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Adab, Literacy, Numeracy, and Gender Equity in Enggano Folk Games: A Non-Formal Education Perspective

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Abstract

Enggano Island is the outermost region of Bengkulu Province, characterized by ethnic and religious diversity. This study analyzes the values of etiquette, literacy and numeracy practices, and the structure of gender participation opportunities in six traditional Enggano games—namely, Sotol, Dup-Dup, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, and Ga'Gun—and discusses their relevance to nonformal education. The study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive-interpretive design through the reanalysis of ethnographic data collected in Kaana Village in July 2026. Data were obtained through participatory observation, documentation, and interviews with traditional leaders and community members. Analysis was conducted through thematic coding and interpretation using three concepts of Islamic education: ta'dib (the cultivation of good manners), iqra' (reading and understanding), and musawah (equal opportunities in pursuing knowledge). The research findings reveal that play activities provide a context for observing discipline, precision, patience, cooperation, and sportsmanship; performing counting, measuring, sorting, and recognizing spatial patterns; and taking on various roles within the game. The documented rules of the game do not explicitly restrict participation based on gender. It can be concluded that this reflects a structure of opportunity, rather than evidence of equal participation in practice. This study proposes the Adab-Iqra'-Musawah conceptual framework as an initial perspective for examining folk games in nonformal education.

Keywords*: Adab; Literacy-Numeracy; Musawah; Nonformal Education; Enggano Folk Games.*

Abstrak

Pulau Enggano merupakan wilayah terluar Provinsi Bengkulu yang memiliki keragaman etnis dan agama. Penelitian ini menganalisis nilai adab, praktik literasi-numerasi, dan struktur kesempatan partisipasi gender dalam enam permainan rakyat Enggano, yaitu Sotol, Dup-Dup, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, dan Ga'Gun, serta membahas relevansinya bagi pendidikan nonformal. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain deskriptif-interpretatif melalui reanalisis data etnografis yang dikumpulkan di Desa Kaana pada Juli 2026. Data diperoleh dari observasi partisipatif, dokumentasi, dan wawancara dengan tokoh adat serta anggota masyarakat. Analisis dilakukan melalui pengodean tematik dan interpretasi

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menggunakan tiga konsep pendidikan Islam: ta'dib (pembentukan adab), iqra' (membaca dan memahami), dan musawah (kesempatan yang setara dalam menuntut ilmu). Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa aktivitas permainan menyediakan konteks untuk mengamati disiplin, ketelitian, kesabaran, kerja sama, dan sportivitas; melakukan penghitungan, pengukuran, pengurutan, serta pengenalan pola ruang; dan mengambil bagian dalam beragam peran permainan. Aturan permainan yang terdokumentasi tidak secara eksplisit membatasi keterlibatan berdasarkan jenis kelamin. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa ini menunjukkan struktur kesempatan, bukan bukti kesetaraan partisipasi dalam praktik. Penelitian ini mengusulkan kerangka konseptual Adab-Iqra'-Musawah sebagai perspektif awal untuk mengkaji permainan rakyat dalam pendidikan nonformal.
Kata kunci: Adab; Literasi-Numerasi; Musawah; Pendidikan Nonformal; Permainan Rakyat Enggano

I. Introduction

The Enggano community inhabits a remote island in the Indian Ocean, administratively part of North Bengkulu Regency, Bengkulu Province, Indonesia, and geographically separated from mainland Sumatra. The island is characterized by ethnic and religious diversity, involving Indigenous Enggano communities and migrant populations (Sari, 2020). According to the North Bengkulu Regency in Figures 2023, which reports religious-affiliation data for 2022, Enggano District recorded 3,336 Muslim residents and 920 Protestant residents, representing approximately 78.38% and 21.62%, respectively, of the 4,256 residents recorded in that dataset (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Bengkulu Utara, 2023). These figures describe the district-level religious composition and should not be interpreted as a direct measure of religious affiliation among Indigenous clans and migrant communities separately. Historical and ethnographic accounts indicate that Christianity and Islam have both become part of the island's religious landscape, while customary institutions continue to play an important role in organizing social relations across ethnic and religious differences (Sari, 2020). Indigenous Enggano society is also characterized by a matrilineal kinship system, in which descent and aspects of inheritance are traced through the maternal line. The customary institution of kaudar is associated with kinship, settlement organization, and the transmission of customary territories across generations (Badan Registrasi Wilayah Adat, 2026; Dasan & Ardinata, 2020)

At the national level, the OECD's PISA 2025 results indicate that Indonesian students' achievement remains below the OECD average in mathematics, reading, and science. Indonesia recorded mean scores of 364 in mathematics, 365 in reading, and 389 in science, compared with OECD averages of 463, 461, and 482, respectively (OECD, 2026). Only 17% of Indonesian students attained at least Level 2 proficiency in mathematics, compared with 65% across OECD countries; in reading, the corresponding proportions were 27% and 69% (OECD, 2026). Evidence from Bengkulu Province further illustrates challenges in mathematical literacy. Stiadi et al. (2022), examining Grade IX students at SMP Negeri 4 Kota Bengkulu, found variation in students' mastery of the PISA

mathematical literacy content components, indicating the need to strengthen their capacity to apply mathematical knowledge across different problem contexts. These findings provide provincial context rather than direct evidence of literacy and numeracy levels in Enggano, for which location-specific educational data remain necessary.

