First-generation scholar in Indonesian indigenous family tribe: economic, social, and cultural capital

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous tribe students have difficulty in their education. Only a few of them managed to complete the tertiary level. This study aims to explore and understand deeply the efforts made by these first scholars in obtaining educational economic, social and cultural capital. This research is qualitative research with a phenomenological approach to understand deeply the economic, social and cultural capital of scholars from the Dayak Meratus Tribe. The data were collected through interviews with 17 participants such as first- generation scholars in the family, their parents, and teachers. The results showed that economic capital was built by parents through great effort on gardening, farming, and trading. Meanwhile, the social and cultural capital built by parents was very limited. Social capital and cultural capital are provided by the extended family, communities and non-profit institutions. Role of school is very limited to build social and cultural capital. The study recommends school administrators implement professional development programs for teachers and counsellors to improve their competence in building student social and cultural capital. Government should decide a policy to support indigenous tribe education not just financial support, but social and cultural capital support, and job opportunity for them in their community.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Indigenous tribes who live in remote areas have difficulty in obtaining higher education. Ingenious tribes face more severe problems than students from urban areas when attending school [1]. They experience racism and discrimination in education and other area [2]. They live in poverty and unhealthy[3]. Dayak Meratus is a tribe that inhabits the Meratus Mountains region in South Kalimantan, Indonesia [4]. Dayak Meratus is indigenous people, who are also called Dayak Bukit. In the 1990s, the negative stereotype of the Dayak Meratus as a community that was left behind was reflected in the mention of city people with the term "hill" towards people they considered stupid, left behind, or had no manners.

Education is crucial to ending the cycle of poverty and underdevelopment in low-income families, including in indigenous tribe community. In human capital theory. It improves a person's skills to open up opportunities for work and a higher salary. Furthermore, workers are expected to do better in their jobs with education. The concept increases human capital in the form of knowledge and skills. Work output greatly determines the workers' salaries and it is highly dependent on human capital [5]. However, not everyone has the opportunity to attend higher education so they have little chance of getting a worthy job.

The percentage of the population of the Dayak tribe in Indonesia is 1.27% of the entire population of Indonesia [6]. The newest data of population in Indonesia by ethnicity is shown in Population Census 2010 result [7]. The total population of Dayak Tribe in Indonesia is 3,009,494 peoples and 68,051 of them in South Kalimantan [8]. The population of Dayak Meratus, one of the sub-ethnic Dayak, in South Kalimantan is 35,838 people. They are spread in Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency 3,778 people, in Hulu Sungai Tengah 3,368 people, Hulu Sungai Utara and Balangan 244 people, in Tabalong 1,106 people, in Tapin numbering 112 people, in Banjar 1,737 in Tanah Bumbu and Kotabaru 14,508 people. The Dayak Meratus tribe has a relatively low level of education. Unfortunately, after looking at all the publications of the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Indonesia (BPS RI), we can confirm that none of them show the population of the Dayak Meratus people, especially, at the provincial level and their level of education.

The largest village of Dayak Meratus is in Loksado, South Hulu Sungai District. The number of indigenous Dayak Meratus scholars who live in their community is 1.9% of the total population. This percentage is far below the average number of graduates in South Kalimantan, which is 6.33%. The number of indigenous Dayak Meratus tribe scholars is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Indigenous tribe scholar in Dayak Meratus community

No.	Village	F	M	Total	P (%)
1	Loksado	11	14	25	2.4
2	Lok Lahung	4	6	10	2.36
3	Ulang	16	7	23	3.1
4	Kamawakan	3	6	9	2.15
5	Tumingki	2	2	4	0.6
6	Haratai	3	4	7	0.85
		39	39	78	1.9

These educational barriers are related to their welfare. Lower wealth also occurs in communities living in remote areas, such as the Dayak Meratus tribe. The welfare of the majority of indigenous people is lower than the average welfare of the population [9]. The community as a whole did not pursue higher education, despite the financial stability. Barriers to the first-generation of scholars in poor families are social, cultural, and economic capital [10]. Family social capital is needed at primary and secondary levels. However, financial or family economic support is increasingly required in higher education.

This is inseparable from large government financial support through School Operational Assistance at the primary and secondary education levels. Therefore, students are not burdened by tuition fees when they are attending on primary and secondary school. At this level of education, parents only pay for the personal needs of their children for education. In poor families, financial resources had no impact on the completion of education at the primary and secondary levels. They concluded that more financial support is needed in tertiary education [11]. Although parents are aware of the importance of their children's education, economic factors are the cause of the failure of Dayak Meratus children to achieve higher education [12]. Quantitatively, relatively few individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds achieve a higher level. This is because poor people tend not to have economic or financial, social, and cultural capital.

The low social and cultural capital is closely related to the level of parental education. Children from highly educated families will have higher educational expectation [13]. Therefore, these with low-educated parents will have no desire for higher education. Furthermore, parental education and family interactions are directly related to children's success in education and achievement-oriented behavior.

Studies on indigenous education have not been carried out much, especially in relation to first-generation of graduates in the family from the point of view of economic, social and cultural capital. The study that has been conducted is related to parenting strategy of indigenous family to improve discipline at home [14]. Other studies focus on teachers' attributes needed by the teachers in teaching indigenous students [15]. Awareness of indigenous parents about the importance of education [16]. Family support is very important for indigenous student to access language and cultural programs [17]. The research on indigenous education by Ahmad *et al.* [18] found that the success of indigenous education is inseparable from two key factors, namely personal and environmental motivation. Studies of the first-generation students/scholars are related to access, academic and social change, and retention and graduating [19]. First-generation students

have lower academic performance than the non-first-generation [20]. First-generation students find it difficult to adjust in college life and challenge with more barriers such as family, money, and lack of information [21].

