



## Traditions and Culture of Enam Kaum as a Source of Strengthening Ethnopedagogy in Mukomuko Bengkulu

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### ABSTRACT:

This research aims to find out the customs and culture that exist in Mukomuko, which can then be used as a source of strengthening ethnopedagogy in the world of education. The research objectives are (1) what are the customs and culture of the Enam Kaum in Mukomuko Regency?, (2) what are the customs and culture of the Enam Kaum Mukomuko as a source of ethnopedagogy?. The research method used is qualitative, with observation, documentation and interview techniques. Meanwhile, data analysis uses an interactive analysis model. The research results reveal that, firstly, historically, the original Mukomuko people came from West Sumatra, so they have many cultural and customary similarities with Minangkabau. The customs and culture that are strong in Mukomuko are the Enam Kaum, which is a typical Mukomuko kinship system. Consisting of the Kum Berenam di Hulu, Kaum Berenam di Hilir, the Kaum Delapan di Tengah, the Kaum Lima Suku, the Kaum Empat Belas, and the Gersik Tribes. Second, the customs and culture of the Six Mukomuko Clans are very significant as a source of strengthening ethnopedagogy, with at least four components, namely; intangible traditions, material traditions, community history and strong Islamic religious beliefs. These four things can be a source of strengthening ethnopedagogy in the world of education in Mukomuko Regency.

**Keywords:** Six Clan Customs; Ethnopedagogy; Mukomuko Regency.

### ABSTRAK:

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui adat dan budaya yang ada di Mukomuko, yang selanjutnya digunakannya sebagai sumber penguatan ethnopedagogi dalam dunia pendidikan. Adapun tujuan penelitian adalah (1) apa adat dan budaya Enam Kaum di Kabupaten Mukomuko?, (2) bagaimana adat dan budaya Enam Kaum Mukomuko bagi sumber ethnopedagogi?. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif, dengan reknik observasi, dokumentasi dan wawancara. Sementara itu analisis data menggunakan model analisis interaktif. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa, pertama, secara sejarah, masyarakat asli Mukomuko berasal dari Sumatera Barat, sehingga banyak kesamaan budaya dan adat dengan Minangkabau. Adat dan budaya yang menguat di Mukomuko adalah Enam Kaum, yang merupakan sistem kekerabatan khas Mukomuko. Terdiri dari Kaum Berenam di Hulu, Kaum Berenam di Hilir, Kaum Delapan di Tengah, Kaum Lima Suku, Kaum Empat Belas, dan Kaum Gersik. Kedua, adat dan budaya Enam Kaum Mukomuko sangat berarti bagi sumber penguatan ethnopedagogi, dengan setidaknya mempunyai empat komponen, yaitu; tradisi tak benda, tradisi benda, histori masyarakat dan keyakinan kegamaan Islam yang kuat. Keempat hal tersebut dapat menjadi sumber penguatan ethnopedagogi dalam dunia pendidikan di Kabupaten Mukomuko

**Kata Kunci:** Adat Enam Kaum, Ethnopedagogi, Mukomuko.

## **A. INTRODUCTION**

Mukomuko Regency is one of the districts located in the westernmost part of Bengkulu Province. Bengkulu Province itself has one city and nine districts, one of the districts is called Mukomuko Regency. Mukomuko has an area of 4,146.52 KM which is located at the northernmost point in Bengkulu Province (BPS 2022). Mukomuko Regency to the east is adjacent to Merangin and Kerinci Regencies. Then to the west of Mukomuko Regency is the Indonesian Ocean, then to the north is directly adjacent to the South Coast Regency, namely (West Sumatra Province) and to the south is North Bengkulu Regency. According to BPS data from Mukomuko Regency, in 2021 the population of Mukomuko Regency will reach 193,196 people based on projections from the 2020 Population Census.

