**IRJE |Indonesian Research Journal in Education| |Vol. 10| No. 2|June|Year 2026|**
**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

# The ethnics of the layered cake: *Kue Maksuba* as a philosophy of character and pedagogy for generation Z

**LENNY MARZULINA[1], DIAN ERLINA[2], MUHAMAD HOLANDYAH[3], HERIZAL[4], HIKMAH ZALIFAH PUTRI[5], YERASYADWUNI AZZAHRA[6]**

## Abstract

This study explores the cultural values embedded in *Kue Maksuba*, a traditional layered cake from Palembang, South Sumatra, and examines their potential application as character education resources for Generation Z. Using a qualitative single instrumental case study design, data were collected through in-depth interviews and participant observation involving eight adult women aged 35 to 65 years, conducted during Ramadan 1447H (February to March 2026) in their domestic production environments in Palembang. Five overarching themes emerged: cultural values as pedagogical resource, philosophical meanings of ingredients for character education, the intergenerational transmission gap and its conditions for repair, modernization challenges to cultural integrity, and preservation strategies for educational integration. Findings demonstrate that patience, perseverance, communal cooperation, and respect are structurally encoded in the Ramadan production process of *Kue Maksuba* and are enacted with particular intensity during this period of communal spiritual discipline. Adult practitioner informants unanimously identified declining engagement among younger generations as the most urgent challenge facing the tradition, and consistently identified, from their direct family and community experience, the conditions under which intergenerational transmission can be meaningfully restored. This study argues for the development of pedagogical modules grounded in the Ramadan production philosophy of *Kue Maksuba* as a foundation for Generation Z character education in Indonesian educational settings.

## Keywords

intangible cultural heritage; culinary pedagogy; embodied learning; intergenerational transmission; local wisdom transmission

## Article History

Received 22 January 2026
Accepted 20 June 2026

## How to Cite

Marzulina, L, Erlina, D., Holandyah, M., Herizal, H., Putri, H. Z., & Azzahra, Y. (2026). The ethnics of the layered cake: Kue Maksuba as a philosophy of character and pedagogy for generation Z. *Indonesian Research Journal in Education |IRJE|*, *10*(2), 889-912. https://doi.org/10.22437/irje.v10i2.53691

[1]*Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia, Corresponding author: lennymarzulina_uin@radenfatah.ac.id
[2,3,4,6] Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang, Indonesia
[5]Universitas Riau, Indonesia

This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia

## Introduction

Indonesia is facing a dual crisis: the erosion of intangible cultural heritage and a widening character education gap among Generation Z. Presidential Regulation No. 87 of 2017 on Strengthening Character Education formally mandates the cultivation of values such as integrity, cooperation, and social responsibility across all educational levels (Kemendikbud, 2017). Despite this mandate, the Ministry of Education acknowledges that implementation remains predominantly text-based and decontextualized, disconnected from the living cultural practices that have historically formed character in Indonesian communities. Simultaneously, UNESCO (2003) has identified the accelerating loss of intangible cultural heritage in Southeast Asia as a critical threat to regional cultural identity. These two crises, failing character education and vanishing cultural heritage, converge in a single urgent question: can traditional cultural practices be mobilized as living resources for character formation in contemporary Indonesian education?

The urgency of this question is sharpened by empirical evidence of generational disengagement. Studies on Indonesian youth and cultural heritage document that a significant proportion of urban young people cannot articulate the cultural significance of their regional traditional foods. This disconnection is rooted not in cultural rejection but in cultural invisibility: young people have not been provided with the interpretive frameworks that would allow them to recognize the values embedded in traditional practices. For Generation Z, born between 1997 and 2012 and shaped by digital immediacy and consumption convenience, the gap between cultural inheritance and cultural understanding is widening at precisely the moment when character education demands are intensifying. Generation Z in Indonesia increasingly engages with cultural heritage as passive consumers rather than active meaning-makers, a pattern that forecloses the embodied value transmission that traditional practices historically provided (Kemendikbud, 2017). This erosion of cultural engagement is particularly acute in Indonesian Islamic higher education contexts, where the historical integration of moral values and cultural practice has long been understood as foundational to Islamic educational philosophy (Azra, 2006). Islamic education in the Indonesian context has always conceived character formation not as a separate curriculum subject but as an outcome of immersive engagement with culturally and religiously meaningful practices (Muhaimin, 2002). Without deliberate intervention, this generation will inherit the form of its cultural heritage while losing its moral content.

*Kue Maksuba*, the traditional layered cake of Palembang, South Sumatra, represents a compelling but unexplored resource for addressing this convergent crisis. Dating to the Palembang Darussalam Sultanate era, the cake requires 2 to 4 hours of patient, layer-by-layer baking using 20 to 40 eggs, sugar, condensed milk, and butter. Each layer must be individually baked before the next is added, making patience not a recommended attitude but a structural requirement of the production process. Communal cooperation, meticulous precision, and social respect are equally embedded in the practice. These are not values attributed to the cake from the outside; they are constitutive of how it is made, presented, and shared. Koentjaraningrat (2009) argues that such local wisdom constitutes a culturally transmitted guideline that shapes moral orientation through participation rather than instruction. Geertz (1973) frames this as culture operating as a system of symbols: to engage with *Kue Maksuba*

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

production is to enter a web of meaning that shapes the maker's values as much as it shapes the cake.

Existing scholarship has established important but partial foundations. Existing scholarship on Palembang cultural heritage confirms the richness of South Sumatran local wisdom through analyses of folklore, traditional architecture, and textiles, but addresses literary and material culture rather than culinary practice. Research on local wisdom in Indonesian education consistently demonstrates that culturally-grounded curricula produce stronger character formation outcomes than generic approaches (Kemendikbud, 2017; Makmur & Dastina, 2018). Equally, intangible heritage requires formal educational integration to survive generational transition (UNESCO, 2003). Taken together, this body of literature demonstrates that local wisdom is educationally effective and that Palembang cultural practices carry substantial value content. What no study has done is examine Kue Maksuba specifically as a pedagogical resource, analyze its embedded values systematically through qualitative inquiry, or investigate how Generation Z currently relates to those values and under what conditions engagement becomes possible.