For geographically isolated communities such as Enggano, strengthening literacy and numeracy can be approached through learning activities connected to everyday experiences, including folk games transmitted through practice, social interaction, and oral tradition. Such activities offer a context in which learners can engage with counting, measurement, patterns, spatial relationships, and problem-solving while drawing on locally meaningful knowledge. Gender is considered in this study as a matter of equitable participation, leadership, and decision-making opportunities rather than as an assumed difference in mathematical achievement. Indeed, PISA 2022 data show that Indonesian girls outperformed boys by six score points in mathematics and 23 points in reading (OECD, 2023). These national findings do not establish gender relations within Enggano, making direct attention to participation and learning opportunities important when examining local educational practices.

This study uses Islamic educational concepts as an analytical lens for nonformal education involving Muslim learners in Enggano, without assuming that the entire Indigenous community shares the same religious affiliation or that the folk games originate from Islamic teachings. Within Islamic educational philosophy, al-Attas (1980) conceptualizes education in relation to ta'dib, emphasizing the cultivation of adab and the formation of the person. The Qur'an passage in Surah al-'Alaq (96:1–5), beginning with the command iqra' (read or recite), provides a foundational reference for knowledge-seeking and reflection. The obligation to pursue knowledge is also widely discussed in Islamic educational thought, while the principle of reciprocity and gender justice articulated by Kodir (2019) offers a perspective for examining equitable educational relationships. Taken together, these concepts provide an interpretive framework for exploring how folk games may support contextual literacy and numeracy learning, inclusive participation, and ethical relationships in nonformal education.

Studies of traditional games have documented their value for learning across cultural contexts. Ewe games in Ghana have been examined in relation to literacy and numeracy development in early childhood (Yekple et al., 2021), while indigenous games in Zambia have been studied for their contribution to preschoolers' literacy and numeracy (Mwinsa & Dagada, 2024). The indigenous snow-snake game in North America has also been explored as a context for STEM learning (Miller & Roehrig, 2018). In Indonesia, mathematical structures have been identified in the engklek game (Anisa et al., 2023) and in traditional games more broadly (Wulandari et al., 2024). Other studies have examined the relationship between traditional games, numeracy, critical thinking, and mathematical process skills (Ni'mah et al., 2024; Kamid et al., 2022), as well as the use of

EthnoSTEM-based learning to support science literacy (Bramastia et al., 2023). These studies provide a basis for examining the educational dimensions of folk games, although they do not necessarily address ethical values and participation structures together.

Research on ethnopedagogy has also examined how local wisdom can support moral development, religious education, and culturally grounded learning. Sakti et al. (2024), for example, investigated the use of local wisdom in early childhood character education in Yogyakarta, while Darwis et al. (2025) examined the integration of Bugis cultural values into Islamic education to foster tolerance. Aprilia and Khasyi'in (2023) identified values related to aqidah, worship, and akhlaq in the traditional Banjar game Asinan. Putra and Hasanah (2018) documented character values embedded in traditional games in a nonformal educational institution. These studies show that the educational interpretation of traditional games and local practices has received scholarly attention.

A related body of research has investigated the mathematical and cognitive dimensions of traditional games. Together, values-oriented ethnopedagogy and mathematics-oriented studies provide foundations for the present research. The contribution of this study is not the claim that these dimensions have never been examined independently. Rather, it explores how ethical conduct, literacy-numeracy practices, and participation opportunities can be considered together in the analysis of six Enggano folk games and their possible relevance to nonformal education.

The three dimensions are examined in relation to activities within the games. Rules concerning honesty, patience, fairness, and respect are interpreted through the concept of adab. Counting, measuring, identifying patterns, and solving practical problems are considered as opportunities for contextual literacy and numeracy associated with iqra'. The distribution of turns, roles, leadership responsibilities, and decision-making opportunities is examined through the principle of musawah. These Islamic educational concepts are used as an interpretive framework; the study does not suggest that they originated in Enggano traditions or that the games themselves are inherently Islamic.