The first-generation in Dayak Meratus faced two challenges, namely as first generation and as tribal students. In the case of them, economic, social and cultural capital is very limited. This is due to limited income and low educational level of parents. For this reason, they tend to fail to get a college degree. In contrast to that, some others successfully graduated from college. The first generation appeared in the late 1990s. In several hamlets of the Dayak Meratus community, many children have succeeded in becoming the first generation in the family. Their success is inseparable from the economic, social, and cultural capital they obtain from family and other sources. Therefore, it is very important to study the first generation of graduates from the perspective of economic, social and cultural capital.

It is necessary to explore their efforts to provide economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital. This study aimed to better understand the efforts of families to provide financial support for their children's education and explore their social and cultural capital source that supports them in attaining tertiary education. This study will provide a theoretical contribution to understanding more deeply the factors that can encourage indigenous tribes to improve the quality of their human capital. This will contribute as a policy basis in providing support for them to achieve quality higher education.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1. Education attainment of indigenous tribe
In various countries, indigenous peoples face many problems. Among these problems are high poverty rates, low education, inadequate housing, and health problems [22]. In studying, indigenous tribal students experience discrimination and stigma that increases their academic stress [23]. Indigenous students experience many psychological, psychiatric and academic stress problems that hinder them in learning [24]. Therefore, students from indigenous tribes tend to have lower achievements than other students. In the United States, 36.2% of students from indigenous tribe entered college and completed studying in six years [25]. In Canada, less than 33.9% of indigenous people aged 25-64 achieve a post-secondary degree while non-indigenous reach 54% [26]. In Malaysia, native education has a high dropping out rate compared to other students, specifically in Terengganu, 83.4% of natives dropped out of school over the years [27]. Likewise in Australia, indigenous people are very far behind in education [28]. In Indonesia, the Dayak Tribe is described as an isolated community, lazy, and lacking in education [29].

The success or failure of indigenous tribe education is determined by the educational capital factor. Government support is reflected in research that describes government efforts to improve the quality of education for indigenous peoples through tribal colleges/universities [30]. Indigenous tribe families are still unable to build social capital so it is difficult for the community to be successful [31]. The research does not specifically explain the efforts of indigenous tribal children and parents to succeed in completing education in tertiary institutions.

2.2. Educational capital
2.2.1. Economic capital
Educational capital can be grouped into economic or financial capital, social capital, and cultural capital. Those capitals are interrelated one another [32]. Economic capital is related to the ability to pay the cost of education. The costs incurred can be divided into several classifications. Family expenses for education consist of tuition fees, textbooks and other supplies, computers, and other equipment [33]. At the college level, family expenses for education also include housing, transportation, and meals. In many countries, including Indonesia, at the primary and secondary level, tuition fees are not paid by their parents. However, they have to spend money on notebooks, school uniforms, tutoring, and transportation are not covered by the government [34]. Other things that show financial capital are weekly allowances and parents' monthly income [35].

Many studies have been conducted on the impact of economic capital received by students on educational outcomes. Students who lack financial resources will have difficulty in tertiary institutions [36]. Low-income families are more likely not to pursue education due to economic problems so the provision of financial incentives will increase the number of enrolments [37]. However, educational success can be achieved by children from underprivileged families if their parents pay attention to them [38]. For this reason, the success of children from indigenous tribal communities in obtaining a bachelor's degree is not only determined by economic capital but also by interactions within the family.

2.2.2. Social capital
Financial support does not make students go to college when their parents do not promote or motivate their spirit [39]. Recent study suggests that social capital can take the form of networks that provide

social support, information, and reputation [40]. It is the relationships and norms built in the home that can foster the development and educational success of children [41]. This capital is better understood as a social relationship in the form of cooperation and communication [42]. Support from social networks is a source of social capital for students [43].

Social capital refers to the resources associated with the resilience of relationships, established or less established, linking the knowledge of one person to another [44]. Social capital in education is the networks of students including their family, ethnic, and religious affiliations, friends, and faculty play a role in academic success [45]. Social capital can be broken down into two elements, namely trust and network [46]. In social interaction, trust is important element for cohesion [47]. Social capital in education is reflected in control, support, network of relations, trust, shared value, and norm [48]. Shared expectations and strengthening norms within the group are also part of social capital [49]. Social capital is formed from social interactions that contribute to the development of trust, innovation, and coordination to achieve mutual goals [50]. Social capital is a connection between individuals and groups that contains norms, beliefs, and other things in the interaction, including role models, expectations, and parent-children interaction at home [51]. At home, social capital arises from the interaction of adults with children [52]. Gamoran *et al.* [53] mentioned that the main indicator of social capital is intergenerational closure and shared expectation. The literature shows that social capital education is an interaction that contains norms, support, shared values and expectations, trust, role models and parent-child interaction that is useful for education.

Studies prove that social capital impacts educational success. Social capital has a positive effect on a person's level of education [54]. Social capital has important role for students. Social capital provides resources, information, and support to succeed in higher education through their social interactions [55]. Rural students who successfully enroll in the elite universities are inseparable from the support and sacrifices of their parents [56]. Social capital from family, friends, and teachers influences positive attitude and learning [57]. Social capital which is shown by the involvement of parents in the education process at home, for example reading to their child at home, discussing issues at school, and building expectations for success, will have an impact on children's academic success [58]. These studies serve as an argument that social capital is very important in supporting the educational process of children in the family.