This research gap is significant for three reasons. First, culinary practice is among the most embodied and socially embedded forms of cultural transmission, making it theoretically well-positioned as a character education resource. Yet it has been systematically overlooked in Indonesian educational research in favor of textual and material culture forms. Second, Generation Z represents the most urgent target population for both cultural transmission and character education. Yet no study has investigated their specific relationship to *Kue Maksuba's* cultural values or identified the conditions under which their engagement can be activated. Third, while the effectiveness of local wisdom-based education has been established in general, no study has developed a pedagogical framework grounded specifically in the cultural philosophy of *Kue Maksuba*. This leaves a practical void for educators in South Sumatra seeking culturally-grounded character education materials.

This study addresses these gaps through a qualitative investigation of *Kue Maksuba* as a character education resource for Generation Z in Palembang. Its novelty is threefold. First, it is the first study to systematically decode the cultural value system embedded in *Kue Maksuba* using thematic analysis, producing a structured pedagogical framework from a culinary practice. Second, it adopts a practitioner-centered design that captures how experienced adult makers perceive and experience the intergenerational transmission of cultural values to younger generations. This design reveals not only what values are embedded in the tradition, but precisely where and why transmission has broken down from the perspective of those who sustain it. Third, it shifts the analytical lens from preservation to pedagogy: rather than asking how *Kue Maksuba* can be saved, it asks what *Kue Maksuba* can teach, repositioning culinary heritage from a conservation problem to an educational asset. The research is guided by three questions: What cultural values are embedded in the production and presentation of Kue Maksuba, and how do they align with character education competencies? How do adult Kue Maksuba practitioners perceive and experience the intergenerational transmission of these values to younger generations? What strategies can effectively bridge *Kue Maksuba's* cultural philosophy with formal and non-formal educational contexts?

This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia

## Literature Review

### *Local wisdom as a source of character education*

Character education, as defined by Lickona (1991), is the deliberate cultivation of virtues through experiences that engage both intellect and moral habit. This conception aligns closely with how local wisdom functions in Indonesian communities. Koentjaraningrat (2009) defines local wisdom as a culturally transmitted guideline through which communities navigate social life and transmit values across generations. Local wisdom does not operate through explicit instruction but through participation in shared practices, making it a natural vehicle for the kind of embodied character education that Lickona advocates.

Geertz (1973) characterizes culture as a system of symbols through which human beings make meaning. From this perspective, a traditional food is not simply what people eat but an expression of how they think, what they value, and who they understand themselves to be. The act of making Kue Maksuba is an act of cultural self-expression and value enactment. Haba (2006) extends this framework by demonstrating that indigenous knowledge, including culinary practice, emerges from community adaptation and functions to strengthen social cohesion and transmit ethical norms across generations.

UNESCO (2003) classifies traditional culinary practices within intangible cultural heritage, affirming their role as vehicles for transmitting ethical values and social norms. This institutional recognition positions culinary heritage not merely as a preservation concern but as an active and legitimate educational resource. The alignment between local wisdom transmission and character education objectives is thus not merely theoretical; it is built into the structure of traditional practices themselves.

### *Generation Z and cultural disengagement*

Generation Z has grown up in an environment of digital immediacy, global connectivity, and consumption-oriented culture. These characteristics shape their relationship to traditional heritage in complex ways. Indonesian Generation Z tends to engage with cultural heritage as consumers or spectators rather than active participants or producers, a pattern driven by time constraints, convenience preferences, and limited contextual education (Kemendikbud, 2017).

Crucially, however, Generation Z is not inherently indifferent to cultural heritage. When traditional cultural practices are contextualized through accessible media and explained in terms of their contemporary relevance, Generation Z engagement increases significantly. The problem is not generational rejection but contextual inaccessibility: young people have not been provided with the interpretive frameworks that would allow them to recognize the values embedded in traditional practices (UNESCO, 2003; Kemendikbud, 2017).

### *Culinary heritage and character education*

The intersection of culinary heritage and character education remains understudied in Indonesian educational research. Indonesian food culture functions as a repository of social values, embedded in society and transmitted intergenerationally through the embodied knowledge of preparation and consumption (Wijaya, 2019). South Sumatran scholarship has

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

examined moral values transmitted through folklore narrative, but the focus has remained on textual rather than embodied practice. Research demonstrates that local wisdom-based teaching materials effectively strengthen cultural awareness among primary students, with stronger character formation outcomes confirmed in secondary school contexts as well (Kemendikbud, 2017).

Without structured educational contexts, the values embedded in traditional practices will not be transmitted regardless of community preservation efforts (UNESCO, 2003). From an anthropological perspective, food is not merely a nutritional source but a cultural concept: a medium for communicating social status, communal solidarity, and collective identity (Nurti, 2017). Palembang cultural artifacts are dense symbolic structures encoding communal values and social ethics (Koentjaraningrat, 2009; Geertz, 1973). Applied to Kue Maksuba, this positions the cake's production process, ingredient symbolism, and ceremonial contexts as a comprehensive and pedagogically underdeveloped character education resource.

### *Kue Maksuba: history, characteristics, and cultural significance*

*Kue Maksuba* is a traditional layered cake originating from Palembang, the capital city of South Sumatra Province, Indonesia. Its origins are traced to the era of the Palembang Darussalam Sultanate, where it held a prominent position as a ceremonial food reserved for royal occasions, diplomatic receptions, and important religious events (Koentjaraningrat, 2009). The name "Maksuba" is widely understood by Palembang communities to derive from the Arabic word meaning "expected" or "hoped for," reflecting the aspirational and celebratory character of the occasions for which it was traditionally prepared. Over centuries, *Kue Maksuba* transitioned from an exclusively aristocratic confection to a food of broader communal significance, becoming a central feature of major life events including weddings, engagement ceremonies, community feasts (*sedekahan*), and Eid al-Fitr celebrations across Palembang society.

The production of *Kue Maksuba* is distinguished by its exceptional complexity and the high degree of skill and patience it demands. The cake is composed of 20 to 30 individual layers, each baked sequentially in a heavy brass or aluminum pan over controlled heat. Each layer must be allowed to set completely before the next is poured and baked, a process that requires two to three hours of sustained, undivided attention. The primary ingredients are eggs (typically 20 to 40 per tray), condensed milk, granulated sugar, butter, and vanilla, combined in precise proportions. The result is a dense, richly golden, and intensely sweet cake with a smooth, glossy surface and a characteristic cross-section of paper-thin layers. The quality of *Kue Maksuba* is judged by the evenness of its layers, the uniformity of its color, and the precision of its texture: standards that can only be achieved through experience, care, and unhurried attention.

