for migration so as to support cultural activities which recently became the starting point for the mobility process. Verticals of the Makeang people (Amin, 2016, pp. 4–5) Schools for the residents of Kawaluso can also be read as a form of criticism of the governance of the education system, especially education on the border islands. Limitations in terms of education made the residents of Kawaluso move their children from elementary school to Tahuna. The transfer of children to Tahuna is so that the adaptation process in subjects can be earlier so that children also become accustomed to competition from the school system in the city which is considered better than Kawaluso. Some of Kawaluso children were transferred to Tahuna since elementary school then started to enter a junior high school which is a National Standard or International Standard School Pilot Project. If things like this continue to happen, it will result in empty students at the elementary school in Kawaluso. This requires an improvement in the education system.

Improvements in the education system in Kawaluso (of course in other border areas) are very urgent. Vacancy of students in primary schools will impact the closure of primary schools. Obviously, this will also affect the existence of teachers who teach at that elementary school. In addition, the education system that is being prepared should not be education that makes residents in border areas leave their islands (by working or serving on other islands), but schools that are able to produce generations capable of managing their own natural resources. If education is still directed at producing workers who leave the island, it is feared that the islands in the border area will become islands without inhabitants.

CONCLUSION

Limited supporting facilities and infrastructure for continuing education on Kawaluso Island have made Kawaluso residents who wish to continue their studies have to do geographic mobility. Tahuna as the capital of Sangihe Regency then becomes the main choice as a place to move. The age of children who are still too early sometimes makes parents participate in living in Tahuna with their children who go to school. School and prestige for parents (residents of Kawaluso) are inseparable discourses. The form of recognition or prestige for parents who are able to send their children to a higher level is a practice of denial of economic practices. However, the process of recognizing parents in the educational attainment of children at the same time also gets economic benefits. The economic benefit in question is when the Kawaluso residents who have finished school are able to carry out the process of vertical social mobility. This is in line with Crompton's theory (Crompton, 1996) which proves the effect of education on social mobility. This finding is also in line with studies from (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Dhakidae, 2001; Pattinasarany, 2012; Sujatmiko, 1996; Sukarno, 2006). The higher the level of education of the child, the higher the chance to experience increased social mobility

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