2.2.3. Cultural capital

Cultural capital is an invisible resource reflected in knowledge, qualifications, tastes, and choices seen with the level of parental education and involvement in the community [35]. This capital can be seen in education and professions, qualifications, work, creativity, cultural awareness, ways of expression, behavior, clothes, and cultural goods owned [59]. Children's education will be unaffected when their free time is not filled with habits that promote learning. Cultural capital can be seen from indicators in the form of educational resources, parental education, academic encouragement, parental expectations, cultural participation, academic discussions, parent-child reading activities, home support, parental supervision, parent-teacher communication, and school participation [60]. Sieben and Lechner [61] revealed that cultural capital is often measured by the number of books owned at home. Another element of cultural capital is reputation, honor, and social image [62]. Cultural capital which is reflected in positive habits can increase learning outcomes. For example, reading habits or participation in art activities have a positive effect on academic achievement [63]. Other cultural capital indicator are the education level of the parents and student involvement in the community [35].

Cultural capital plays an important role in improving student learning outcomes. Cultural capital built in families will have a significant impact on students' PISA test scores when culture and art are not an important part of the education system [64]. Cultural capital predicts student academic aspiration [65]. In addition, students who have cognitive competence are also related to social and cultural capital [66]. The family's cultural capital reflected by listening to traditional and modern music, visiting interesting places, and discussing at home will have an impact on achievement and attitudes in school [67]. Study in South Korea shows that cultural capital in the form of the availability of books at home is related to the intellectual development of students [68].

These studies prove that economic, social, and cultural capital plays a major role in educational success. However, they do not explore first-generation efforts in detail, especially indigenous tribes in the Indonesia context. These indicators of economic, social, and cultural capital can be used as a basis for viewing support for student education. This capital support can be provided by families, schools, and communities. Weak capital from the family should be supported by others from the school and community. Nonetheless, none of this literature focus on indigenous tribes' efforts to achieve higher education. It causes our lack of understanding about activities to build educational economic, social and cultural capital in indigenous tribe.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

In this study, the first bachelor in the Dayak Meratus family is the first child to obtain a bachelor's degree from parents with the highest high school education. A Dayak Meratus family is a family where both parents are from the Dayak Meratus tribe. If one of the parents, father or mothers, has another ethnic background, the family cannot be called a Dayak Meratus family.

This field research was conducted using qualitative phenomenology to understand the economic, social, and cultural capital of education in Loksado Sub-district, South Hulu Sungai Regency, South Kalimantan, Indonesia. Phenomenology research is exploring the experiences of everyday life, not only talking about the past participants [69]. Phenomenology aims to explore the meaning of the participants' life experiences [70]. Based on it, this study proves the experiences of the participants in detail regarding their efforts to obtain educational economic, social, and cultural capital. Purposive sampling is used to determine the sample. Purposive sampling can be used because there is something unusual and special experienced by the participants [71]. If they have shown data saturation, and there is no need to look for other participants. Data saturation reflects the depth of understanding which is the goal of phenomenology [72]. There were 17 participants participated in this study. Furthermore, the economic, social, and cultural capital have an impact on the success of the first-generation of scholars completing their undergraduate education. The success does not reflect their academic achievements but only the degree achieved.

Data collection was conducted using face-to-face Banjarese language interviews. Interviews were carried out with Dayak Meratus families who have scholar-children in Loksado, South Hulu Sungai. However, this research did not make direct appointments with informants, but via their family or children. The researcher asked family members who could be met to convey messages to informants about interview plans, asking for permission, and notifying them that they would come again. At the time of the first visit to Lok Lahung Village, for instance, one of the parents of a scholar was in the fields and would not return for a week. The researcher sent a message through his son that the researcher wanted to interview with him. At the estimated time, on the second visit, the informant was conducting Sunday Worship, and their children say that the participant is willing to be interviewed, and then the meeting was held on the third visit.

Interviews were carried out in the participant's house or on the terrace of the participant's house. Several participants were interviewed while cleaning the hazelnut. Interviews were also carried out in the afternoon or at night because during the day they work in the fields. At the time of the interview, the elderly participants were accompanied by their children or family because there were several words in the Banjar language that they did not understand or there were several words from the local language that the researchers did not understand. We also interviewed teachers after obtaining their consent. The interview was conducted at school and at an agreed place if it was conducted outside of their working hours. Brief profiles of participants are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Participants

No	Initial	Gender	Age	Brief profile
1	R1	M	54	Father of a first-generation scholar in Tatayan Hamlet. Ulang Village
2	R2	F	23	Teacher, a first-generation scholar in Pantai Kipas Hamlet, Loksado
3	R3	F	61	R6's mother from Malaris Hamlet, Lok Lahung Village
4	R4	F	51	R5's mother from Loksado
5	R5	F	24	A first-generation scholar in the family. Work in school as a librarian
6	R6	M	26	Teacher, a first-generation scholar from Malaris Hamlet, Lok Lahung Village
7	R7	F	31	Teacher, a first-generation scholar from Loksado village
8	R8	F	62	R7's mother. All of her daughters are scholar
9	R9	F	56	A senior midwife in Loksado. She is a role model in her community
10	R10	F	32	Midwife, first-generation in her family. She works in Village Office
11	R11	F	27	First-generation in her family from Loksado
12	R12	F	48	Non-governmental organization activist
13	R13	F	53	An elementary school principal in Loksado
14	R14	F	43	Guest house employer
15	R15	F	33	Teacher in Loksado
16	R16	M	47	Father of first-generation scholar in Pantai Kipas Hamlet, Loksado Village
17	R17	F	55	Father of first-generation scholar in Malaris Hamlet, Lok Lahung Village

The trustworthiness of qualitative data is built on credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability. The credibility and confirmability of the data were achieved by triangulation of informants, and member checking of informants regarding interview notes. Triangulation is carried out by meeting and confirming participant statements to other participants so that the information provided is confirmed. Member checks were carried out immediately after the interview by directly confirming with the informant about the contents of the interview notes. Data transferability can be achieved by clear and detailed descriptions of the background, while dependability is obtained by making methodological clarity.