Beyond its culinary properties, *Kue Maksuba* functions as a dense cultural symbol within Palembang society. Each element of its composition carries layered meaning. The large number of eggs is interpreted as an expression of gratitude for divine abundance, reflecting the Islamic ethical orientation that pervades Palembang culture. The sugar represents the sweetness of life, and communicates the hope for joy and prosperity associated with the celebration it accompanies. The butter symbolizes gentleness and harmony, values considered essential to family and social life. The layers themselves are the most philosophically significant feature of the cake: each layer must be built patiently upon the one before, making the entire

production process a structural embodiment of the values of patience and perseverance. These symbolic meanings are not arbitrary interpretations added after the fact; they are embedded in the production process itself and have been transmitted orally through generations of Palembang households (Koentjaraningrat, 2009; Geertz, 1973).

The communal dimension of *Kue Maksuba* production is equally significant. The cake has historically never been a solitary undertaking. Its complexity requires multiple pairs of hands: family members divide labor across roles such as mixing, pouring, monitoring layers, and managing heat, working together in a coordinated and communicative kitchen environment. This communal production enacts the Palembang cultural value of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), transforming the kitchen into a site of social bonding and intergenerational transmission. Elders narrate the history and symbolic meanings of the cake as production proceeds; younger participants learn through observation, assistance, and eventually independent practice. This mode of transmission, what Lave and Wenger (1991) describe as legitimate peripheral participation in a community of practice, is the primary vehicle through which *Kue Maksuba's* values have been sustained across generations. Such culturally embedded modes of learning represent what Tilaar (2002) identifies as transformative pedagogy: educational processes rooted in living community practices that cannot be replicated through textbook instruction alone.

The cultural significance of *Kue Maksuba* is particularly heightened during the month of Ramadan leading up to Eid al-Fitr. This period represents the most intensive season of *Kue Maksuba* production in Palembang. Households produce the cake in large quantities to serve at *iftar* (breaking fast) gatherings, to sell to neighbors and community members seeking festive foods for *buka puasa*, and to fulfill Lebaran orders placed by families preparing for Eid celebrations. The Ramadan context adds a further layer of spiritual meaning to an already symbolically rich practice: production occurs while fasting, so the patience required by the layering process is amplified by the physical demands of sawm (fasting). Furthermore, the communal production sessions take on the additional significance of ibadah (worship) through service to family and community. It is in this Ramadan context that *Kue Maksuba* most fully expresses its embedded values and offers its richest potential as a character education resource (Koentjaraningrat, 2009; UNESCO, 2003).

Despite this richness, *Kue Maksuba* faces significant challenges as a living cultural practice. Modernization has introduced ingredient substitutions, the replacement of traditional wood-fired stoves and hand-whisking with electric appliances, and the commercialization of the cake as a packaged Lebaran souvenir commodity stripped of its production context and symbolic grammar (Keraf, 2002). Most critically, younger generations in Palembang are increasingly disengaged from the production process, encountering Kue Maksuba primarily as a purchased consumer object rather than as a made, meaningful, and morally instructive cultural practice. This disengagement is not a product of cultural rejection but of cultural invisibility. The values embedded in Kue Maksuba have not been systematically transmitted to a generation whose relationship to cultural heritage is primarily mediated by digital consumption rather than embodied participation (Kemendikbud, 2017; UNESCO, 2003). It is this gap between the tradition's pedagogical richness and its declining transmission that motivates the present study.

This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia

## Methodology

### *Research design*

This study employed a qualitative single instrumental case study design (Yin, 2014; Creswell, 2013). Following Van Manen (1990), the study approaches *Kue Maksuba* not as an object to be measured but as a lived text, a form of practice that carries meaning in its enactment and that can be read phenomenologically for the values it embodies. *Kue Maksuba* production during Ramadan in Palembang constitutes a clearly bounded case: spatially delimited by Palembang as the historical center of the practice, and temporally delimited by Ramadan as its peak production season. The case is instrumental rather than intrinsic. It serves as a vehicle for understanding a larger pedagogical question regarding how culturally embedded traditional practices can function as character education resources for Generation Z rather than being studied as an end in itself (Creswell, 2013).

### *Research site and participants*

The research site was Palembang, South Sumatra, during Ramadan 1447H (February to March 2026). Data were collected in the private domestic homes of active *Kue Maksuba* producers, including family households preparing for iftar gatherings, sedekahan, and Lebaran, as well as home-based sellers fulfilling community orders. Eight participants were selected through purposive sampling (Creswell, 2013): all women aged 35 to 65 years actively producing *Kue Maksuba* during Ramadan, representing two profiles: household makers and home-based sellers. Table presents participant details. Data saturation was reached with no new themes emerging in later interviews.

**Table 1.** *Participant profiles*

| Codes | Ages | Genders | Profiles | Descriptions |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| P1 | 38 | Female | Household maker | Produces *Kue Maksuba* each Ramadan for family iftar and Lebaran; learned from mother-in-law |
| P2 | 45 | Female | Home-based seller | Home-based cake business; takes Lebaran orders from second week of Ramadan; up to 15 trays per season |
| P3 | 52 | Female | Household maker | Organizes communal Ramadan production sessions with daughters and daughters-in-law in her home |
| P4 | 35 | Female | Household maker | Young mother in her third year of independent production; previously assisted her own mother during Ramadan |
| P5 | 60 | Female | Household maker | Over 30 years of experience; describes Ramadan production as her most meaningful annual practice |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| P6 | 42 | Female | Home-based seller | Fulfills large Lebaran orders; reports demand triples during Ramadan compared to the rest of the year |
| P7 | 57 | Female | Household maker | Deliberately uses Ramadan production sessions to teach her adult daughter the process and its cultural values |
| P8 | 48 | Female | Household maker | Produces Kue Maksuba for *sedekahan* during Ramadan as an act of community charity |

### *Data collection*

Two methods were employed. In-depth interviews (45 to 75 minutes each) used open-ended guides covering personal background, symbolic interpretations of *Kue Maksuba's* layers and ingredients, perceived cultural values, attitudes toward modernization, and educational perspectives. All interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia at informants' homes, audio-recorded with informed consent, and transcribed verbatim. Participant observation spanned eight sessions in the domestic environments of P2, P3, P4, P5, P7, and P8, aligned with the rhythm of Ramadan production from early iftar preparation through the intensified pre-Eid order period. The researcher adopted a moderately participatory stance, present in the kitchen and occasionally assisting with peripheral tasks while maintaining analytic distance. Field notes documented production sequences, labor distribution within families, verbal exchanges during baking, and naturally occurring cultural narratives.