Based on this rationale, this study aims to: (1) map the adab values embedded in six documented Enggano folk games, namely Sotol, Dup-Dup, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, and Ga'Gun, and their correspondence with the concept of ta'dib (al-Attas, 1980; Wan Daud, 1998); (2) analyze the literacy-numeracy content of these games as a contextual foundation for literacy (iqra') and numeracy skills; (3) examine the participation structure of the games from the perspective of equal opportunity (musawah) in seeking knowledge; and (4) formulate the relevance of these three dimensions for character learning in nonformal education. This study is expected to make a scientific contribution in the form of a conceptual framework for using folk games as a contextual medium for adab, literacy-numeracy, and gender-equitable education for Muslim learners in 3T regions (disadvantaged, frontier, and outermost areas), as well as a practical contribution as an initial reference for PKBM/SKB tutors in designing local-wisdom-based learning.

II. Research Methods

This study employed a qualitative approach with a descriptive-interpretive design based on a conceptual reanalysis of ethnographic field data collected in Kaana Village, Enggano District, North Bengkulu Regency, Bengkulu Province, Indonesia, in July 2026.

The field data were collected through participatory observation and semi-structured interviews. Observation focused on six Enggano folk games: Sotol, Dup-Dup, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, and Ga'Gun. The observations were documented through field notes, photographs, and video recordings. Interviews were conducted in Indonesian with customary figures familiar with the rules and histories of the games and community members who currently play or have previously played them. Eight community members and customary figures contributed to the field-data corpus; the specific contribution of each person is summarized in Table 1.

Informants were selected purposively on the basis of their knowledge and experience of Enggano folk games. The research instruments comprised a semi-structured interview guide and an observation guide developed during the initial ethnographic exploration. The present article re-examines these materials to identify ethical, literacy-numeracy, and gender-related participation dimensions. Because the interviews were not audio-recorded, interview information is presented through cautious paraphrase based on available field notes; no verbatim quotations are used. The article distinguishes documented observations from the researchers' conceptual interpretations.

Table 1. Profile of Informants

Code	Community role	Sex	Documented contribution
CF-1	Customary figure	M	Interview; knowledge of customary rules and history of Sotol, Dup-Dup, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, and Ga'Gun
CF-2	Customary figure	M	Interview; cultural meanings and customary practices associated with Sotol, Dup-Dup, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, and Ga'Gun
CM-1	Community member / folk-game player	M	Interview concerning the six games
CM-2	Community member / folk-game player	M	Interview concerning the six games
CM-3	Community member / folk-game player	M	Observation of the six games
CM-4	Community member / folk-game player	F	Interview and/or observation; specific source requires confirmation
CM-5	Community member / folk-game player	F	Interview concerning the six games

CM-6	Community member / folk-game player	F	Observation of the six games

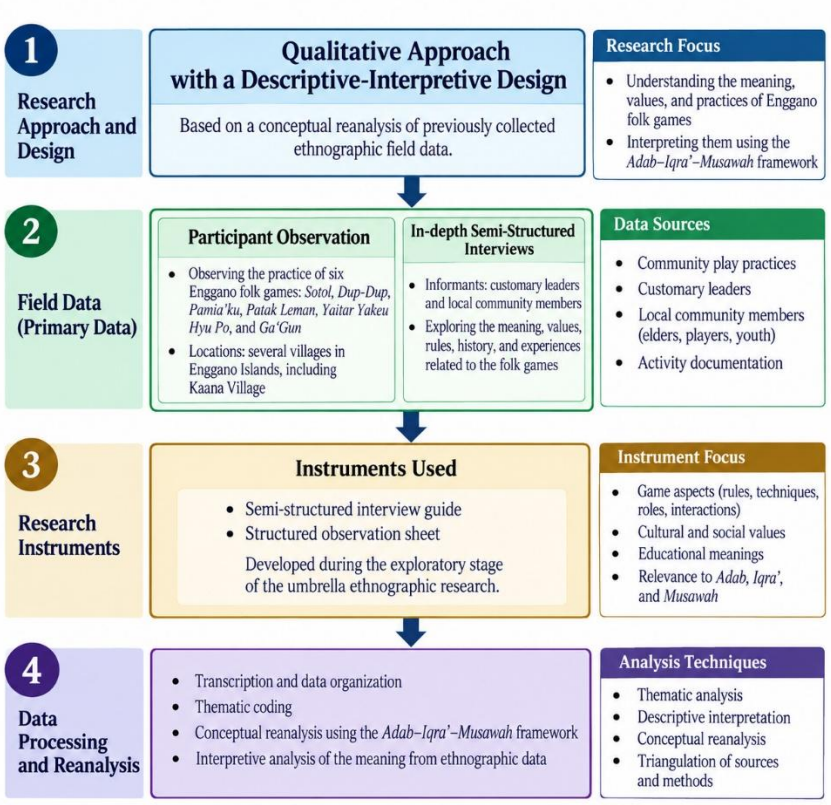


Figure 1. Research Flow

The six games have different participation structures. Dup-Dup and Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po are individual games organized through turns. Sotol, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, and Ga'Gun involve interaction among players and differentiated playing roles. These differences provide the context for examining the character values and participation opportunities associated with each game.