In qualitative research, the data collected are in the form of descriptions and figures [69]. The interview was recorded using a smartphone and transcribed into text form, and processed for analysis by i) connecting the data with the problem formulation; ii) identifying patterns from the data; and iii) unifying the pattern. The data analysis process can be seen in Figure 1.
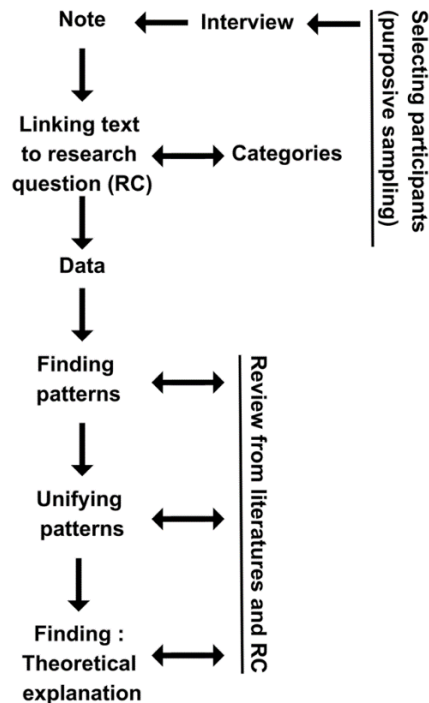

Figure 1. Data analysis process

4. RESULTS
4.1. Family effort to provide economic capital
4.1.1. Farming and gardening

The Dayak Meratus Loksado family builds the financial capital for their children's education from rubber, cinnamon, and candlenut plantations as shown in Figure 2. Rice farming is not considered by them as their main livelihood. Land processing, such as forest clearing, plant maintenance, and harvesting requires much energy. Planting rice is one of the important obligations of the Dayak Meratus community faith. There is a belief that people who do not plant rice will become sick. The yields from the field are consumed daily by the family. Families only sell when the rice has started to change color because it has been stored for too long.

"*Rice farming cannot be carried out when already old and the land is limited.*" (R1)
"*The rice was left by my parents about tens of years ago. We have a lot, hence, there is no room for cultivation in about four years.*" (R17)

The daily income of the community comes from rubber. Therefore, the low price greatly affects the income of the population. From the rubber, parents can finance their children's education. They have a daily income when the price of rubber at the farmer level is around USD 0.72 per kg. Farmers in Loksado were under pressure and it was difficult for them to pay for education, specifically higher education when the price of rubber plummeted to around USD 0.33 per kg. The price of rubber once reached USD 0.98 per kg which made it easier for parents to provide education costs.

Another family's income comes from selling cinnamon. The university's education costs can be met by cinnamon of sale. Dried cinnamon costs USD 1.97 to USD 4.59 per kg. Their Cinnamon Garden and farm is not only close but also far from home. Therefore, they have to leave home a few days.

"*I always walk to Tanah Bumbu Regency in search of cinnamon.*" (R3)
"*My mother should stay in Paramasan Village for farming. After a week, she will go home.*" (R7)

To meet the needs of their child's college tuition fees, the parents walk through the forest and up and down the mountain towards Tanah Bumbu Regency to cut cinnamon and also buy other people's cinnamon. After being cut down, the bark of the tree is peeled off and dried in the sun. The dried cinnamon is carried on a shoulder to Loksado. The process takes weeks, and then have to wait for another tree until it is big enough to be felled. Economic capital sources of first-generation are shown in Figure 2.
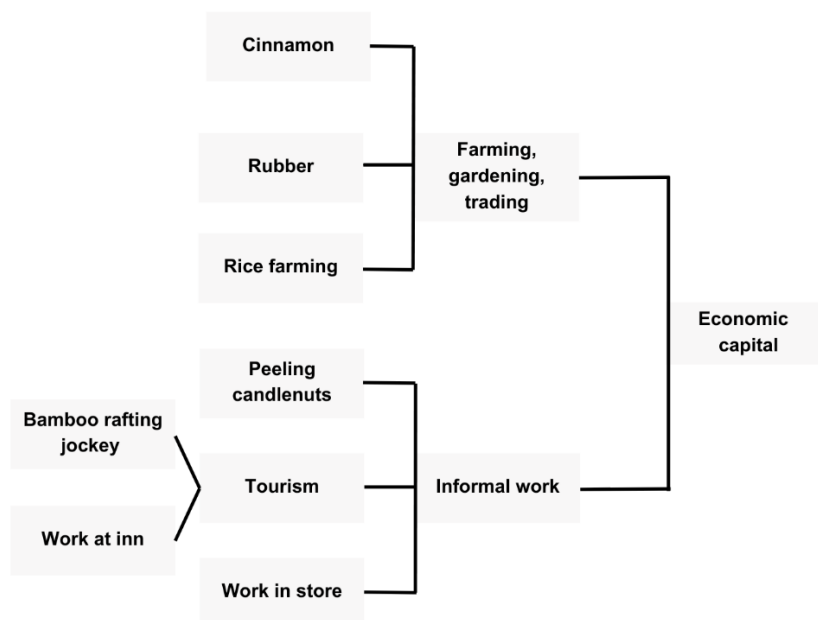