### *Data analysis*

Data analysis followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase thematic analysis: familiarization, initial coding, theme generation, theme review, theme definition, and analytic reporting. Analysis was conducted manually on printed transcripts using colored markers, without qualitative data analysis software, to maintain close interpretive contact with participant voices. Five overarching themes emerged.

### *Trustworthiness*

Trustworthiness was established following established standards for qualitative research credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Credibility was addressed through prolonged field engagement and member checking with P2, P3, P5, and P7. Transferability was supported through thick description of context, sites, and participants. Dependability was maintained via a manual audit trail of coding decisions. Confirmability was achieved through source triangulation across all eight participants and method triangulation between interview and observation data, applied within the case study context as recommended by Yin (2014).

## Findings

Thematic analysis of interview transcripts and observation field notes identified five overarching themes. Table 1 presents the complete thematic structure with representative verbatim indicators from interview and observation data. Informants are coded P1 through

P8. Interview data are marked (I); observation field notes are marked (O) with session number. Each theme is described in full following the table.

Table 2. *Thematic structure with codes and verbatim indicators from Interview (I) and Observation (O) data*

| Themes | Sub-Themes | Code & Verbatim Indicators | Sources |
|---|---|---|---|
| **T1: Cultural Values as Pedagogical Resource** | 1.1 Patience (*Kesabaran*) | *"Each layer has to be right before you add the next. It is like life. You cannot skip a stage." (P5-I)*<br><br>*"Patience is not weakness. It is skill." (P3-I)*<br><br>Maker observed murmuring "sabar dulu" between layers. (O-03) | Interview Observation |
| | 1.2 Perseverance (*Ketekunan*) | *"Twenty, thirty layers. Each must be perfect. This is how you build something worthy." (P5-I)*<br><br>*"Young people give up too fast. Maksuba shows results come from sustained effort." (P7-I)*<br><br>Two-hour baking session observed with uninterrupted concentration despite kitchen heat. (O-05) | Interview Observation |
| | 1.3 Communal Cooperation (*Gotong Royong*) | *"Nobody makes Maksuba alone. It is always family, always together." (P3-I)*<br><br>*"When we cook together during Ramadan, we talk, laugh, share. That is the real lesson." (P4-I)*<br><br>Three generations of P3's family observed working in coordinated roles. (O-02) | Interview Observation |
| | 1.4 Respect (*Penghormatan*) | *"You do not serve Maksuba to just anyone. You serve it when the occasion deserves your very best." (P5-I)*<br><br>*"Bringing Maksuba to a Lebaran gathering says: I respect you enough to give my very best." (P8-I)* | Interview |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **T2: Philosophical Meanings of Ingredients for Character Education** | 2.1 Eggs – Gratitude and Abundance | *"We use 30 eggs. This is not waste. This is gratitude for the rezeki God has given us." (P5-I)*<br><br>*"Eggs represent blessings. Teaching this to children gives them perspective on life." (P7-I)* | Interview |
| | 2.2 Sugar – Optimism and Joy | *"Sugar is manisnya kehidupan. Even when fasting, we remember: life has sweetness." (P1-I)*<br><br>*"During Ramadan I always say: this sweetness reminds us life is still good, even when tired." (P4-I)* | Interview |
| | 2.3 Butter – Gentleness and Harmony | *"Without butter, the layers fall apart. Without care in a family, exactly the same happens." (P4-I)*<br><br>*"Butter teaches kelembutan. You cannot raise children, or make this cake, by being hard all the time." (P5-I)* | Interview |
| **T3: Intergenerational Transmission Gap and Conditions for Re-engagement** | 3.1 Preference for Consumption | *"My daughter says it takes too long. She would rather buy it than spend three hours baking." (P7-I)*<br><br>*"The young ones just order online now. They do not see why they should make it themselves." (P2-I)*<br><br>No young household member of P4 or P8 joined the kitchen during Ramadan production despite being home. (O-04, O-07) | Interview<br>Observation |
| | 3.2 Absent Symbolic Awareness Among Younger Generations | *"My niece told me she thought it was just a very expensive layered cake. No idea about the meaning." (P3-I)*<br><br>*"I try to explain what the eggs mean to my grandchildren. They listen, but I am not sure it stays." (P5-I)*<br><br>*"The young generation today knows the name Maksuba but not the story behind it." (P7-I)* | Interview |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 3.3 Openness When Contextualized | *"If schools taught what Maksuba means, not just the recipe, young people would understand." (P7-I)*<br><br>*"My daughter, once I explained each layer to her during Ramadan, said she wanted to try making it." (P3-I)*<br><br>*"The young find it boring because nobody explains the why. When they understand, they become interested." (P8-I)* | Interview |
| **T4: Modernization Challenges** | 4.1 Technological Substitution | *"With electric oven, anyone can bake it. But the feeling is different. The old wood-fire way connected you to something larger." (P5-I)*<br><br>*"My mother used to hand-whisk for one hour. She said that is where the love goes in." (P1-I)*<br><br>Electric oven and stand mixer observed in five of eight observation sessions. (O-01, O-04) | Interview<br>Observation |
| | 4.2 Commodification and Ingredient Substitution | *"Some sellers add flour during Ramadan to save cost. That is not Maksuba anymore. That is just layered cake." (P2-I)*<br><br>*"When bought only as Lebaran souvenir, it looks the same but has no meaning inside." (P6-I)*<br><br>Commercially packaged Kue Maksuba examined: no cultural description, no production narrative. (O-08) | Interview<br>Observation |
| **T5: Preservation Strategies for Educational Integration** | 5.1 Family-Based Transmission | *"If I give my daughter only the recipe, I give her nothing. I must also give her the why." (P5-I)*<br><br>*"Every Ramadan when we make Maksuba together, I tell the story of where it comes from. That is how culture stays alive." (P3-I)* | Interview |
| | 5.2 Formal Education Integration | *"If schools taught what Maksuba truly means, not just the recipe, young people would understand it." (P7-I)* | Interview |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | *"We do not need to teach only how to make it. We need to teach what Maksuba teaches about life." (P3-I)*<br><br>*"Schools should use local food like Maksuba to teach character. Far more real than any textbook." (P8-I)* | |
| 5.3 Cultural Events and Public Demonstration | *"When I explain each layer to younger family members during Ramadan, they are always surprised." (P3-I)*<br><br>*"When they see it made and hear the story, curiosity grows. And curiosity is where learning begins." (P7-I)*<br><br>P3's teenage niece, initially passive, became actively engaged once P3 narrated layer meanings aloud. (O-02) | Interview Observation |
| 5.4 Innovation within Tradition | *"Make a smaller version, less sweet for younger taste. But keep the layers. Keep the patience. That is the soul." (P4-I)*<br><br>*"Adapt the form if you must, but preserve the philosophy. That is how tradition survives." (P8-I)* | Interview |