The field data were analyzed in two stages. First, the researchers reviewed field notes, interview notes, photographs, and video documentation to identify descriptions of playing behavior, game rules, counting and measuring activities, and participation roles. Second, the documented material was interpreted through three conceptual lenses: (a) ta'dib, particularly adab toward oneself, others, and the Creator and surrounding environment (al-Attas, 1980; Wan Daud, 1998); (b) iqra' as a basis for reading, observing, and understanding (Shihab, 2002; Aisyah, 2024); and (c) musawah as equal opportunity in seeking knowledge (Juono, 2015; Kodir, 2019). These concepts served as analytical lenses rather than categories assumed to have been articulated by the informants.

The mapping of adab values is the researchers' academic interpretation; it is not a claim that informants explicitly identified the games as expressions of Islamic teachings. The

analysis considers how character values documented in the field may correspond with the concept of adab for educational use among Muslim learners. It does not represent the beliefs of the whole Enggano community, which is religiously plural. The same values may also be interpreted through other religious or secular perspectives. The framework is therefore presented as one possible approach to character learning in non-formal education, not as a description of the community's religious identity.

The credibility of the interpretation was supported by comparing information from customary figures, community members, and audiovisual field documentation. The researchers also compared the emerging interpretation with relevant studies of ethnopedagogy and local-wisdom-based education (Aprilia & Khasyi'in, 2023; Sakti et al., 2024; Darwis et al., 2025). Initial interpretations were discussed informally with community members to obtain feedback on their practical relevance. These procedures supported contextual interpretation; they do not substitute for systematic measurement of participation by sex or age.

The analysis involved reviewing the available field notes and documentation, grouping descriptions into three thematic areas character values, literacy-numeracy practices, and participation structures and mapping these themes to ta'dib, iqra', and musawah. Since interviews were not audio-recorded, the analysis did not use verbatim interview transcripts. Interview information was paraphrased only where it was supported by the available notes. No direct quotations or transcript-based informant excerpts are presented. The researchers compared their interpretations during analysis and retained reflective notes to document analytical decisions. The findings therefore distinguish descriptions supported by field documentation from the conceptual meanings assigned by the researchers.

The field data were collected with the informants' consent, and identifying information is treated confidentially. The researchers recognize that their position as academics who are not members of the Enggano community may influence the interpretation of cultural practices. Comparison across data sources and informal discussion with community members were used to reduce, although not eliminate, this possibility. The study focuses on adab, literacy-numeracy practices, and gender-related participation structures as interpreted through an Islamic educational framework.

III. Result and Discussion

A. Research Findings

1. Character Values in the six Enggano Folk Games

Participatory observations and interview notes concerning the six Enggano folk games (Figure 2) indicate that the games involve different forms of individual and collective activity. The character values discussed below are interpretations of the documented rules and playing practices. Table 2 summarizes the values identified by the researchers and the corresponding categories of adab.



Figure 2. The six Enggano folk games examined in this study: (a) Patak Leman, (b) Sotol, (c) Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, (d) Pamia'ku, (e) Ga'Gun, and (f) Dup-Dup.

Table 2. Mapping of Character alues and Adab Categoies in Six Enggano Folk Games

Game	Brief Description	Documented Character Values	Adab Category
Sotol	A group attack-defense game on a gridded field; the attacking team must cross the grid without being touched by the defending team.	Cooperation, sportsmanship, leadership	Adab toward others
Dup-Dup	An individual hopping game played on one leg from square to square while maintaining balance, using a marble as a marker.	Discipline, precision, patience	Adab toward oneself
Pamia'ku	A group game in which players attempt to seize a piece of wood held tightly by one player within the field boundary.	Courage, resilience, cooperation	Adab toward oneself and others
Patak Leman	A game of striking a small piece of wood to make it fly, which the opposing team then catches; the score is calculated based on the length of the striking stick.	Precision, cooperation, sportsmanship	Adab toward others
Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po	Walking from one coconut to the next along a track without touching the ground.	Concentration, courage, perseverance	Adab toward oneself

Game	Brief Description	Documented Character Values	Adab Category
Ga'Gun	A team-based hide-and-seek game with a ball marker; the guard searches for and marks players, while other players can rescue their teammates.	Leadership, empathy, problem-solving	Adab toward others

The documented activities can be discussed through three categories of adab: adab toward oneself, including discipline, precision, patience, concentration, and perseverance; adab toward others, including cooperation, sportsmanship, leadership, empathy, and shared problem-solving; and an interpretive dimension of adab toward the Creator and the surrounding environment. The third category requires particular caution: the use of natural materials is documented, but the available data do not establish that players understand this practice as an expression of environmental care or religious teaching. The following sections therefore distinguish observed game practices from their educational interpretation.