The number of workers in Mukomuko Regency in 2021 is 87,999 people, while the unemployment rate is 3.68%. The Mukomuko community coexists with other tribes or ethnic groups. In general, the tribes that inhabit Bengkulu Province are the Rejang, Serawai, and Lembak tribes. The indigenous tribe there is called the Mukomuko people. The description of other tribes is 37.4% Javanese, 6.3% Sundanese, 5.4% Minangkabau and the rest from Balinese and Bugis. This is a reflection of the multicultural society in Mukomuko. The multicultural characteristics of the Mukomuko community are interesting to highlight. How can the rights and access of all ethnic groups be found fairly there?.

The background above contains local cultural values that can be used in the world of education, thus creating an ethnopedagogical position that is suitable for use and implementation in everyday life. The selection of Mukomuko culture and customs in this research highlights the Six Kaum entity in its kinship patterns. The Six

Clan kinship pattern is an ancestral legacy that makes this community group have a good kinship system. So the reason for carrying out this research is to answer the question; (1) what are the cultures and customs in Mukomuko Regency?, (2) what are the Six Kaum traditions in Mukomuko?, (3) What is the role of ethnopedagogy in preserving the Six Kaum traditions in Mukomuko?. There has not been much research on culture and customs in Mukomuko Regency. Indeed, research into Mukomuko customs and culture is considered too far from the center of Bengkulu Province. However, there have been several studies, which can be mentioned here as below.

First, research entitled "Minangkabau People in Mukomuko in Historical Perspective 1945-2003". This research was made by Ajisman from the West Sumatra Cultural Values Conservation Center (BNPB). This article was published in the Journal of Historical and Cultural Research, Vol. 4 No. 1, June 2018. This study reveals the migration and adaptation of the Minangkabau people in Mukomuko, where the results of the study state that there are several factors that Minangkabau people adapt quickly to Mukomuko, among them historical factors. The Mukomuko people claim that their ancestors were of Minangkabau descent. In their interactions they prioritize cooperation with existing residents and other newcomers. This article discusses the background of the migration of Minangkabau people to Mukomuko.

Second, research entitled "Traditional Process of Community Marriage in Mukomuko Regency, Bengkulu Province". The research was written by Rismadona from the same agency, the West Sumatra Cultural Values Conservation Center (BPNB). This research provides an explanation regarding the traditional marriage

procedures of the people of MUukomuko Regency. In the article, it is explained that the traditional marriage process is not much different from the past in accordance with Islamic customs and teachings. This article explains the wedding customs of the Mukomuko people.

Third, research examining ethnopedagogy was written by Nurul Zuriah with the title "Ethnopedagogical Study of Citizenship Education as a Vehicle for Cultural and National Character Education in Muhammadiyah Universities in Malang City". This article was published in the *Humanity Journal*, Vol 8 No 1 September 2012. This article examines ethnopedagogy seen in terms of objectives, materials and learning modules in Civics subjects. Ethnopedagogy can be a source of cultural education and national character. The difference with our research is in terms of the use of ethnopedagogy. We plan to provide input and resources for ethnopedagogy from the customs and culture of the Mukomuko people. The three studies above provide an initial overview of this research. However, there is a difference with this study, namely that the researcher looks more at the customs and culture of the Enam Kaums in their interaction with other ethnic communities to form a multicultural society in Mukomuko. This multicultural narrative is very meaningful for ethnopedagogy. Apart from that, researchers place more emphasis on the side of passing on traditional and cultural values in the Enam Kaum to the younger generation through ethnopedagogy. So far no research has been found on that side.

## **B. METHOD**

The research was conducted using qualitative methods with field studies. The sources used are primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources are interviews, documentation and observation.

Secondary sources were obtained through various relevant books and journals. There were five (5) informants as primary sources in this research. Interviews with informants, namely; Deputy Regent of Mukomuko, Head of the Mukomuko Regency Education and Culture Service, Head of the Mukomuko Regency Ministry of Religion Office, Chair of the Mukomuko Regency Traditional Deliberation Body, Cultural Administrator at the Mukomuko Regency Education Service. Data collection techniques were carried out using interview guide instruments, observation sheets, and field notes. Data analysis uses the Miles and Huberman Interactive Analysis Model.