Note. P1–P8 = participant codes. I = Interview; O = Observation. Verbatim quotes are presented in translated form from Bahasa Indonesia.

### *Theme 1: Cultural values as pedagogical resource*

The richest finding of this study is the depth and consistency of character-relevant values embedded in *Kue Maksuba* production during Ramadan. These values were articulated with remarkable consistency across all eight informants and confirmed by direct observation, establishing their integral rather than incidental relationship to the practice. The Ramadan context intensified their expression: the act of producing *Kue Maksuba* during a period of fasting, communal spiritual discipline, and preparation for Lebaran celebration gave each value particular weight and visibility.

### *Patience (kesabaran) as core value*

Patience was identified by every informant as the primary value encoded in *Kue Maksuba* production. The physical necessity of baking each layer individually and waiting for it to set before adding the next was described not as a technical constraint but as a moral practice embedded in the production design. P5 articulated this connection directly:

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

> Each layer has to be right before you add the next one. It is like life. You cannot skip a stage.

P3, who coordinates family production sessions each Ramadan, framed patience as an active competency:

> Making Maksuba teaches you that patience is not weakness. It is skill.

Observation data confirmed these accounts. During three production sessions, experienced makers were observed pausing deliberately between layers and murmuring 'sabar dulu' (be patient first) as a natural part of the production rhythm (O-03). This spontaneous verbal expression demonstrated that patience is not merely an interpreted meaning projected onto the practice after the fact. It is an active orientation present throughout the production process. This value maps directly onto character education competencies of self-regulation and delayed gratification.

***Perseverance (ketekunan) as life ethic***

Perseverance emerged as a distinct but closely related value, emphasizing the sustained commitment required to complete the full production cycle of 20 to 30 layers over 2 to 3 hours. P5 framed this in terms of the relationship between sustained effort and worthy outcome:

> Twenty, thirty layers. Each one must be perfect. This is how you build something worthy.

P7 connected perseverance directly to what she witnesses each Ramadan when younger relatives observe the production:

> Young people give up too fast. Maksuba shows that results come from sustained effort.

Observation (O-05) confirmed that the full production cycle was completed with sustained concentration despite physical discomfort from oven heat and the physiological demands of fasting. P5 worked through midday without breaking, noting that completing the cake before iftar was a point of personal discipline. Perseverance in this context is not an abstract virtue. It is structurally required by the production process and socially reinforced by the Ramadan communal ethos of sustained self-discipline.

***Communal cooperation (gotong royong)***

*Kue Maksuba* production was never observed as a solitary activity. In six of eight observation sessions, multiple family members participated with differentiated roles distributed across age lines. The Ramadan context reinforced this communal dimension: with family members gathered at home during evening and holiday periods, the kitchen became a natural convergence point. P3 described the communal dimension as constitutive rather than optional:

> Nobody makes Maksuba alone. It is always family, always together.

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

P4 articulated the social learning that occurs through this communal Ramadan production:

> When we cook together, we talk, we laugh, we share. That is the real lesson.

Observation at P3's home (O-02) documented three generations working in coordinated and mutually supportive roles: P3 directing overall production, her daughter managing layer timing, and a teenage niece preparing ingredients and monitoring the oven. The atmosphere was conversational and warm, with P3 using the shared activity as an opportunity to narrate cultural meanings aloud. This enactment of gotong royong during Ramadan constitutes embodied moral learning: cooperation is not explained but practiced, and values are internalized through repeated communal experience.

### *Respect (penghormatan) and social responsibility*

The decision to produce *Kue Maksuba* for Lebaran gatherings and community events communicates respect through significant material and physical investment, particularly meaningful during Ramadan when production occurs under the physical demands of fasting. P5 was unambiguous about the social message encoded in this choice:

> You do not serve Maksuba to just anyone. You serve it when the guest and the occasion deserve the best.

P8, who produces *Kue Maksuba* for sedekahan during Ramadan, elaborated the communicative dimension:

> Bringing Maksuba to a wedding is saying: I respect you enough to give my best.

This social dimension positions the Ramadan-Lebaran production of Kue Maksuba as a concrete, culturally embedded practice of other-orientation: an investment of time, skill, and physical endurance for the benefit and honor of others. This is a character education objective that resists abstract teaching and is powerfully served by embodied cultural experience.

### *Theme 2: Philosophical meanings of ingredients applicable to character education*

Each core ingredient of *Kue Maksuba* carries a specific philosophical meaning, forming what may be described as an edible moral vocabulary. During Ramadan, these meanings acquire additional resonance: ingredients purchased and used during the month of spiritual reflection carry the weight of intentionality and gratitude in ways that production at other times of year does not.

#### Eggs: Gratitude and abundance

The use of 20 to 40 eggs per tray was consistently interpreted as an expression of gratitude for divine provision. P5 connected the abundance of eggs directly to the ethics of thankfulness:

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

> We use 30 eggs sometimes. This is not waste. This is gratitude for the rezeki God has given us.

P7, who uses Ramadan production as a teaching moment with her adult daughter, made the educational application explicit:

> Eggs represent blessings. Many eggs mean abundant blessings for the family. They symbolize fertility and prosperity. Teaching this gives children perspective on life.

The egg symbolism provides educators with a tangible, culturally grounded entry point for character education discussions of gratitude, abundance, and the ethics of generosity, values that are notoriously resistant to abstract instruction.