2. Adab Toward Oneself: Dup-Dup and Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po

The two individual games, Dup-Dup and Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, prominently cultivate the values of discipline, precision, patience, concentration, and perseverance. In Dup-Dup, players must hop on one leg from square to square while maintaining their balance; failing to maintain balance means losing one's turn, so players wait for their turn and pace their steps carefully. A player who fails must start over, and accepts this consequence without blaming others. In Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, players walk from one coconut to the next without touching the ground, which demands full concentration and the willingness to try again after failing.

Observations of Dup-Dup and Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po revealed several behaviours associated with patience, concentration, and perseverance during play. In Dup-Dup, children waited patiently for their turns, demonstrating the practice of taking turns within the game's rules. When an opponent hid a shell or playing piece (gundu), the player had to search for it carefully. This activity required sustained attention, patience, and persistence until the object was found. In Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, players maintained concentration and continued moving carefully and patiently toward the endpoint of the game. Their efforts to complete the route illustrated the importance of sustained attention and persistence in carrying out the activity.

These observations suggest that the rules and activities of both games provide opportunities to practise patience, concentration, and perseverance. In Dup-Dup, these qualities are expressed through waiting for one's turn and searching for a hidden playing piece, whereas in Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, they are reflected in maintaining focus and continuing toward the endpoint. These findings provide an observational basis for examining the educational potential of Enggano folk games in nonformal learning.

3. Adab Toward Others: Sotol, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, and Ga'gun

The four group games involve cooperation and interaction, although their roles differ. In Sotol, the attacking team coordinates its movements to cross the grid while avoiding the defending team. This arrangement requires players to coordinate actions and follow shared rules. In Pamia'ku, players attempt to seize a piece of wood held by another player within an agreed playing boundary; the physical interaction makes self-control and respect for the rules relevant considerations. In Patak Leman, players strike a small piece of wood and the opposing team attempts to catch it. The distance between the starting point and the landing position is measured using a longer stick; each stick-length unit represents one point. Players therefore need to agree on the measured distance and acknowledge the resulting score. In Ga'Gun, players may help or rescue teammates who have been caught, creating opportunities for cooperation and collective responsibility. Across these games, the rules and interactions provide contexts in which cooperation, adherence to agreed boundaries, fair play, and mutual assistance can be discussed. These are interpreted here as opportunities to practise adab toward others; the analysis does not assume that players themselves use these Islamic terms to describe their actions.

4. Adab toward the Creator and the Surrounding Environment

The games use materials and features from the surrounding environment, including wood, stones, marbles, coconuts, and lines drawn on the ground. The available field data do not show that informants explicitly connected these materials with religious teachings or environmental conservation. Their use can therefore be described as a feature of the games' material practices. Any connection with adab toward the Creator and nature is an interpretive possibility for educational discussion, rather than a directly documented belief or intention of the players.

5. Counting, Measuring, and Spatial Practices

The field documentation identifies counting, measuring, sequencing, and spatial reasoning in the playing activities. These practices appear in the ways players determine scores, measure distances, recognize spatial arrangements, follow movement sequences, and establish playing boundaries. In Patak Leman, counting and measuring are part of the scoring process. Players measure the distance between the starting point, marked by a stone, and the landing position of the small wooden stick using a longer stick as a non-standard measuring unit. Each length of the measuring stick represents one point for the batting team. The score is determined by counting the number of stick-length units corresponding to the measured distance. For example, a distance equivalent to five stick lengths yields five points, while eight stick lengths yield eight points. The relationship is one-to-one: $S = n$, where S is the score and n is the number of stick-length units. Measurement and scoring are repeated over several rounds until a team reaches the

agreed target score. This activity involves using a non-standard unit, counting repeated units, assigning a numerical score, and comparing team results.

In Dup-Dup, counting and spatial practices are reflected in the arrangement of the playing arena and the sequence of movements. The playing field consists of a series of squares, including diagonally arranged sections. Players follow the sequence of squares by identifying their positions and moving from one space to another through a series of jumps. During the game, they recognize the arrangement of the squares, maintain the sequence of movements, and estimate the distance required for each jump. These activities involve counting, identifying geometric shapes, recognizing spatial relationships, and estimating movement distances. In Sotol, players demonstrate spatial awareness by observing the horizontal and vertical lines that organize the playing field. These lines determine movement areas and the positions from which players can move or defend. Players observe the positions of other participants, identify available pathways, determine directions, and estimate the distance required to cross the field without being touched. Their movements are therefore guided by the spatial arrangement of the field, the location of other players, and the boundaries that regulate movement.