## **C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

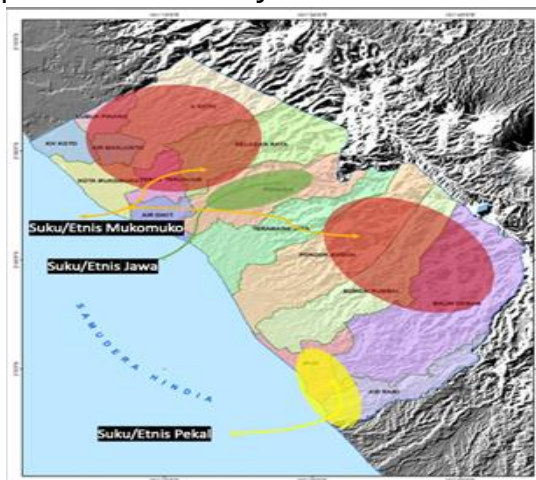
### **1. Customs and Culture of Enam kaum Mukomuko**

Historically, the people of Mukomuko came from West Sumatra, so the culture and customs that run in Mukomuko originate from Minangkabau traditions. The name Mukomuko itself comes from the word 'face to face' or deliberation. This custom in Mukomuko is expressed through phrases or sayings that are often heard, namely "Adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah". Just like in Minangkabau, the hereditary system maternal offspring called matrilineal. With the matrilineal system, women have a higher position than sons because daughters are considered to be the successors of their mother's lineage. Then, in the marriage process, the Mukomuko people adhere to an exogamy marriage system. Between one party and another party who want to marry must have different clan/clan or clan memberships.

In its development, the migration of people from Minangkabau multiplied and became permanent residents in Mukomuko, so they were called Mukomuko people. Furthermore, they coexisted with people from other tribes or ethnicities, such as

Javanese, Sundanese and others. As depicted, the composition of the tribe in Mukomuko is the Javanese tribe consisting of around 37.4%, the Sundanese tribe consisting of 6.3%, the Minangkabau tribe 5.4% and the rest are the Serawai, Bugis, Lembak, Balinese, Rejang tribes. From this picture, it shows a reflection of the multicultural society in Mukomuko. The Mukomuko ethnic group/people inhabit most of the administrative area of this district. Although not all of them are Mukomuko ethnic groups/people. Other ethnic groups that inhabit Mukomuko Regency are on the border with North Bengkulu, such as in Penarik dominated by the Ex-Transmigrant Javanese tribe, the Ipuh and Seblat areas dominated by the Pekal Tribe.

There are fourteen (14) sub-districts in Mukomuko Regency, consisting of: (1) Malin Deman, (2) Mukomuko City, (3) Ipuh, (4) Pondok Suguh, (5) Selagan Raya, (6) Teramang Jaya, (7) Air Rami, (8) Penarik, (9) Air Manjuto, (10) Teras Terunjam, (11) Air Dikit, (12) XIV Koto, (13) V Koto, (14) Sungai Rumbai, (15) Lubuk Pinang. Malin Deman is the largest sub-district, namely 861.79 square kilometers. According to data from the BPS of Mukomuko Regency, in 2021 the population of Mukomuko Regency reached 193,196 people based on the 2020 Population Census Projection.



**Figure 1. Distribution of Tribes/Ethnicities in Mukomuko Regency**

Mukomuko has a wealth of tangible and intangible culture. Such as interesting dances, namely Gandai Dance, Gamat Dance, Syarafal Anam, Pelito Dance and so on. Mukomuko also has Tambo such as Tambo Manjuto, and the Legend of Malin Deman (Regional Profile, 2007). The Mukomuko people have customs and culture that are strongly held by their people, which in some ways are unique. The strong holding of customs there becomes a custom and culture for the Mukomuko people. Custom and culture themselves by definition are customary laws whose rules are made from the results of the behavior of people who grow and develop every day with these habits so that they are made into written laws that must be obeyed.