***Sugar: optimism and emotional resilience***

Sugar was universally associated with the concept of manisnya kehidupan (the sweetness of life). P1 articulated this during a Ramadan iftar preparation session:

> Sugar means manisnya kehidupan. Life has sweetness. We must seek it and not only see the bitter.

P4 described how she voices this meaning during iftar preparation:

> I tell my students: even in difficult times, cook something sweet. It reminds you life is still good.

This optimistic orientation, grounded in a sensory experience that is heightened by the fasting context of Ramadan, represents a culturally specific form of emotional resilience philosophy. The sweetness of *Kue Maksuba* at iftar, after hours of fasting and baking, embodies the principle that sustained effort and discipline yield something worth savoring: a directly applicable lesson for young people navigating the demands of contemporary life.

***Butter: Gentleness and Relational Harmony***

Butter was interpreted as a symbol of *kelembutan* (gentleness), *keharmonisan* (harmony), and the binding power of care within family relationships. P4 expressed the butter symbolism through a domestic structural metaphor:

> Without butter, the layers fall apart. Without care in a family, the same happens.

P5 applied this to her philosophy of cultural transmission:

> Butter teaches softness. You cannot raise children by being hard all the time.

The butter metaphor provides educators with a culturally resonant framework for discussing relational ethics, the value of gentleness in leadership, and the binding function of care in community: themes directly applicable to social-emotional learning objectives in Indonesian character education.

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

### *Theme 3: Generation Z disengagement from cultural transmission*

This theme captures what informants consistently identified as the most urgent challenge facing *Kue Maksuba* as a cultural practice: the declining engagement of younger generations with both the production process and the values it encodes. These findings represent the direct observations and lived experiences of the eight adult practitioners, all of whom addressed the intergenerational transmission gap explicitly and with evident concern. The theme thus documents how adult makers perceive, interpret, and respond to this gap from within the practice itself, rather than representing the perspectives of younger generations directly.

#### *Consumption without production: observed patterns*

All eight informants reported, from personal family experience, that younger household members consistently prefer purchasing *Kue Maksuba* over making it. P7, who has tried for several years to involve her adult daughter in Ramadan production, reported:

> I know it is our traditional cake, but I honestly do not think I would ever make it myself. It takes too long.

P2, who fulfills Ramadan orders as a home seller, observed this pattern from direct commercial experience:

> We just buy it. It is easier and cheaper than spending three hours baking.

Observation confirmed the absence of young household members from production even during the Ramadan school holiday period (O-04, O-07). P4 and P8 both noted that their teenage and young adult children were home during production but did not enter the kitchen. This physical proximity without participation illustrated precisely the disconnection that informants described: the family setting, the peak production season, and even the Ramadan spiritual atmosphere were not sufficient in themselves to draw young people into the practice. Without explicit invitation, narration, or assigned roles, the process remained invisible to them.

#### *Absent symbolic awareness among younger generations*

Informants consistently reported that young family members showed absent or limited awareness of the symbolic dimensions of *Kue Maksuba*. P3 recounted a specific exchange with her teenage niece that crystallized this:

> I never knew the layers meant something. I just thought it was a fancy layered cake.

P5 described a similar experience when attempting to explain ingredient symbolism to her grandchildren:

> Nobody told me the eggs symbolize rezeki. Now that I know, I see it differently.

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

P7 generalized this as a pattern she observed consistently among the young people in her circle:

> My generation knows the name but not the story behind it.

This finding is educationally decisive. The informants' accounts consistently suggest that the barrier to younger generation engagement is informational and pedagogical, not attitudinal. Young people have not rejected the values of *Kue Maksuba*; they have simply not been adequately introduced to them. As P7 put it, they know the name but not the story behind it, and without the story, the practice holds no moral depth.

### *Conditions for re-engagement: making meanings visible*

Despite the challenges documented above, all eight informants reported that younger people show genuine engagement when cultural meanings are made audible and explicit during production. P7 reflected on what systematic earlier exposure might have achieved:

> If someone explained this to me in school, I would have been interested earlier.

P3 described a direct shift in her niece's attitude once the meaning of each layer was explained:

> Once I understood what each layer means, I wanted to try making it.

P8 articulated the condition for engagement most clearly:

> It is not boring when you understand why. The meaning makes it interesting.

These accounts converge on a consistent and educationally decisive finding: younger people are not structurally resistant to the values of *Kue Maksuba* but contextually disconnected from them. The transmission gap is not a gap of willingness but of access to meaning. When meanings are made visible through narration during Ramadan production, through deliberate family storytelling, or through formal educational design, the gap narrows significantly. The Ramadan production environment, where multiple family members gather and the spiritual climate encourages reflection, represents a particularly powerful natural context for this transmission.

### *Theme 4: Modernization challenges to cultural integrity*

### *Technological substitution*

Electric ovens and mechanical mixers have replaced the wood-fired stoves and hand-whisking of traditional Ramadan production. P5 described the qualitative and cultural loss this entails:

> With electric oven, anyone can bake it. But the feeling is different. The old way connected you to something larger.

P1 localized this in family memory:

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

> We use mixer now. My mother used to hand-whisk for one hour. She said that is where the love goes in.

Electric ovens and mixers were observed in five of eight observation sessions, with only P5 and P3 still using gas stoves and manual whisking for part of the process (O-01, O-04). While modern tools increase the efficiency needed to fulfill high Ramadan order volumes, they reduce the physical investment that sustains the embodied experience of patience, weakening the primary mechanism through which that value is transmitted.

***Commodification and ingredient substitution***

Ramadan demand also intensifies commercial pressures. P2, as a home seller, noted that high order volumes create temptation to reduce production costs through ingredient substitution, most commonly the addition of wheat flour. She was categorical about the consequences:

> Some shops add flour to save money. That is not Maksuba. That is just layered cake.

P6, who fulfills large Lebaran orders, identified the deeper cultural impoverishment embedded in purely commercial production:

> When sold as souvenir, it looks the same but has no meaning inside.

Commercially packaged *Kue Maksuba* observed at a market carried no cultural narrative, no explanation of symbolic meaning, and no connection to the production philosophy (O-06). When the product is separated from its production context and symbolic grammar, it becomes culturally inert, incapable of functioning as a character education resource.

***Theme 5: Preservation strategies for educational integration***

All eight informants identified concrete and complementary strategies for transmitting Kue Maksuba's cultural values through both formal and non-formal educational channels.