In Ga'Gun, counting and spatial reasoning occur through interactions among players, the ball, and the playing area. Players need to keep track of the number of participants, those who have been captured, and those who remain free or have been rescued. These activities involve counting and comparing quantities. For example, in an illustrative situation involving ten players, if three players have been captured, seven remain uncaptured. Players also observe the positions of other participants, locate the ball, and estimate distances when moving toward strategic locations or attempting to rescue teammates. In Pamia'ku, spatial practices are evident in how players establish and respect the boundaries of the playing area and assess the relative positions of participants. Players observe the position and movement of the person holding the wooden object, estimate the distance between themselves and the object, and consider the appropriate direction and timing for approaching it. Decisions during the game depend on players' awareness of spatial boundaries, relative distances, and the movements of other participants.

Across these five games, the documented activities involve counting, measuring, sequencing, and spatial reasoning. Patak Leman involves non-standard measurement and the conversion of measured units into scores. Dup-Dup involves counting, geometric recognition, and sequential movement. Sotol and Ga'Gun require players to monitor positions, directions, and movement areas, while Pamia'ku involves spatial boundaries, distance estimation, and positional awareness. These observations identify mathematical

practices within the games; they do not demonstrate that participation improves learners' mathematical achievement.

6. Gender-Related Participation Opportunities

The findings indicate that the structures and rules of the six Enggano folk games provide opportunities for participation by both male and female players. The documented rules do not explicitly assign playing eligibility or specific roles according to sex. The six games comprise individual and group activities, each involving different forms of participation, including taking turns, handling playing equipment, moving across the playing field, defending, attacking, and interacting with other players.

In group games such as Sotol and Ga'Gun, participation involves different roles and responsibilities. In Sotol, players take the roles of attackers and guards. Attackers attempt to cross the playing area, while guards seek to prevent them from passing. In Ga'Gun, the roles include guarding, finding safe positions, and rescuing teammates. These role structures provide opportunities for players to experience different forms of physical activity, cooperation, and strategic decision-making. In Pamia'ku, participation involves interaction between the player holding the wooden object and those attempting to retrieve it. The game therefore provides different playing positions that can be experienced through role rotation. Similarly, Patak Leman involves the roles of the player striking the wooden object and the player attempting to catch it. These roles involve different physical and cognitive activities, including striking, catching, measuring distance, and calculating scores.

In the individual games, Dup-Dup and Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, participation is organized through individual turns. Each player has an opportunity to perform the playing sequence. The waiting players can also participate through observing, recording results, or counting the achievements of other players. Thus, participation in these games can extend beyond direct physical involvement to include observation and numerical recording. The documented game structures provide several possible forms of participation for male and female players, including playing, guarding, attacking, catching, observing, recording, and making strategic decisions. However, the available data do not provide systematic records of the number of male and female participants in each game, the frequency with which each group occupies particular roles, or whether the games are consistently played in mixed-sex or separate groups. The findings therefore describe participation opportunities afforded by the documented rules, not actual gender equality in playing practice.

B. Discussion

The character values identified in the Enggano folk games can be interpreted through the concept of ta'dib. In al-Attas's educational thought, adab concerns the proper ordering of a person's relationship with oneself, other people, and the wider order of existence (al-Attas, 1980; Wan Daud, 1998). The values summarized in Table 2 such as discipline, precision, cooperation, sportsmanship, and empathy provide a basis for this

interpretation. The games may therefore serve as settings in which ethical conduct can be discussed and practised. This interpretation does not mean that the games were historically created for Islamic instruction or that their participants necessarily describe them in these terms.

In the individual games, repeated attempts and turn-taking may be discussed in relation to patience, self-discipline, and perseverance. In the group games, respecting agreed boundaries in Pamia'ku may be interpreted through trustworthiness, while acknowledging the measured score in Patak Leman may provide an opportunity to discuss honesty and fairness. Helping a teammate in Ga'Gun can be considered in relation to mutual assistance. These are educational readings of the documented rules and actions. They should not be presented as direct statements of informants unless supported by interview notes. Similarly, the use of natural materials may prompt discussion about simplicity and care for the environment, but the data do not establish that players themselves attach these meanings to the materials.