In Mukomuko Regency Regulation No. 2 of 2022, the definition of Custom and Culture or Customary Law is a series of regulations that are binding on unwritten community groups and originate from customs that grow and develop in certain community groups so that they are finally used as hereditary law. In Mukomuko, a Customary Institution has also been established which is divided into; (1) Customary Deliberative Body; (2) Customary Apparatus, and; (3) Syara' Employees.

The Customary Deliberative Body is a community organization formed by a particular indigenous and cultural community. This institution also has the right and authority over all resolutions related to matters related to culture and customs so that they become more organized and managed. In this position, the researcher sees the Customary Deliberative Body (BMA) as having an important and strategic position. BMA is a partner of the Mukomuko Regency Government (Regent and Deputy Regent) in deciding policies concerning the community in Mukomuko

(Interview with the Head of BMA Mukomuko Regency). This was proven when the researcher came to BMA, all the Heads of the Tribe formulated matters regarding the phenomenon of the emergence of karaoke/night entertainment places before the month of Ramadan to then be recommended to the Regent who would be considered in issuing a circular regarding the policy regarding the phenomenon above.

Researchers also observed that the unique customs and culture of Enam Kaum consist of four components, namely; (1) adat actually adat (custom actually customary); (2) established customs; (3) traditional customs; and (4) customs. This is explained more clearly as follows.

Firstly, true customs are eternal customs, which apply absolutely according to natural law, in the adat adage "it doesn't get old like rain, it doesn't get old like heat, for example: Customary debts must be paid." Second, customs that are adopted are simultaneous provisions, the decision of the penghulu ninik mamak which regulates customary and following activities that originate from customs, such as customary activities for male and female marriages with the provision of using dowry money, other customs in marriage. Third, traditional customs, namely customs used in the village, are called customs as long as they do not destroy the harmony of traditional life, culture and socio-economic life, in the proverb "where the earth is stepped on, there the langik is upheld". Fourth, customs, namely customs of holding and using, which exist for every community and are accepted and obeyed by that community, such as things that are prohibited by religion, are also prohibited by custom, for example: cockfighting, gambling. Of the four above, the one that cannot be changed is Custom, while the others can still change according

to social, cultural and economic developments.

As is commonly known, the Mukomuko community applies a criterion of kinship ties called "Kaum". There are six Kaum which are broadly speaking, namely, the Six Kaum in Hulu, the Fourteen Kaum, the Six Kaum in Hilir, the Five Suku Kaum, the Eight Kaum in Tengah, and the Kaum Gersik. Each Kaum is believed to originate from one belly of the same ancestor. The belly in the sense here is a group of people who are still in family ties and have ties of kinship, a lineage that is still from one grandmother. So Kaum here can be called a group of several clans/lineages that inhabit the same or adjacent geographical location at the beginning. In more detail, the Six Tribes in Mukomuko are; (1) The Berenam in the Hulu consists of (Perut Maharajo Gedang, Maharajo Kacik, Rajo Nan Kayo, Suko Damo, Perut Semanggun Dirajo, Mabendum Sati); (2) The Sixes in the Downstream, consisting of (Perut Temanggun, Rajo Penghulu, Rajo Dibilang, Teman Dirajo, Siti Lelo, Malintang Alam); (3) The Eight in the Middle, consisting of (Datuak Rangkayo Deso, Putri Suto, Putri Lalu Mato, Putri Ranit Jintan, Putri Batapi, Rajo Melayu, Sutan Selamat and Sang Depati); (4) The Eight Niniks consisted of (Maharajo Laksamana, Maharajo Terang, Maharajo Damrah, Rajo Kualo, Rajo Pahlawan, Rajo Tiang So, Rajo Mangkuto); (5) The Five Tribes, consisting of (Gunung Malenggang, Rajo Dihulu, Rajo Benda, Bujang Sangaji); (6) The Gersiks, the only Gresik people, namely the Gresik Ketunggalan tribe. Furthermore, it is divided into two large groups of Kaum, namely (1) Perwatin 20 (consisting of 20 people): consisting of Kaum Berenam in the Upper, Kaum Berenam in the Downstream and Kaum Berlapan in the Middle, and (2) Tribe Fourteen (XIV): divided into Eight Ninik, the Five Tribes and the Gersik.

