Research Article

Cultural Aspects on Child's Development and Parenting in Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

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Abstract: This paper describes the influence of culture in defining the concept of a child, the stages of development and parenting of children in Manggarai, Flores, East Nusa Tenggara. The main questions are how do Manggarai people define a child in their culture? How do people divide the stages of child development? What do parenting styles develop by the people to Reviews their children? How are these different concepts and similar to the general psychological concept about children? This paper was based on a qualitative research. The methods used were ethnography and grounded theory. Through mix Reviews These two approaches, the study is to explore and analyze the culture of Manggarai. The research found that: 1) the concept of a child in Manggarai depends on the way the people understand family and community rather than just understand a child as an individual. 2) There are three stages of childhood development play within the culture of Manggarai; 3) As a patriarchal community, the Manggarai people have unique parenting style to the son and daughter; 4). One unique parenting style within the culture of Manggarai was to educate a child to "fear of spirits and ancestors".

Keywords: children; parenting; ethnography; manggarai; culture and gender
INTRODUCTION

In the study of psychology and anthropology received a statement that cultural differences are among the factors that influence individual differences regarding the concept, development, and parenting. According to Vygotsky in Supardan (2016, p. 5) social interaction, habits, and activities that culturally determine the development of an individual. In spite of the similarities in the growth of a child is universal, cultures that make up a person with a distinctive character. Culture also creates cognitive aspects where one might use tools and cultural habits to actualize themselves and their identity and to learn (Supardan, 2016, p. 5). Culture is also affecting how parenting or parenting is done by one group of people.

This paper describes how the people of West Manggarai, Flores, East Nusa Tenggara, define and position the child in their cultural community. Manggarai is a community that has the characteristics: communal, patriarchal, agricultural, religious and mystical. This distinction affects how society defines who the child’s stage of development and foster patterns. The main questions of this study are: how people define child Manggarai culturally and socially? How did the Manggarai divide the stages of child development? What parenting style developed by the Manggarai on their children? How did these concepts are different and the same as the psychological theory generally about the child? Through these key questions, this study contributes in presenting new information about the concept of children, stage of development and pattern-based foster Manggarai culture. This is the first study ever conducted in this field in the region. Thus, through this study, theory and new thinking in this study could be enriched.

This paper is divided into several sections. After an introductory section, this paper will outline the method description of the community and the family model the star point Manggarai be included in the assessment of research results. In the next section presented a special cultural concept regarding girls and boys. The gender difference affects the differences in expectations and parenting at the same development tasks. This section is followed by a discussion about the three stages of child development according to the Manggarai. A discussion will follow study results of the study and closed with the conclusion.

DISCUSSION

This paper is an attempt to understand the identity, development and culture-based parenting Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara Indonesia. This study used a qualitative approach. The method used was ethnography and grounded theory. According to Mead (Cohen, 1970) ethnographic field study reports rely on a community of people who naturally live. Ethnography(Malinowski, 1984) is capturing the viewpoint of the "native," the relationship of life and realize his vision and his world. With ethnographic no effort to build so-called(Radcliffe-Brown, 1956) as "a complex network of social relations" or "social structure" of society. Ethnography aims to "understand the viewpoint of the indigenous people, to do with life, to get his views on the world. Adult ethnography is also understood as an attempt how people organize their culture in mind and use the culture of life. The task of the researcher is to scrape out of the public mind.

This ethnographic study centered on family and community life of the Manggarai. This study was conducted through observation and entrance in family and community life. Some in-depth interviews were also conducted with key informants such as parents and traditional leaders. Researchers themselves are the Manggarai and therefore an understanding of the local culture becomes more widespread and easily. Viewing angles are used "from the inside" of course does not detract reasonable interpretation and is what is being investigated. Thus the validity of the study is still maintained.

Kids in the Community and Families of Manggarai

To know who the children, need to know how the community and the families of Manggarai. Manggarai is a region located in the western part of Flores Island. Geopolitically, today, Manggarai is the name of a district. Also Manggarai district, there is also the West Manggarai regency and East Manggarai. The third area is initially only one district, namely
Manggarai. But in 2003 and 2006, Manggarai district was expanded into West Manggarai and East Manggarai district (Widyawati, 2013, p. 28). When this paper called the “Manggarai,” which is meant here is not referring to the name of a district, but rather relates to an area that is more common because of ties of history, culture and the language used Manggarai.