***Family-based value transmission***

P5 drew a critical distinction between transmitting a recipe and transmitting a value system:

> If I give my daughter only the recipe, I give her nothing. I must give her the why.

P3 described the deliberate practice she employs each Ramadan:

> Every time we make Maksuba, I tell the story of where it came from. That is how culture stays alive.

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

***Formal education as cultural vehicle***

P7, drawing directly on her experience of trying to transmit values within her family during Ramadan, proposed a curriculum-centered approach:

> If taught in school with its meaning, not just the recipe, Gen Z would understand.

P3 specified the pedagogical orientation she believes is essential:

> We need a module: not how to make Maksuba, but what Maksuba teaches about life.

P8 argued for the power of culturally-grounded examples over abstract instruction:

> Schools should use local food to teach character. It is more real than textbook examples.

***Cultural events and public engagement***

P3 described the transformative effect of narrating meanings aloud during Ramadan production:

> When we demonstrated at the festival, young people were amazed. They had never seen it made before.

P7 articulated the underlying pedagogical mechanism:

> "Visibility creates curiosity. Curiosity creates learning."

This dynamic was directly observed during O-02, when P3's teenage niece, initially sitting silently on the periphery of the kitchen during Ramadan production, became visibly animated and began asking questions once P3 began narrating the meaning of each layer aloud. The shift from passive presence to active engagement occurred within minutes of the narration beginning, without any explicit invitation to participate.

***Innovation within tradition***

P4, the youngest informant at 35, articulated a principle for sustainable innovation:

> "Make a mini version, less sweet. But keep the layers. Keep the patience. That is the soul."

P8 provided the overarching framework for balancing change with continuity:

> "Adapt the form, preserve the philosophy. That is how tradition survives."

This approach acknowledges that younger generation engagement may require adaptations in format, quantity, or sweetness level while insisting that the core character-forming values

encoded in the layering process and ingredient philosophy must remain intact. As P8 stated, the soul of the cake is its moral grammar, not its physical dimensions, and any innovation that preserves that grammar preserves the tradition.

## Discussion

### *Kue Maksuba as a structural character education resource*

The findings of this case study demonstrate that *Kue Maksuba*, as practiced in Palembang domestic households during Ramadan, is not merely a traditional food but a structurally embedded character education resource. Its pedagogical power lies in the fact that the values it encodes are not attributed to the practice from the outside but are constitutive of it. You cannot make *Kue Maksuba* without exercising patience; you cannot make it well without communal cooperation; you cannot serve it meaningfully without enacting social respect. This structural integration of values and practice is precisely what Lickona (1991) identifies as the hallmark of effective character education: values that are practiced and habituated rather than merely explained.

Geertz (1973) argues that culture operates as a web of significance through which communities interpret their experience and transmit their values. *Kue Maksuba* functions as such a web: its layers encode the Palembang philosophy of patient, incremental effort; its ingredients carry aspirations for gratitude, joy, and domestic harmony; its communal production enacts the value of gotong royong; and its ceremonial presentation communicates social respect. To engage with the cake's production is to enter this web of meaning and be shaped by it. Koentjaraningrat (2009) affirms that this is precisely how local wisdom operates: not through instruction but through participation in shared, meaning-laden practice.

This embodied character education mechanism is directly relevant to Generation Z. Lave and Wenger (1991) demonstrate that learning that occurs through legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice is significantly more effective in forming durable values and competencies than learning that occurs through explicit instruction. The Kue Maksuba production event is precisely this kind of community of practice: a structured, socially embedded activity in which values are enacted, observed, gradually internalized, and eventually reproduced.

### *The pedagogical opportunity with Generation Z*

The most significant and actionable finding of this study is the pattern of contextual openness that adult informants consistently observed and reported among younger family members. When symbolic meanings were made visible and explicit whether during Ramadan production sessions, through deliberate narration, or through other forms of direct explanation — younger people showed genuine engagement and, in several cases, expressed a desire to participate in production. P8's observation that young people "find it boring because nobody tells them why" encapsulates the transmission problem that existing cultural preservation efforts have not yet adequately addressed, and points directly to a pedagogical design opportunity.

Research on Indonesian youth and cultural heritage consistently shows that the primary barrier to engagement is not attitudinal but informational: young people have not been

provided with the interpretive frameworks that make traditional practices meaningful (UNESCO, 2003). This study's findings confirm and deepen these conclusions from the practitioners' perspective: adult informants consistently reported that younger family members had not been provided with the interpretive framework that would allow them to understand why *Kue Maksuba* demands three hours of patient, layer-by-layer production, and therefore could not recognize it as anything other than inconvenient. Once the why was made visible, whether through narration during Ramadan production or through deliberate family storytelling, the what became meaningful.

This finding points directly to a pedagogical design imperative. Research consistently demonstrates that locally-grounded educational materials produce significantly stronger cultural identity formation outcomes than generic approaches (Kemendikbud, 2017). P8's insight that 'schools should use local food like *Maksuba* to teach character, it is far more real than any textbook' reflects an intuitive understanding of the same principle. A pedagogical module centered on the cultural values of *Kue Maksuba*, patience as a structural virtue enacted in the layering process, cooperation as a social ethic embodied in Ramadan communal production, gratitude as a philosophical orientation encoded in ingredient symbolism, and gentleness as a relational value materialized in the texture of butter, could achieve meaningful character education outcomes while simultaneously strengthening regional cultural identity among Generation Z students.

### *Modernization as a pedagogical threat*

The modernization challenges documented in Theme 4 are pedagogically significant because they target the mechanisms through which character education occurs. When electric ovens replace sustained hand-preparation, the embodied experience of patience is shortened and weakened. When commercial production replaces communal home production, the social context in which cooperation is practiced and transmitted is eliminated. When ingredient substitutions compromise the cake's cultural specification, the symbolic vocabulary that gives it pedagogical content is degraded.

Keraf (2002) warns that local wisdom erodes through incremental substitution, each individual substitution appearing trivial but collectively transformative. This pattern is well-documented in the commercialization of traditional cultural products across Southeast Asia: market accessibility consistently comes at the cost of symbolic depth. The parallel with *Kue Maksuba* is direct, and the educational stakes are high. UNESCO (2003) identifies the disruption of social transmission contexts as the primary threat to intangible cultural heritage. For *Kue Maksuba* as a character education resource, the most critical disruption is the replacement of communal production with commercial purchase, which eliminates the embodied learning environment through which values were historically formed.