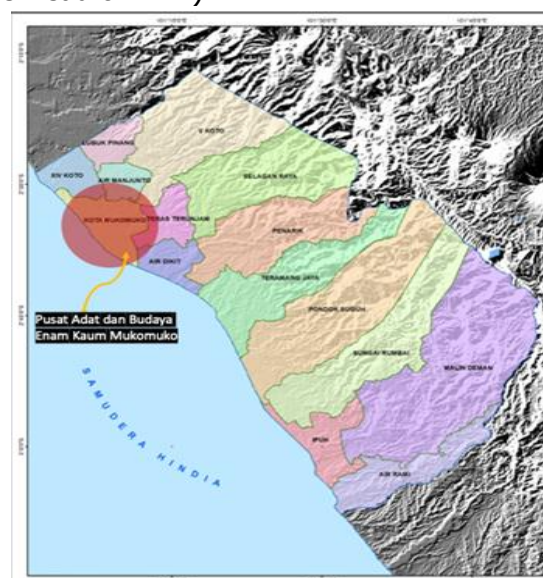
The Head of the Clan is the leader of each Clan. The Head of the Clan is responsible for all customary activities at the family level, starting from weddings, circumcisions, and other customary events. In Mukomuko Regency Regulation Number 2 of 2022 concerning the Preservation of Customs and Culture, the term Customary Apparatus is included, which means part of the customary institution in the village as a forum for community participation and partners of the Village Government. The Head of the Clan is sheltered in this customary apparatus. In full, it consists of (1) Customary Head / Customary Head, (2) Head of the Clan, (3) Old People, (4) Village Imam, (5) Syara' Officer.



Furthermore, in the Kota Mukomuko District, the community structure does not have a Neighborhood Association (RT) and no Citizens Association (RW). The customary apparatus fills these positions. In this case, the Customary Head occupies the position as the RT or RW. So the position of the Head of the People occupies an important and more influential position.

However, researchers see that de facto the distribution of the Six Kaum is not implemented in all villages. These Six Kaum are not entirely spread across all sub-districts in Mukomuko Regency. Researchers

obtained information that the Six Kaum are completely only centered in the Kota Mukomuko District which is located in the center or administrative center of Mukomuko Regency. The Kota Mukomuko District has nine sub-districts, consisting of (1) Ujung Padang, (2) Bandar Raty, (3) Koto Jaya, (4) Pasar Mukomuko, (5) Tanah Rekah, (6) Pondok Batu, (7) Tanah Harapan, (8) Selagan Jaya, (9) Pasar Sebelah. Meanwhile, in other sub-districts in Mukomuko Regency, the existence of the Kaum entities is not complete, sometimes there are only three or four Kaum in the sub-district (Interview with the Head of BMA).



**Figure 3. The Traditional Center of the Six Mukomuko Tribes**

the Sampulonrua indigenous people.

## **2. Customs and Culture of Enam Kaum as a Source of Ethnopedagogy**

The latest developments in the world of education are known as ethnopedagogy. Ethnopedagogy makes local wisdom the root of education, skills and innovation that can empower humans. Therefore, local wisdom. Therefore, local wisdom should be used as a source of learning and culture. Ethnopedagogy originating from the Customs of the Six Tribes in Mukomuko Regency is a local wisdom that is useful for creating a harmonious system between



knowledge, attitudes and behavior based on the values of the surrounding culture in living in an environment with various other ethnicities.