Manggarai is a public community (Lon YS, 2015). Ties and family relationships within the clan are the main identifier of these groups. Manggarai people in the first place will define itself as part of a particular family genealogy that is formed by two things: the relation of blood relationship (ASE-ka’ê) and marital relationships (WOE Nelu). An individual, then, is the property of a Wa'u (clan / clan) (Verheijen, 1967, p. 730) (Koetjaraningrat, 1977, p. 121). Wa'u or clan serves as a so-called(Nerton, 1968, pp. 353-354) as "social collectivity and socially cohesive." With this cultural concept, a child is not just an individual who stands alone. He is part of the community. Determining the presence of a community of life and sustainability (Lon, 2016).

Each family Manggarai people have always longed for children for two reasons. First, the child is believed to be the form of parents and community regeneration. Called a agu cing child cakal (new shoots); it is reinforced by the expression: EME wakak Betong discouraged, manga Wake deceiving Tae; Eme muntung P'u Gurung manga wungkut deceiving Curup (If the old bamboo roots are uprooted then there are the customary life; if stem aur burning, there are buds listening to all the teaching). Children become guarantee the sustainability of the descendants of a family, tribe, society, and culture. The absence of children is an existential fear expressed by the term hamper mempo niho elong (fear disappeared like the trunk of a banana) is the fear of missing out of the history of life in the world. If a person dies without leaving a descendant or child, then her death likened to watang bowok meaning weathered wood (Sudi, 2016)

Second, the child is believed to be a blessing of the ancestors and the Divine. Circumstances do not have children (TOE manga wing) is a curse or disgrace (Sutam, 1998), So the Manggarai like to have many children because "many children, many thanks". In the customary prayer, often delivered: "Poro ného ga tae times, cua ised paka do agu Child banar wing, propeller Res catfish, propeller race racap, Borek chipped cala, cala ta'i wa'i" (Hopefully they -Expectant conjugal - sprout a lot and have children much like a full calf diarrhea stools and full leg). For People Manggarai a large number of children were rewarded symbolic and hyperbolic in the expression, Borek chipped cala, cala ta’i wa’i (full calf diarrhea stools and full leg).

**Girls and Boys**

Manggarai is a patriarchal society where the authorities are in the paternal line (Widyawati, 2017), Each family really missed the birth and presence of boys. Families who do not have a boy can be considered as a family lineage will be extinct or mempo in their local language. In such cases, culturally, in traditional societies, a husband is allowed to take a new wife in order to get the boy. If he does not receive the boy, then his estate should be given to boys from their brothers and not to girls.

Girls and boys begin distinguished status since birth. When a child is born, someone is going to hit the wall of the house to ask about the sex of the child. If the male gender will be answered/called ata One (insider / person) and if the female would be called ata Peang (outsider / outsiders) (Lon & Widyawati, 2017), If the eldest child of a family is a boy, the family honor is considered higher. By calling the boy as the implication is clear. The boy is the owner of the heritage and power. He will be the pride of parents. News of the birth of a boy becoming an encouraging news.

As ata One boy is prepared to carry out the roles of leaders, owners, and rulers of the clan or tribe. They are trained to pass on customs and his family. AME dise mbaté expression, askew dise empo (inheritance of your father, the legacy of ancestors) or oblique de empo, mangkeng de Ame (heritage of ancestors; (Verheijen, 1967, p. 598) or Letang de Emam (part or property from the father) does enforce the status and role of the boy as the owner and heir offspring and all the assets owned by a clan.

In contrast to boys, girls are directed to belong to another party clan. Girls are outsiders
In childhood, he had just become the property of "temporary" family. Later he would get out of his family and will become the property of her husband's family. In the family, they are treated as people who stay temporarily until the groom by men from another clan. By him, they were not included in the plan or make decisions in life together. If they give voice, his voice is consultative rather than deliberative. In other words, the right voice should not be heard. In general, they become listeners and often advised to learn from his father and brother in order not abandoned husband in the future. They are taught to know all the household work and knows how to appreciate, respect her husband and his extended family.