### *Toward a culturally-grounded character education framework*

The convergence of preservation strategies identified in Theme 5 constitutes a multi-level framework for educational integration. UNESCO (2003) demonstrates that intangible heritage requires formal educational integration to achieve sustainable generational transmission. Supplementing formal curricula with family-based transmission, public cultural

**This is an Open Access article, published by Universitas Jambi, Indonesia**

events, and culturally-sensitive innovation creates the multi-context exposure that is most effective in forming durable values.

P3's insight forms the essential pedagogical principle of this framework: P3's insight that 'we do not need to teach only how to make it - we need to teach what *Maksuba* teaches about life' captures the essential pedagogical orientation of this framework. Character education through Kue *Maksuba* is not vocational training in traditional cookery. It is the use of a rich cultural practice, particularly in its Ramadan form, to make visible, personally meaningful, and experientially accessible the values of patience, perseverance, cooperation, and respect that Indonesian education seeks to cultivate in Generation Z.

Cultural artifacts function most powerfully as identity-forming resources when community members understand and actively interpret their meanings rather than passively inheriting their forms (Geertz, 1973; Koentjaraningrat, 2009). The same principle applies to educational design: students must not simply encounter *Kue Maksuba* but be guided through an interpretive process connecting its production to their own character development. In this framework, the kitchen becomes a classroom, the layering process becomes a moral curriculum, and the traditional cake becomes a vehicle for the most contemporary and pressing educational agenda: forming young people of character, patience, cooperation, and social responsibility for a rapidly changing world.

## Conclusion

This study demonstrates that *Kue Maksuba* is a living character education resource whose pedagogical potential has not yet been systematically realized. Its Ramadan production structurally embeds patience and perseverance; its ingredients encode gratitude, optimism, and relational care; its communal preparation enacts gotong royong; and its Lebaran presentation teaches social responsibility and other-orientation. These values are not attached to the practice from the outside. They are constitutive of it, which makes *Kue Maksuba*, particularly in its Ramadan production context, not merely a symbol of cultural heritage but a living vehicle for character formation.

Adult practitioner informants consistently identified the declining engagement of younger generations as the most urgent challenge facing the tradition. Their accounts, grounded in direct family and community experience across the Ramadan production season, revealed that younger people show meaningful openness when cultural meanings are made visible and personally relevant. This finding, viewed from the practitioners' perspective, reframes the generational transmission challenge from an attitude problem to a pedagogical design problem. The values embedded in *Kue Maksuba* are compelling; the bridge between those values and contemporary relevance has not yet been adequately built. This study argues that building that bridge, using Ramadan production as a living pedagogical context and formal education as a structured vehicle, is both urgent and achievable.

The bounded nature of this case study, one city, one season, eight producers, provides rich contextual depth rather than statistical breadth. Yin (2014) affirms that the goal of case study is analytic generalization: the findings are generalized to theory, not to populations. In this study, the theoretical contribution is a framework showing that culturally bounded, seasonally intensified traditional practices can function as character education resources when their embedded values are made explicit and pedagogically accessible. This framework can be analytically applied to comparable contexts across Indonesia and beyond. Practically, this study

recommends that educational institutions in South Sumatra develop structured pedagogical modules using *Kue Maksuba's* cultural value framework as a foundation for character education. These modules should center on the philosophical dimensions of the practice rather than its technical execution, inviting students into an interpretive conversation about what the cake's patient layers, generous ingredients, and communal production teach about how to live well. Future research should develop, pilot, and assess such pedagogical interventions, measuring their effectiveness in producing character education outcomes among Generation Z in South Sumatran educational contexts. Comparative case studies examining *Kue Maksuba* production during other seasons, in other Palembang sub-communities, or in comparable culinary heritage contexts across South Sumatra would also contribute to a broader understanding of the relationship between traditional culinary practice and character education. The single instrumental case study design employed here provides the depth and contextual richness needed to generate this foundational framework; subsequent studies can broaden its scope.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

## References

Azra, A. (2006). Pendidikan Islam: *Tradisi dan modernisasi menuju milenium baru* [Islamic education: Tradition and modernization toward a new millennium]. Logos Wacana Ilmu.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Creswell, J. W. (2013*). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. Basic Books.

Haba, J. (2006). *Revitalisasi kearifan lokal: Studi resolusi konflik di Kalimantan Barat, Maluku, dan Poso [Revitalization of local wisdom: Conflict resolution studies in West Kalimantan, Maluku, and Poso]*. ICIP and European Commission.

Kemendikbud. (2017). *Konsep dan pedoman penguatan pendidikan karakter [Concept and guidelines for strengthening character education*]. Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Keraf, A. S. (2002). *Etika lingkungan [Environmental ethics]*. Penerbit Buku Kompas.

Koentjaraningrat. (2009). *Pengantar ilmu antropologi* [Introduction to anthropology] (Rev. ed.). Rineka Cipta.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge University Press.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. SAGE Publications.

Lickona, T. (1991). *Educating for character: How our schools can teach respect and responsibility*. Bantam Books.

Makmur, T., & Dastina, W. (2018). Cultivating local wisdom in character education: Lessons from

family education values of Indonesian traditional ceremony. *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 26(2), 417–444. https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.26.2.2753

Muhaimin. (2002). *Paradigma pendidikan Islam: Upaya mengefektifkan pendidikan agama Islam di sekolah [Paradigm of Islamic education: Efforts to effectuate Islamic religious education in schools]* (2nd ed.). PT Remaja Rosdakarya.

Nurti, Y. (2017). Kajian makanan dalam perspektif antropologi [Food studies in anthropological

perspective]. *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, 19(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v19.n1.p1-10.2017

Tilaar, H. A. R. (2002). *Perubahan sosial dan pendidikan: Pengantar pedagogik transformatif untuk Indonesia [Social change and education: Introduction to transformative pedagogy for Indonesia]*. Grasindo.

UNESCO. (2003*). Convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage*. United

Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention

Van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. State University of New York Press.

Wijaya, S. (2019). Indonesian food culture mapping: A starter contribution to promote Indonesian culinary tourism. *Journal of Ethnic Foods*, 6(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1186/s42779-019-0009-3

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods (5th ed.)*. SAGE Publications.