Therefore, education in Mukomuko can be a good source of socialization. Judging from the education data in Mukomuko Regency in 2021/2022 as follows.

**Table 1. Education Data in Mukomuko**

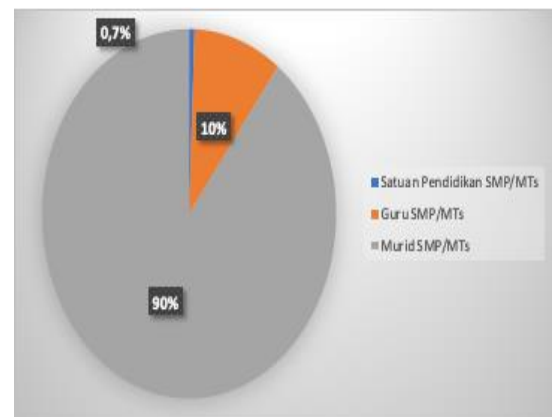
No	Schools	Public	Private	Total
1	Elementary School/Islamic Elementary School	133	23	156
	Teachers	1.631	273	1.904
	Students	20.776	2.855	23.631
2	Junior High School/Islamic Junior High School	53	18	71
	Teachers	904	237	1.141
	Students	8.231	2.280	10.511

Source: Processed from BPS Data 2022

From the data above, it is found that the number of elementary school/Islamic elementary school education units, both public and private, is 156, the number of junior high school/Islamic junior high school education units, both public and private, is 71. In terms of students, the number of elementary school/Islamic junior high school students is 1,904. Junior high school/Islamic junior high school students, both private and public, are 10,511. The number of teachers is 1,904 elementary school/Islamic junior high school. While the number of junior high school/Islamic junior high school teachers is 1,141. Referring to existing regulations, Elementary and Secondary Education is the authority of the district government, so it can be seen based on the following data.



**Figure 4. Primary Education Profile in Mukomuko**



**Figure 5. Profile of Secondary Education in Mukomuko**

It was also found that only a comparison of only 1% of schools from the number of students. This means that the number of schools or educational units is still very small. So there are minimal institutions that provide education and understanding to young people here. In turn, understanding of the customs and culture of Mukomuko is not optimal.

Educational Participation Rate in Mukomuko based on BPS data, it was found that the Pure Participation Rate (APM) for Elementary Schools/Islamic Elementary Schools and Equivalents was 99.29 and the Gross Participation Rate (APK) was 109.29.

Furthermore, the Pure Participation Rate (APM) for Junior High Schools was 84.16 and the Gross Participation Rate (APK) was 97.28. This means that there is a downward trend from elementary school to junior high school. From this data, it is natural that the understanding of the customs and culture of the Six Clans has not been widely understood by students as the younger generation in Mukomuko. In line with that, another cause is that education does not become a medium for socializing customs. This stems from the inability to integrate local wisdom into education. Local Content (Mulok) as a subject whose authority is given to the local government is not

optimized. The less than optimal formal school pathway is slightly covered by other pathways.

The inheritance of customary and cultural values in Mukomuko is carried out through informal cadre formation within one Kaum. This informal path is through the inclusion of the younger generation or students as Deputy Penghulu or Deputy Head of Kaum. So that the younger generation or students participate routinely and learn from the activities of their Kaum (Interview with the Head of BMA). The researcher sees this as a customary or natural way for ethnopedagogy to continue to occur among the younger generation.