**Kids: small, Defenseless**

For the people of Manggarai child is still seen as a plain or white paper or tabula rasa as said J. John Locke (1996) who do not have knowledge. At the Manggarai community there are some words that describe the status and position of the child as a small person, depending on the parents, do not have anything, dirty and worthless. Dictionary Manggarai(Verheijen, 1967, p. 5) noting the words that refer to the child as the child (children), WAE (water), ro'éng (folk), phlegm (kids), mantar (folk, children), ta'i (tai / dirt). Said the boy, WAE and ro'éng clearly illustrate the smallness and dependence of children on their parents.

It was confirmed by the phrase nuk mendi child (Verheijen, 1967, p. 10) which means that in my opinion the child slave or phrase ro'eng our times (we were just ordinary people) and expression of pisa ro'eng no'o? (How many people here) that shows the status of the child as ordinary people or ordinary people or the governed. Words reak, mantar, and ta'i also means small, dirty and worthless (Lon YS, 2016). Smallness and powerlessness of children in society appears also in the expression of children Koe loas Weru (small newborn child) commensurate with the expression tekur retuk Lawo cai cai bao (new turtledoves arrived, the new mice come). This expression declares children as inexperienced or people who do not know very well about something new and learn about life.

**Phase Child Development and Parenting Manggarai**

According to the Manggarai community, childhood lasts from ages from birth up to the age a child enters the cutting tooth initiation event called ROPO ngs or cerep ngs. With a gear-cutting ceremony, a child changed its status youth/girls who are considered worthy to marry or participate in various activities rites or obtain land rights. Since that time they were known as reba racang ngs or molas racang ngs (Janggur, 2010, p. 124). Judging from the development, the Manggarai childhood split into three stages, namely the period the child wara (red child), the child period Koe / reak, and the period of child (Ngebo, 2017). These three periods have a quirk in the way adults or parents perceive and educating children.

**First.** Period wara child. This period occurs at the age of 0-1 years. Wara child literally means red children. This period is most in need of attention and protection of parents, especially mothers (Niman, 2017). At this stage the child is still very young (ngoél or toe in cirang wekin), which means the body is not strong. Largely dependent on his mother. The child is capable of feeding, sleeping, and crying. Communication with others is done only through crying. Room for maneuver is very limited and generally only in (around) the house; at the age of 5-10 days, the child is allowed out of the cumpé (a special place for mothers giving birth); at the age of 40 days, the child is allowed out of the house for a short time.

During this period, parents Manggarai have a fear that the child's psyche can be easily retrieved by evil spirits or by humans who want to swap lives and prolong their lifespan. There is confidence in the Manggarai that baby smell favored by spirits. Therefore, at this age children are forbidden, or haram (Ireng) picked up outside the house in the early morning before the sunrise eye, or during the afternoon or evening. In the hours it is believed to be the spirits wandering and searching for prey. So for the Manggarai-age children are not introduced to life outside the home. If parents are forced to go to their families, the trip should not be made in the afternoon or evening.

There is also the belief that among their neighbors, there may be people who have the
occult. They usually strengthen the science to take the life of a baby. Baby's life could also substitute the lives of a seriously ill family; make someone live longer. As a result, parents would not let the children look out of a window or door of the house at dusk or night. Even if there is suspicion of a shaman who has the knowledge being passed at noon, infants should also be hidden from view.

Parents will also be anxious and restless if their children cry at night. Especially if prolonged crying. There is a belief that there could be a creature chasing baby's life. Therefore, in order to drive out evil spirits, then the parents will burn sandals, or plastic or onion and garlic. The pungent odor of this material is believed to ward off evil spirits. Inadvertently, the parents are practicing parenting associated with the fear of things that are magic (witchcraft) and mystical. Superstition got an important place.

When the child is still in a period of wara child, duties and responsibilities of parenting is dominated by the mother. Mother crucial role in ensuring the physical and psychological needs of children. Because of the presence, togetherness and warmth of maternal love are necessary so that children do not cry, pain or feeling abandoned. According to (Candida, Jeluhut, and Ibas, 2016), A period of the most imposing and very demanding sacrifices of mothers in parenting is more or less the first seven months.