Figure 2. Economic capital source

4.1.2. Informal work

Landless parents will try hard to meet the needs of their children by working in the informal sector as shown in Figure 2. They work for their neighbors to peeling candlenuts. Candlenuts that have been boiled and broken are pried out with a small iron with a flat and bent end. The wage for peeling candlenuts is USD 0.16 per kg, hence, the total daily amount received can reach USD 3.28 from 20 kg. The family that owns the candlenut garden has a relatively steady income from processing and selling the fruit. The fruit which is still covered with the outer skin is cleaned, dried in the sun, and soaked for two to three days. The black candlenut seeds are boiled until the foam comes out. Subsequently, they are cooled for about a day, broken, dried, and then smoked, before marketing. R5 parents have to work hard for their child's education. This is illustrated in the following R4 story:

> "*My mother is in elementary school; my father has passed away. My job is to clean and pick the hazelnut seeds and peel the red onion. When there is no such job, I take banana leaves to sell. I cannot pay for R5's education, and the sister needs school fees too. Before study in college, she had worked in an inn in Loksado, therefore, he was used to hang out with people.*" (R4)
> "*Beside from the rubber plantation, I pay for my children's education from the wages of being a jockey or a bamboo rafting driver who takes tourists every weekend.*" (R16)

This is an example of a student determined to achieve an undergraduate degree. R5 had to work in a building materials store while attending a private college. When in high school, she worked at an inn located in his village. As a tourist destination, Loksado has a positive impact on providing job opportunities.

Another informal job is related to tourism. To increase their income, a parent became bamboo rafting jockey. Every time taking tourists on bamboo rafting along the Amandit River about 2 or 3 hours, R16 gets around USD 10-12 or USD 20-24 per week. In this study, only one participant added income from the tourism sector.

Money from parents is used to pay for tuition fees and various expenses. They are trying to keep costs down. For example, for living place, the family selects a relatively cheap place to live or a place that is free. R6 lived in the office of a non-profit organization to save costs. The facilities provided also vary, and in general, residences have bathrooms shared with other residents. Transportation used during college also

varies. R6, for example, does not have a personal motorbike. He uses a motorbike belonging to a non-governmental organization (NGO) when needed. R11 use private motorbike and others use public transportation. Students who have not private motorbike will rent a boarding house around campus so they can go to campus on foot.

4.2. Social and cultural capital
4.2.1. Parental care and support

Parental care and support arise from their efforts in providing financial capital for education. Besides that, parents are concerned with the habit of visiting their children in boarding houses during college will become the social and cultural capital of education. R1 told about the concern for students who went to college, The actions of these parents showed social and cultural capital that raises trust as an element. Furthermore, the actions of the parents also build closeness between father and child. Social capital is reflected in caring and benevolence to children, while cultural capital is shown in the habits of visiting.

Parental care and attention to children will form trust in the family, which is an important element of social capital. This concern is illustrated in the following narrative of a father in Tatayan Hamlet as:

> "*When my children were in college early, I went to Banjar for a month to train them to use motorbikes, therefore, they are now familiar with the roads in the city. The child was sick in Banjarbaru when he was in college. The two of us, with the wife, went by motorbike. It was a very rainy day, we reached Mawangi Village, about 35 km from the house. It was already late, and we were not strong, because the rain was very heavy. We returned home and left for Banjarbaru the following day. My child was treated in Kandangan Hospital for six days before being transferred to Banjarmasin due to a lack of equipment. After eleven days in the hospital, aspiration revealed the presence of fluid in the lungs.*" (R1)

Not all parents showed concern by visiting regularly, but they always send tuition. Money is sent to Banjarmasin through bank transfers, or via people who visiting the city. Parents give some money to friends who will go to town in cash to give to their children. Social capital is reflected in the network of parents with other people. They easily send money to their children without having to go to a bank far from home.

This study shows that social and cultural capital comes from various parties. Parents, extended families, communities, and NGOs play a role in building social and cultural capital. The social and cultural capital of first-generation scholars are shown in Figure 3.

4.2.2. Parent's expectation

High expectation for the future is inspired by other people and the community. Meanwhile, parents' expectations are limited to having hopes that their children will work better. They feel proud when their children work in the office, become a teacher, or do other easy jobs.

> "*I want children like other people, not like us, parents*". (R1)
> "*I am glad he finished school and can work like other people too, that is my hope. My children do not make a living looking for candlenuts like me.*" (R8)
> "*Possibly, my children will go to a higher education than me who only graduated from elementary school. I hope the younger siblings are like R5, persistent in wanting to go to school, working hard, therefore, their lives will be settled.*" (R4)

They do not reflect the expectations that their children have to achieve but get a better job from gardening or farming, which is exhausting. They do not share high expectations with their children. Parents do not have a specific expectation of what their children should achieve in future.

4.2.3. Extended family role as social capital

At home, parents do not build cultural and social capital that can support the learning process. They are more focused on financial capital for their children's education. The role of uncles and aunts is very important in indigenous tribe community. R2 was initially told by the uncle to register to college of nursing or midwifery. R2 enrolled in Department of the Physical Education and Health in Lambung Mangkurat University according to the passion as a junior volleyball athlete.