This distinction is important when comparing Enggano games with studies conducted in cultural settings where Islamic values are more explicitly embedded in local narratives. The present analysis does not claim that Enggano games are Islamic in origin. Rather, it examines whether values documented in play can be discussed through concepts from Islamic education for learners in nonformal education settings. This approach respects the religious plurality of the Enggano community and avoids attributing a single religious interpretation to all community members. The educational relevance of this interpretation lies in using familiar cultural practices as starting points for reflection and learning. In nonformal education, tutors may connect learners' everyday experiences with concepts introduced in learning activities. The games can provide examples for discussing cooperation, honesty, patience, and responsibility, while also creating opportunities to practise counting, measuring, and spatial reasoning. These applications remain pedagogical proposals and require evaluation in actual learning settings.

1. Adab Values as a Foundation for Contextual Literacy-Numeracy

The counting and measuring practices described in the Findings resemble patterns reported in studies of traditional games in different cultural contexts. Mathematical structures have been identified in Indonesian engklek and other traditional games (Anisa et al., 2023; Wulandari et al., 2024). Research has also examined traditional games as contexts for literacy-numeracy development in early childhood (Yekple et al., 2021; Mwinsa & Dagada, 2024). These studies provide a comparative basis for considering the educational possibilities of Enggano folk games. The present study, however, documents practices embedded in play and does not measure changes in learners' literacy or numeracy outcomes. The observed counting and measuring activities can be discussed in relation to iqra', understood here as an orientation toward reading, observing, examining, and understanding (Shihab, 2002; Aisyah, 2024). In Patak Leman, players measure a

distance and convert it into a score; in Dup-Dup, they follow a sequence of spaces and movements. Such activities provide concrete contexts for numeracy-related discussion. The study does not establish that these practices improve formal numeracy performance; this possibility requires investigation through a learning intervention.

Adab and literacy-numeracy can be considered together in these activities. For example, careful measurement in Patak Leman requires attention to the measuring unit, while acknowledging the agreed result provides an opportunity to discuss honesty and fairness. This connection is an interpretation of the activity's educational potential rather than a measured learning effect.

2. Gender-Related Participation Opportunities in the Games

Viewed in terms of participation structure, the documented rules of the six Enggano folk games do not explicitly restrict involvement by sex or assign particular roles exclusively to men or women. Individual games such as Dup-Dup and Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po are organized through turns. Group games involve differentiated roles, including attacking, guarding, striking, catching, and rescuing. These structures can be examined through musawah as a principle of equal opportunity in seeking knowledge and developing oneself (Juono, 2015; Kodir, 2019). Because the available evidence concerns game rules and structures rather than systematic observation of participation by sex, it indicates potential opportunities and does not establish that roles are in fact shared equally.

The matrilineal organization of Indigenous Enggano society provides an important social context for examining gender and customary roles. Previous discussion of Enggano inheritance practices identifies the relevance of maternal-line relations (Dasan & Ardinata, 2020). However, the available data in this study do not establish whether matrilineal relations influence who leads, guards, or makes decisions during folk games. This relationship should therefore remain an empirical question for future research rather than an explanation of the participation patterns documented here. In this article, musawah refers to equal opportunity and responsibility in seeking knowledge; it is not used to claim that all social roles must be identical. Scholarship on gender in Islamic education discusses equality and justice as related but distinguishable concepts (Wadud, 1999; Sidiq & Erihadiana, 2022). For the present analysis, the relevant point is that the documented rules do not explicitly reserve the opportunity to participate or undertake particular roles for one sex. Whether this potential is realized in practice requires direct observation of who participates and how roles are distributed.

For nonformal education, tutors may deliberately rotate roles so that female and male learners have opportunities to lead, make decisions, and undertake different tasks. Such rotation is a proposed pedagogical strategy, not a description of established practice in Enggano communities. It may be used to discuss musawah and equitable access to

learning opportunities, with attention to learners' abilities, safety, and the specific rules of each game.

3. Relevance for Character Learning in Nonformal Education Services

Nonformal education units can adapt learning activities to learners' circumstances and community contexts (Sufyan et al., 2019). The values and practices identified in this study may therefore serve as resources for tutors across subject areas. The games can provide contexts for discussing trustworthiness (amanah), honesty, cooperation, and mutual assistance, alongside activities involving counting, measurement, sequencing, and spatial reasoning. These are proposed uses; their effectiveness has not been evaluated in this study. For example, a tutor could use Ga'Gun to initiate a discussion about mutual assistance (ta'awun), Patak Leman to combine measurement and score recording with a discussion of honesty, and Dup-Dup to practise number sequences while reflecting on patience. Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po may provide a context for discussing persistence, while Pamia'ku can prompt reflection on self-control and respect for agreed boundaries. In Sotol and Ga'Gun, tutors could rotate leadership and guarding roles among learners. Such activities would connect local experience with learning objectives without replacing the curriculum. Their suitability should be considered in relation to learners' age, safety, accessibility, and cultural protocols.