Mom will not remove the baby alone or leave it with others. At the time of sleeping, cooking or working in the garden or draw water to drink, the child should stay with him. Kids are always in the arms of the mother although the mother was at work. If the mother works in the garden, on the clothes or the crown of the baby is placed or put a pin and bangle ginger and dried (lia narong) to protect him against evil spirits. Shortly before the mother returned home from the garden, his mother had invited the children "Let's go home" so that the spirits did not detain his soul in the garden (Ampur, 2017).

If she cried then give fire red cloth secondhand clothes and rotated in circles around his face so that the spirits are bothering to go far. Also on the side of the house planted beech trees are believed to scare the devil (scout kejoli). If her mother was about to go away and leave him for a while because of the particular reason that the child's hand and head washed his mother's milk should not be advised to accept the offer of food from evil spirits. To be a healthy child, after hazelnut oil bath lubricated. When washing the baby clothes, the clothes should not be shaken-numbness or slam that children do not fall ill. At the time of feeding, the child must be the lap that every rice (fortune), which falls mealtime will return to the child if he's lap.

The role of fathers for children this age is insufficient. Father only minimally helps to parent. Task father more to do with the affairs of exorcism when the child cries, as described in the previous section. Sometimes a lull his father also participated by singing songs in the local language.

Second, Period Koe child. This stage lasts between 1-6 years of age. At this stage, children begin to learn to sit, crawl, stand and walk and get to speak. This period is known as the first stage of the study. At this stage, children begin to socialize with his family. Children have to learn to speak, communicate, play and be with a great family. Here, the child gradually reduces dependence solely on his mother's emotional. Usually, if the mother has not been pregnant and had another child, the child will still breastfeed. The age limit breastfeeding is very uncertain. Age feeding may last up to primary school age. Manggarai people usually call that "mbélél one grandchild de Enden kin" (still hanging in the breast). However, if the expectant mother and the back have the baby may soon be over the age of breastfeeding for children.

At the age of children reak / Koe, slightly reduced maternal role and being replaced by a father and brother or big family. They simultaneously or alternately encourage children to sit, crawl, walk and talk. They set up the necessary facilities such as a wooden handle, a hand while guiding the child to be sitting, crawling, or walking. They also became a teacher for children in learning to speak.

If a child is experiencing delays in its development, it will be created a special event (sungke). If a child is late to walk or stand then do the show legs and pat waist sequence by using a specific tool (specific leaf). Another Treatment was by rubbing the waist with morning dew (lo'o) are regarded as special
water given by God. If the child is too late to speak, then held the event cakér le manuk Koe is touching and rubbing the tongue shows a child with chicken legs hatchling or with a gold ring from her parents (Nggarang, 2016). At this time the child should not be given food that causes abdominal pain such as Tatas potatoes, chilies, coconut milk and so on.

At this stage, the child is still a lot of wiggle room in the house. But of course, he was allowed out of the house. Kids are conditioned to know others, a neighboring family. He was authorized to play in her backyard or the neighbor's yard near. Kids are slowly introduced to other friends outside his home.

There is some parents ability expected at this time. At the age of one year, children are supposed to be able to eat solid food, can often loose the bonds of breast mama and bold for laps or be picked up by others outside of their home environment. In children whose age is more like two years, parents hope he can urinate without having to be accompanied. But to wipe and bathing usually is taken by the mother or sister role. At the age of 2-3 years, old children are also expected to be able to name and identify objects belonging to the family, names of family members and close friends or neighbors. Some parents will teach children to sing simple. However, since many families/parents spent time working in the garden, it is expected that children can adapt to the garden environment. Kids were playing in the lodge or near the place of his father's mother weeding the garden. Sometimes kids this age are accustomed to playing with the animals pets such as dogs.

At the age of 5-6 years, children have grown larger. Some children even have got new tasks such as washing dishes, fetching water and mainly to maintain and hold sister. In traditional families and farmers in general, a very unusual child taught to read, write or recognize the image. Only in the modern family and the upper-middle of this lesson, parents can afford. At first, the girls were taught how to cook, measure the rice, cooked vegetables, washing dishes, fetching water, carrying sister, etc. The next job was their primary task. Boy duties include carrying water, gathering firewood, feeding cattle, moving cattle, cradling his sister and a few other simple jobs.