In the Dayak Meratus community, all members are having a family relationship. Before forming a hamlet or village, the community lived in a big house as a big family. R2's uncle and aunt were the earliest people to study in school than other families. Even though they had just completed senior high school, the uncle graduated Sports Teacher High School (SGO). Teacher education or Health Nursing Schools are areas

that rural communities need, namely teachers and health workers. In the 1980s, studying at these schools had prestige because college was still very rare. The senior teachers, principals, and health workers at Loksado are from the R2 family.

R9 graduated from midwifery school at a midwifery school in the 1980s, and regularly stresses the importance of education to the kids and parents in her extended family, The interaction created hope as an important social capital for the community in education. The role of the extended family is confirmed in quote as:

> "*I told them, do not be in a hurry to get married. You should be graduating from high school, and possibly, taking education in college. Some want to go to college and ask for opinions in selecting the best college.*" (R9)
> "*I desired to attend college but was uncertain about the study program. The family suggested being a midwife. However, after graduating from high school, I did not go directly to college, I got married first. My aunty, the midwife, recommended me to study midwifery.*" (R10)

Other families who do not have an example/role model, prefer the field of study without considering the field of work. R5 and R11, for example, studied in fields of science that are less needed in their area. Similarly, R5 studied at the same university, but now works as a school librarian at the alma mater.

The role of the pioneers was very large in building the social capital of the first scholars. Every hamlet or village children who have pioneer figures tend to pursue an undergraduate degree. Conversely, hamlets without pioneers have a tendency not to continue to the university level. Tatayan Hamlet of Ulang Village and Pantai Kipas of Loksado Village is known to have many scholars. This is associated with pioneers in their community who have been teachers or nurses since the 1980s, and the residents of the two hamlets have a close kinship. Currently, the first teachers from the Dayak Meratus family retired more than four years ago. While the second generation has become senior teachers and some have served as elementary school principals around their village.
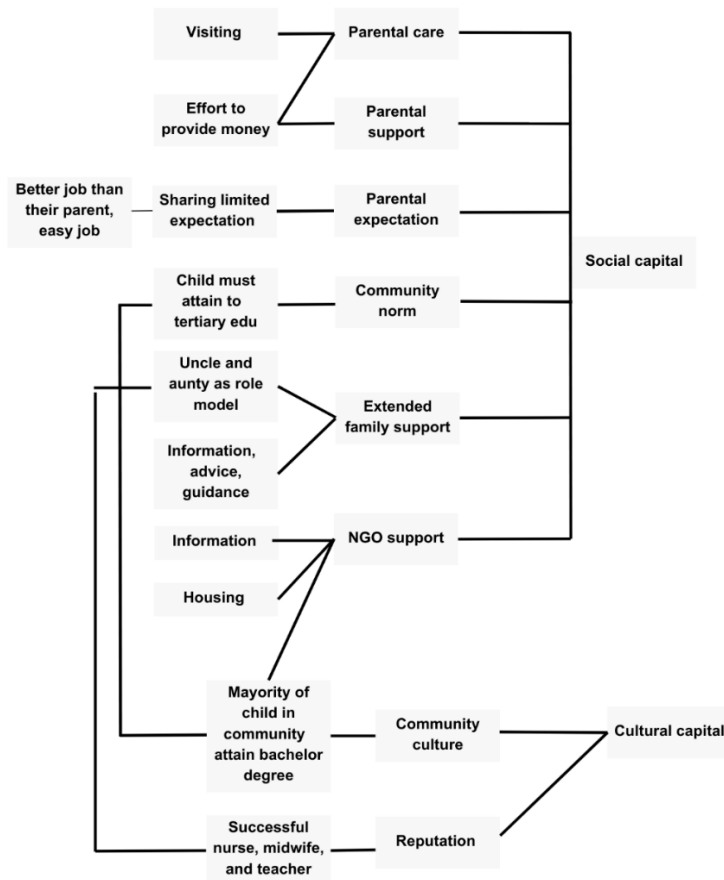

Figure 3. Social dan cultural capital sources

4.2.4. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) support

We found another social capital sourced is NGO support as illustrated by R6. While in college, R6 obtained support from NGOs. R6 often interacted with students who had community service or work practices. From these interactions, the hope of becoming a scholar grows. He stated as:

"*I often interacted with college students through community service activities in my village. Furthermore, I desired to continue my education at college, to prevent the tiredness of looking for candlenuts. When I was in college, my sister helped my parents make a living. This is the reason why she did not go to college because she wanted to help our parents. I met Bang Ud and he told me to stay in the secretariat in Banjarbaru. It turned out when I enrolled in Elementary Teacher Education, Lambung Mangkurat University in Banjarmasin and I lived in the Studies for Islamic and Social Studies (SISS) office, I participated in activities while living in the secretariat. When I was studying, many people helped me.*" (R6)

In R6 case, two social capitals play a role, namely social capital from the NGO community and college. R6 could cancel the desire of going to college when the NGO did not support him. Under conditions of relatively unsupportive financial capital, he was able to study because of the greater support for social capital. His statement is relevant to the information provided by R12. NGO is lightening the economic burden as well as social and cultural capital. However, support for R6 was due to his initiative of asking questions and seeking educational support and friendly relations with environmental activists.