Intangible Cultural Heritage



Gandai Traditional Dance

Intangible Cultural Heritage



Flute Musical Instrument

Tangible Cultural Heritage



Tamat Kajing

Tangible Cultural Heritage



Bayan Tree Induk Bako

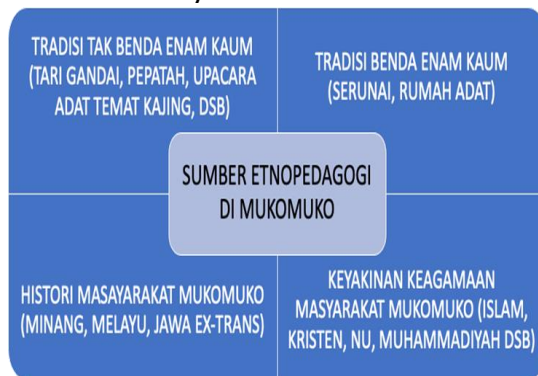
**Figure 6. Cultural Heritage in Mukomuko Source: Researcher**

According to researchers with the social capital and cultural capital it has, Mukomuko Regency should be able to develop ethnopedagogy more optimally. Intangible Traditions of the Six Clans such as; Gandai Dance, proverbs, traditional ceremonies,

tamat kajing. Tangible traditions are serunai musical instruments, traditional houses. Community history and religious beliefs. The categorization is in ceremonies/traditions of happiness (marriage, circumcision, child's aqiqah) are more nuanced to the local



traditions of the community, and slightly incorporate Islam. Traditions of grief are more nuanced to Islam, and slightly local traditions. Visually it can be seen as below.



**Figure 7. Ethnopedagogical Sources in Mukomuko**

In the bureaucratic sector, ethnopedagogy strengthening has been carried out. One of the efforts made is the implementation of the use of traditional clothing by the Mukomuko Regency government for civil servants. As we can see in the Antara Bengkulu news (April 5, 2016). The Mukomuko Regency Government of Bengkulu Province will implement Muslim dress regulations combined with Mukomuko traditional clothing for regional civil servants every Thursday and Friday. The implementation of this traditional dress regulation supports the regent's program, namely to move towards a religious society. This was conveyed by the Head of Culture of the Mukomuko Regency Education and Culture Office, Yulia Reni. For women, it is a baju kurung or a kind of gamis combined with a shawl. For men, they wear a black cap or peci and a cream or white collarless Muslim shirt and wear a sarong called 'cawu' cloth.

However, we researchers reconfirmed this policy, according to the Head of the Education and Culture Office, that this policy has stopped. The reason was not given a detailed explanation. It was also found that the budget allocated for preserving the

culture of the Enam Kaum is in the Social Welfare Bureau of the Mukomuko Regency Regional Secretariat (Interview with the Head of the Mukomuko Education and Culture Office). So that the Dindikbud does not allocate too much detail for the customs and culture of the Enam Kaum. However, the Dindikbud has a Cultural Supervisor who works with the BMA to try to preserve the customs and culture of the Enam Kaum (Interview with Mr. Isro, Cultural Supervisor of the Mukomuko Dindikbud). Specifically, the researcher's suggestion to see the success of strengthening ethnopedagogy is that there needs to be synergy between the Regent, Deputy Regent, BMA, the Heads of the Kaum, the Head of the Mukomuko Ministry of Religion Office and the Customary Deliberative Body, so that there is religious legality and it is easier to include it in the world of education.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

The customs and culture of the Six Clans are very meaningful for the source of strengthening ethnopedagogy. This can be concluded from the four components of source strengthening, namely from Intangible Culture, Tangible Culture, community history, and religious beliefs. Tangible culture, namely, Gandai Dance, proverbs, traditional ceremonies, tamat kajing. While tangible culture is the serunai musical instrument, traditional houses. Furthermore, the history of the community and religious beliefs are multicultural, a blend of Minang culture, Jambi Malay culture, and Javanese Transmigrant culture. Therefore, Intangible Cultural Heritage (WBTH) and Tangible Cultural Heritage (WBB) need to be made Local Content in Schools and Madrasahs. Mukomuko needs to maximize/lift the Tangible Cultural Heritage (WBB) available in the community. The customs/culture/traditions of the Six Clans in Mukomuko need to be socialized to the

wider community, young people, the world of education, the business world through writing books and so on. Suggestions for further researchers can study from the perspective of learning innovation, the use of media in ethnopedagogy that utilizes the customs and culture of the Six Clans in Mukomuko.

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