At this time, the degree of socialization of children becomes more intense high. Childhood was socializing with friends and communities. Most of his time spent playing with his friends. During this period, parents often give advice and teach morals to children. Some of the fundamental moral is respect for parents or older, do not cut and answer parents' advice, do not take the property of others and do not do the customary taboos (Nggoro, 2006). Some restrictions such customs should not be playing at a particular place, should not catch certain animals and should not eat foods that are forbidden by custom has been clearly communicated to the child.

When children make mistakes, children at this age are considered "legitimate" or reasonable physical punishment. This type of punishment among others beaten with a cane, on his knees, slapped, kicked or only counseled. Obedience to parents got an important place in the tradition of the Manggarai. In this case authoritative parenting(Santrock, 2002, p. 257)very strong. She is not given a secure room to be consulted or asked their opinion. The truth usually belongs to the parents. Children must be obeyed. Against a parent is one of the great moral mistakes for families Manggarai.
In the age of the child, parental responsibility is focused on educating children aware of the work in the home and outside the home, know the customs and family as well as a variety of kinship relations. Boys are taught to be an example of his father and his mother as examples of young girls. In family life girls are educated and conditioned to do the work and habits mother such as hauling water (Teku WAЕ), cooking (Teneng), sewing (Jaik), weaving (magick / dedang), wash (wash), house cleaning (coexist mbaru), mashing (tuk), weaving (rojok), look for vegetables (Kawe UTE), carry baskets (EKO roto), winnowing rice (SEHO / edge DEA) took Towa (TIPA BECI), grooming (céak Hutu), takes sirih- nut (Cepa) etc.

Instead the boy was introduced to his father’s work and activities such as searching for firewood (Kawe Haju), cut the tree (paki Haju), moving animals (caling kaba, rarely, Japi), thresh rice (Woja rik), carrying machetes and spades bear (Selek Kope agu bancik pattern), smoking (rongko), tap and drinking alcohol (Pante agu inung / lolu palm wine), and others.

In terms of dress and behave girls accustomed to déng towé (tying fabric in the chest) while men tenggé Towe (tying a cloth around his waist). Girls are forbidden to climb trees (Tuke Haju), playing ball (Maeng ball) or takro (Teka raga), or catapults. The boy was forbidden to play rope (Puzzle mbau), playing coffee / rock in the hole (Maeng bongkik).

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Women are taught to have long hair, the skin smooth, gentle nature (alus ba Weki), agile work (Geal ba Weki), more patient (léwé nai), generous (Lembak nai), like playing at home (Temer) and being around his mother.

Boys are taught to have a large and strong muscles, great sound, the nature of the firm and play outdoors. Boys are ideal to be diligent (tela toni dungkul wuku), strong and assertive (cirang niho rimang shutter), honest (Neka me ngong data), and discipline (Neka hang toe the mark, inung toe, shop TOE no po) high-minded (tuka ngéngga ngalis nai), know the customs and manners (repéng confident, haéng taé), bold (rani) and so on(Sutam, 1998, pp. 68-75)

When advising a child, her parents would convey to the boys that they need to know the family and tribe (ASE Kae Bae), customs (lut oblique dise empo) and is ready to become the backbone of the family (ite dé series hunchback). To the girls are constantly reminded that what is not good you’re doing to your mother or your father, should not be done to the father-mother mantumu. It you walk down the street, men must walk at the back of the women (lami toni de weta = keep back sister) (Niman, 2016) This expression it can be interpreted as a new first lady and followed the man. Another interpretation is the more dominant influence of women must be protected by men.

After three this stage, the child will enter in adolescence and is no longer considered as a child. A person can enter this stage if it is physical, mentally and culturally was considered not a child anymore.

### The specificity of Culture in Development and Parenting

Observing how people define child Manggarai, classification phase of development and implementing parenting, as it has been presented so it can be found in common a general nature as well uniqueness may only be found in Manggarai only. This phenomenon reminds us once thought anthropologist and psychologist Kluckhon Murray(1954) which states that every person is the same at the same time as everyone else, like some others as well as no-one else entirely. Regarding similarities, Santrock(2010, p. 40) asserts, "As a man, every person the same path of life ... never been through the age of the child". “There is a universal pattern of development, and therefore a predictable pathway to development and learning for all children” (Raban, 2015), Gordon Allport theory of individual psychology, a psychology of the Constitutional William Sheldon and Raymon Factor Theory Cattel emphasize that aspect of personality matching is relatively settled on individuals.