The impact of social and cultural capital from NGO can be seen in the Tatayan Hamlet, Ulang Village, and Pantai Kipas Hamlet, Loksado Village. Before the 1980s, in the two hamlets, there were already active Christian faith-based NGO focused on education. Besides building their place of worship, they built a Christian elementary school. Meanwhile, Loksado could only be reached by walking for more than six hours from Mawangi, the last village to be reached through transportation. In 1980, the school changed its status to a state elementary school.

After the hamlet children passed from high school in their hometown, they had to go to the city to study. Some of them received assistance from NGO for schools in Banjarmasin and other cities. Furthermore, some of them lived in dormitories and rent boarding houses. In Banjarmasin, they lived in a dormitory on Pulau Laut Street and a nearby Christian Middle School. After passing from junior high school, especially the early generation in 1980, they continued their education in the field of health or teaching school. In the late 1990s, the students who passed from high school preferred teacher education and health programs. In the second decade of the 2000s, they began to decide on public administration, computers, and other fields.

What is surprising is the lack of role of teachers and counsellors in building social and cultural capital of education. There is no acknowledgment that teachers build social capital, specifically expectations, related to higher education. Teachers play a role in providing information about the colleges students can choose from. Teachers view indigenous tribes' students pessimistically, as one teacher said:

"*In general, students do not care about their education. Since students spend weeks foraging for firewood to sell, they are unable to attend classes, while the parents did not show concern. They got married toward the final exams.*" (R15)

4.2.5. Community norm

R1 stated that in Tatayan Hamlet, parents send their children to continue their education until undergraduate degree. This is because they felt challenged by the opinions of people that Tatayan children do not go to school (R1). Eventually, standards emerged mandating that families send their children to college. Parents who do not promote their children to study will be judged inconsistently with societal norms.

This is illustrated by the Dayak Meratus community in Tatayan Hamlet and Pantai Kipas Hamlet, which have embedded a culture that values higher education and is a missionary enclave in Meratus Mountain area. This culture explains why the two hamlets have more scholars than other hamlets. Tatayan and Pantai Kipas Hamlets are communities close to Christian non-profit organizations. They are relatively more concerned with higher education than communities close to Islam. This is reflected in the following two quotes.

"*It is hard to find Dayak Meratus Muslims who are highly educated since they give up quickly in education.*" (R13)
"*Muslim Dayaks do not care about higher education.*" (R14)

The economic, social, and cultural capital of the first scholars obtained from parents was very limited. The economic capital was obtained from the hard efforts of parents used for education costs. Social and cultural capital was provided by parents in the form of support for the hopes of their children. It was more dominantly provided by extended families and communities.

The limited economy of families has an impact on their children's education levels. Related to that, social and cultural capital will develop if the level of education in the family is adequate. Low social and cultural capital makes limited economic capital difficult for families to overcome. In other words, low social and cultural capital will not encourage families to strive for educational economic capital. Therefore, students from Dayak Meratus and poor families tend not to be able to achieve higher education.

The success of education in the Meratus Dayak tribe family is inseparable from social and cultural capital. Social and cultural capital are inseparable. They play a more dominant role than economic capital in the education of children in the Meratus Loksado Dayak Tribe. Parents efforts to supporting their children education are a reflection of the role of social and cultural capital. On the other hand, parents and children who give up easily are a reflection of the low social and cultural capital they have.

Economic, social and cultural capital has an impact on the success of obtaining a bachelor's degree in the Dayak Meratus family. This research did not find outstanding academic achievements of first-generation when studying. However, the effort put forth by them was even greater than that of the scholar from the city. This caused their bachelor's degree to be rated higher than other scholars from the city. Economic, social, and cultural capital in Dayak Meratus community provide by various sources as shown in Figure 4.
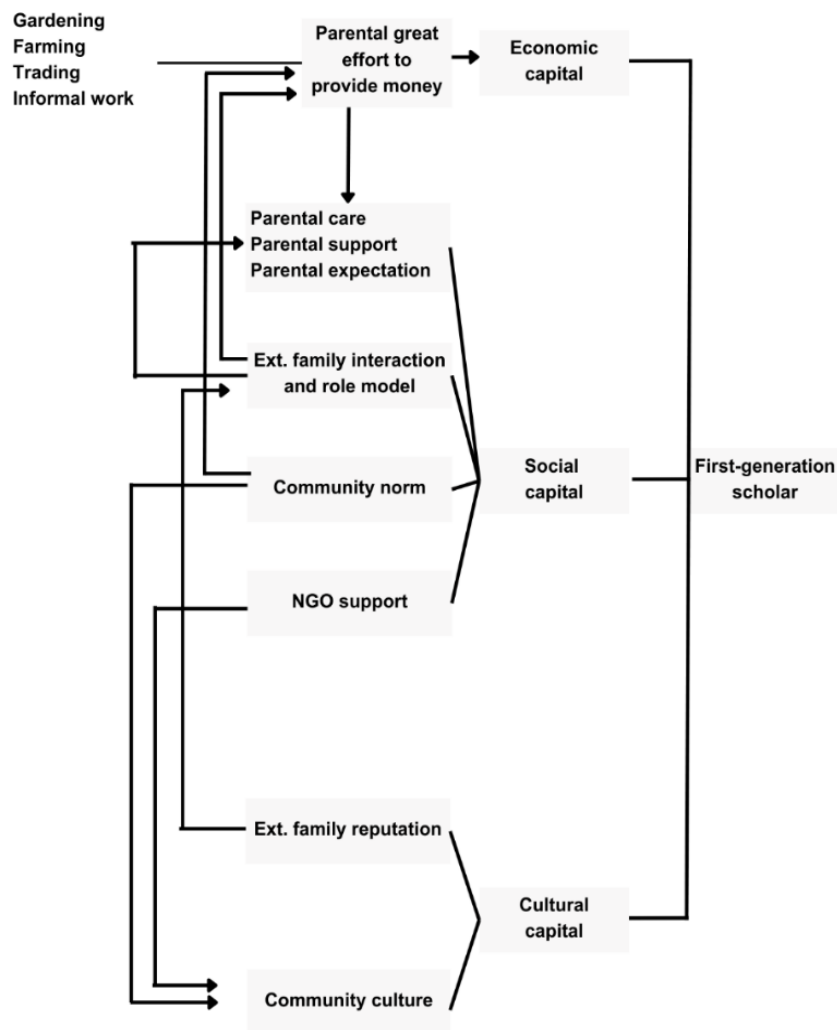