4. Integration of Adab-Iqra'-Musawah in Folk-Game-Based Learning

The findings are brought together in a preliminary conceptual framework that relates ta'dib, iqra', and musawah to the documented activities of Enggano folk games, as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Integration of Adab-*Iqra'-Musawah* in Enggano Folk Games

Dimension	Islamic Concept	Indicator in Enggano Folk Games
Adab	*Ta'dib* (al-Attas)	Discipline, precision, patience, cooperation, honesty, and empathy across all six games
Literacy-Numeracy	Iqra'	Counting, measuring, sequencing, and spatial-pattern recognition in Patak Leman, Dup-Dup, Sotol, *Pamia'ku*, and Ga'Gun
Gender participation	Musawah	Participation structure and potential access to different roles; actual distribution by sex was not systematically documented

The framework is illustrated in Figure.

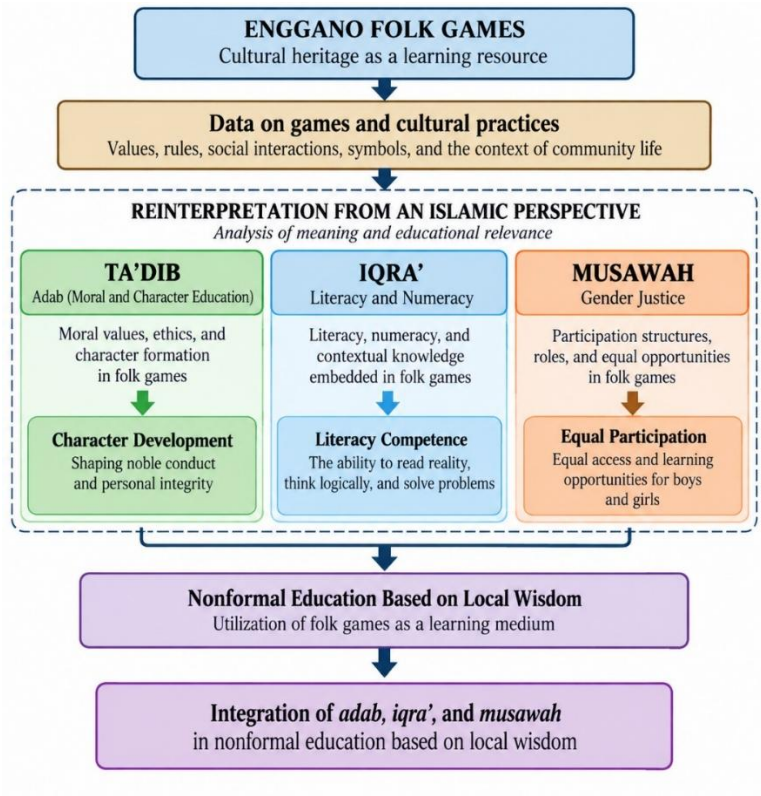


Figure 3. Integration of Adab-Iqra'-Musawah in the folk games of the Enggano community.

The framework proposes that the three dimensions can be examined within the same playing activity. For example, measuring and agreeing on the score in Patak Leman may involve precision and honesty (ta'dib), counting measurement units (iqra'), and decisions about who measures, records, or verifies the result (musawah). This example illustrates the analytical relationship among the concepts; it does not establish that these roles are distributed equally in existing practice. The framework is preliminary and is proposed for further research, not presented as a learning model that has already been empirically tested.

IV. Conclusion

The analysis of six Enggano folk games Sotol, Dup-Dup, Pamia'ku, Patak Leman, Yaitar Yakeu Hyu Po, and Ga'Gun identified three dimensions relevant to nonformal education. First, the documented rules and activities provide opportunities to discuss adab toward oneself, including discipline, precision, patience, concentration, and perseverance, and adab toward others, including cooperation, sportsmanship, leadership, and empathy. The connection between the use of natural materials and adab toward the Creator and nature remains an interpretive possibility rather than a meaning explicitly expressed by informants. Second, the games involve counting, measuring, sequencing, and spatial

reasoning, which can be examined through the concept of iqra'. Third, the rules do not explicitly restrict participation or playing roles by sex. This indicates a potential structure of participation, not evidence that gender equality is consistently realized in actual play. These dimensions are brought together in a preliminary Adab-Iqra'-Musawah conceptual framework.

For nonformal education, tutors may use the games as contexts for numeracy activities and discussions of honesty, patience, cooperation, and equitable role-sharing. Examples include recording and checking Patak Leman scores, practising number sequences through Dup-Dup, and rotating selected roles in Sotol and Ga'Gun. These applications are proposals and have not been tested for learning effectiveness in this study. Further research should document participation by sex and age, examine how local social structures relate to role distribution, and evaluate the framework through practice-based studies in nonformal education settings.

V. **Bibliography**

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