The specificity of an individual nature, especially following the idea that children should be seen as an active agent in the process of growth and development. While the similarities and uniqueness of a society are strongly reinforced by the idea that universal truth at all in spite of the influence of the local culture. Development of a child is not to be cultural-free. The theory of "the west" for
example, is not necessarily correct and suitable for children in the east (Ho, 1985),

Vygotsky was the one that most clearly expresses the role of the cultural aspects and the social environment in child development. He was very stressed emphasizing the importance of personal interaction (social), culture and history and the individual factors as important in the development. Learning is never detached from its social context. Children’s self-understanding as understood by the environment (Schunk, 2012, pp. 241-241), Vygotsky in (Gredler, 2009, p. 310) also stressed that human learning is different from the animals; human learning “beyond Reviews their biological heritage.” They must master the symbol (culture), learning through cultural symbols and interacts with culture. There is a strong influence on culture and development of the individual. Therefore, primitive or traditional societies certainly different from modern society. Diverse culture will have implications for the development of different cognitive (Gredler, 2009, p. 311),

Hedegaard in (Nolan & Raban, 2015, p. 9) also described how development is viewed as a relationship between a child and his environment. Fleer in (Nolan & Raban, 2015, p. 9) affirms that ”culture not only determines the principles for defining development but frames the Contexts in the which the development of children is supported”. Culture has a unique role, but not independent of outside cultural aspects. Studies upbringing in a culture reinforces the notion that child development and parenting is strongly influenced cultural context. Compare with the study of the culture of parenting in Japan, Norway, and Scandinavia (Nolan & Raban, 2015),

Although culture makes the development and parenting to be unique and special, still, aspects that are natural and universal can not be ignored. Manggarai child may differ in many aspects, but there are also different forms of the same with all the children around the world. There is a natural thing. See, in the explanation of the findings above, the child’s biological characteristics of the various phases that are categorized by the local community are also owned by the other children in the same age category. Kognitif and physical ability also contain similar things. Just load the knowledge, values and order moral that are more unique.

Therefore, as a middle way, ”social and cultural context should not be seen as something outside the process of development, ‘as that which surrounds’ but ‘as that which weaves together”(Woodhead, 2006), Similar disclosed by Darling and Steinberg (1993) that parenting is always integrative. In the language Rogoff in (Smith & Upitis, 2007, p. 313)”Noted that “involves progress towards local development goals and valued skills.”

CONCLUSION

Research on the influence of culture in the concept of a child’s stage of development and foster patterns in Manggarai, West Flores, East Nusa Tenggara Province concluded a few thoughts as follows. First, the way the Manggarai define who the child is determined by the way people look at the concept of the family Manggarai, the sustainability of the group/clan and the demands of the task that lay an individual in his community. In the sense that like this, children are primarily seen as part of a community rather than just as individuals are free and independent. The existence of a new child has to mean insofar as it can realize themselves as representatives of the public.

Second, the Manggarai has a distinctive division in mapping category of child development. In general, children are distinguished from those who are ready to enter adulthood. There were three age groups of children that wara children (0-1 years), child reak (1-7 years) and children (7-13 years). How category mainly determined by two factors of child factors and factor the relationship between children and parents or factors duty of parents to children. It is clear that once again the child can not be understood separately with parents and the community.

Third, because the Manggarai is a patriarchal community, the concept of girls and boys is closely linked to gender differences regarding the assignment of girls and boys in the culture. Foster patterns then have an aspect of gender bias if it is associated with the modern concept of the relation of women and
men. For the Manggarai, boys get more attention is important in the community and day-to-day parenting.

Fourth, the nature aspects of religious belief, mystical and culturally determine parenting good parents to their children regarding physical, mental, and spiritual. Parenting is extreme in Manggarai culture that is educational "give fear or embarrassment or trembling" to the spiritual power, to the spirits and ancestors. This approach is unique compared to the theories of other foster pol. Also, the authoritative parenting style is also the dominant parenting.

The fundamental conclusion above reiterated that culture, environment, and values adopted by society should not be ignored in formulating an understanding of psychology and philosophy concerning the concept of child's stage of development and foster patterns. This ethnographic study is a unique contribution to the field of cultural science, psychology and philosophy regarding children in the culture in Indonesia.

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