Figure 4. Economic, social, and cultural capital sources

5.　DISCUSSION

Students from the Dayak Meratus family can be categorized as those from rural area even classed as remote areas. Under this condition, some obstacles emerge such as poverty, geographical isolation, limited access to secondary schools, and employment opportunities. In general, they have obstacles related to a lack of infrastructures, such as materials for learning, funds, hunger, stress, and depression [73]. Aruleba and Jere concluded that rural areas face socio-economic, technological, political challenges [74] and political opportunity [75]. Student from remote areas have feelings of fear, anxiety, and worry about their abilities [76]. The learning process they follow lacks learning resources as well [77].

This research found that the first scholars in the Dayak Meratus family did not obtain social capital in the form of communication within the family regarding school and assistance. However, parents make a great effort to provide financial capital for their children education. First-generation parents provide more bounding social capital than bridging social capital. Bounding social is emotional support and resources while bridging social capital is in the form of information that can support the educational process [78]. Therefore, the low social and cultural capital in family is related to the parent's education level [79] and family economic capital [80]. Students whose parents are highly educated will have more information about lectures, lecture materials, and other things that support academic achievement. This is also in line with Zhang's findings. He argued that working class and lower middle-class parents tend to have low expectations and are not involved with their children's education [81]. Expectations are essential for students in the educational process. Low expectations will cause children to give up easily and bring up problem behaviors [82].

Besides, we also found that first-generation scholars get social and cultural capital from NGO, extended family, dan community. These findings are relevant to Debnath's findings which suggest that indigenous ethnic education is given more attention by NGOs and churches [83]. Educational social capital can be built by other people as well as non-profit institutions [84]. The importance of the role of NGOs in building social and cultural communities was also stated by Ashdown *et al.* [85]. Beside NGO's role, the role of the extended family was also proposed by Timmons and Dworkin. They argue that the role of the extended family in providing social and cultural capital is very important when this capital is not provided by the parents [86]. This research shows that the extended family acts as a reputable role model in their community. Role models as social and cultural capital were also proposed by Ares *et al.* [87].

The results also found that cultural capital is not owned by the nuclear family but provided by the community. Therefore, certain families that have the habit of sending their children to pursue bachelor's degrees motivate other families to pursue higher education. These findings are in accordance with the opinion of Harvey and Mallman. They prove that migrant students receive support and motivation not only from their parents, but also from their community when studying [88].

The role of teachers and counsellors was not found in this research to build social and cultural capital related to higher education. Whereas, they have an important role in building the social capital in schools, specifically for students from families without sufficient social capital [89]. The social capital can be built by counsellor for underprivileged students in selecting a career in higher education [90]. Effective instructional practices of teachers can increase the cultural capital of students from various culture and backgrounds [91]. Teacher and administrator might provide as cultural guide who help-seeking value and behavior [92] to students from indigenous tribes. Schools should be more dominant in building cultural capital when families and communities do not have a culture, supporting learning.

Although all capital influences children's education, the level of influence varies for each capital. Cultural and economic capital provided by parents has a greater impact on the family than social capital [41]. In a country with a high education level and economics, resource support for schools is very large. Therefore, cultural capital has a more significant impact on the success of student education [64]. According to Tan, the influence is very large in an education system that does not receive government support and there are gaps in developing countries [93]. Meanwhile, the social and cultural capital provided by NGO, extended families and communities for education helps achieve a bachelor's degree, and it has not affected the student's academic performance in college.

6.　CONCLUSION

The economic capital for the education of first scholars in the Dayak Meratus family comes from parents who made great efforts in agriculture, plantations, and trade. It shows that parents strive to provide economic capital for education. The most apparent form of parental support for their child's education is financial. By providing economic capital for their child's educational success, parents demonstrate their care, support, and reliability. The Dayak Meratus family's social and cultural capital needs to be expanded. They provide social and cultural capital through care and support for their children's education. However, this support is separate from the educational process, such as helping with assignments or providing information

about the university. Families do not provide social capital in the form of interaction that is not established in the context of learning. They do not share high expectations about their future. The Dayak Meratus family does not develop cultural capital through habits that support the learning process. Extended families, communities, and NGOs fill the lack of social and cultural capital in the Dayak Meratus family. They encourage the growth of motivation and hope among Dayak Meratus children. They also provide role models, norms, and information related to education. Therefore, school administrators should conduct professional development for teachers and counsellors to improve their ability to build social and cultural capital in schools.

The government should decide on a policy to support indigenous tribe's education, not just financial support, but social and cultural capital support and better job opportunities in their community. Further research is recommended to examine the role of schools/Islamic schools and higher education in building the social and cultural capital of education. These findings are essential to determine the impact of building the social and cultural capital of education.

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