Prima Magistra: Jurnal Ilmiah Kependidikan
Volume 7 – Number 4, October 2026, pp 853-867
https://doi.org/10.37478/jpm.v7i4.9023
Open Access: https://e-journal.uniflor.ac.id/index.php/jpm/article/view/9023

ISSN 2721-8112 (print)
ISSN 2722-4899 (online)

MATTENNUNG AS A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE: AN ANALYSIS OF LEGITIMATE PERIPHERAL PARTICIPATION IN THE TRANSMISSION OF *LIPA' SABBE* WEAVING IN WAJO REGENCY

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Article History
Received : 28/09/2026
Revised : 24/10/2026
Accepted : 29/10/2026

Keywords:
Community of practice, Legitimate peripheral participation, Mattennung, Lipa' sabbe, Situated learning, Knowledge transmission.

Abstract. This study examines *mattennung*, the tradition of weaving *lipa' sabbe* (Bugis silk sarongs) in Wajo Regency, as a community of practice, using situated learning theory and, in particular, the concept of legitimate peripheral participation (LPP). In Wajo, weaving skills are transmitted through direct involvement in the production process within families and weaving communities rather than through formal education. The study employed a qualitative approach with an ethnographic design. Data were collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews with senior weavers, young weavers, novices, and supporting informants, and documentation of the production process, and were analysed using Spradley's ethnographic analysis model. The findings show that the six stages of *mattennung*, namely *mappute* (bleaching the yarn), *maccello* (dyeing), *mappali* (spinning the yarn into a continuous strand), *massau* (arranging the yarn to form motifs), *mattennung* (weaving), and *ma'jai* (sewing the cloth into a sarong), form a trajectory of participation from the periphery to the core of the practice. Novices begin with low-risk stages such as *mappute* and *mappali* and are gradually entrusted with *massau* and weaving. This learning sequence does not follow the production sequence, and movement along it is marked by community recognition rather than formal examination. Tacit knowledge of yarn tension, colour evenness, and motif meaning is passed on through observation, imitation, direct correction, and everyday conversation. The findings confirm that *mattennung* is a complete informal education system in which learning, working, and the formation of a weaver identity occur simultaneously. This pattern is recommended as a foundation for culture-based local content in Wajo Regency.

How to Cite: Suyudi, M., Jayadi, K., Sayidiman, S., Yunus, P. P., & Pandang, A. (2026). *Mattennung* as a community of practice: An analysis of legitimate peripheral participation in the transmission of *lipa' sabbe* weaving in Wajo Regency. *Prima Magistra: Jurnal Ilmiah Kependidikan*, *7*(4), 853-867. https://doi.org/10.37478/jpm.v7i4.9023

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Publisher:
Program Studi PGSD Universitas Flores. Jln. Samratulangi, Kelurahan Paupire, Ende, Flores.
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INTRODUCTION

Wajo Regency is one of the main hubs of silk production in Indonesia. At its peak in 2005, the national silk weaving industry generated export earnings of almost USD 9.8 million from 11,383 industrial units in 11 provinces, of which 10,652 units (93.58%) were located in South Sulawesi (Taroniarta & Yahya, 2022). In this production chain, Enrekang and Soppeng serve as the upstream sector that cultivates mulberry and silkworms up to the cocoon stage, while Wajo serves as the downstream sector, functioning as a centre for yarn spinning, a producer of silk cloth, and a node of distribution and marketing (Sulolipu et al., 2022; Taroniarta & Yahya, 2022). One of the most important products of this downstream sector is *lipa' sabbe*, the Bugis silk sarong produced through the traditional practice of weaving, or *mattennung* (Amir, 2018).

For the Bugis people of Wajo, *mattennung* is more than an economic activity. The weaving tradition in Wajo has existed since the 13th century and was initially intended to meet household clothing needs before developing into a market commodity (Syukur, 2023). The skill of spinning and weaving silk once marked that a woman had reached adulthood and was ready to marry (Taroniarta & Yahya, 2022), while the square motif of *lipa' sabbe* contains the *sulapa eppa* symbol, which represents the customary values and *siri'* (honour) of the Bugis people

(Amir, 2018). The traditional loom, *tennung walida* (a backstrap loom known locally as *gedogan*), was also once the only silk loom used by the local community (Firdaus, 2021). *Mattennung* thus carries technical knowledge, cultural values, and social identity that are passed down across generations.

The continuity of this practice is under serious pressure. Data from the Wajo Regency Industry Office show that the number of small and medium weaving enterprises rose from 185 units (2020) to 631 units (2022) and then fell by 30.2% to 440 units in 2023, a decline triggered by the perception that traditional production is inefficient and by the low interest of young people in continuing the weaving business (Akram et al., 2025). In Rumpia Village, Majauleng District, *tennung walida* weavers are now mostly housewives and elderly people, while adolescent girls prefer to focus on school, work in new sectors, or switch to the faster non-machine loom (*alat tenun bukan mesin*, ATBM) (Firdaus, 2021). Similar symptoms have been found in weaving traditions elsewhere, such as the ikat weaving of East Nusa Tenggara, which is now mostly carried out by older women because formal education has taken up the time and interest of the younger generation (Rodliyah, 2024; Rohi & Long, 2026).

Pressure also comes from changes in the structure of work and raw materials. Almost 90% of silk production in Wajo is now carried out by women because men have moved to work considered more profitable, and of the one million mulberry seedlings provided to Wajo, only about 491,000 had been planted by July 2021 (Taroniarta & Yahya, 2022). Craftspeople also face the high cost of raw materials, especially imported silk, as well as limited production technology (Sulolipu et al., 2022; Suriani et al., 2018). In terms of competence, weavers generally have a junior or senior high school education, come from farming families, and have limited knowledge of designing motifs based on Bugis local wisdom (Ardi et al., 2020). Market pressure for fast production has even been judged to erode the meaning of the original *lipa' sabbe* motifs (Rumi, 2017). These findings show that what is threatened is not only the number of weavers but also the depth of the knowledge that is successfully passed on.

These symptoms are essentially an educational problem, namely the problem of how knowledge and skills move from one generation to the next. Education in Wajo silk-weaving families is not delivered in a structured way; children acquire it by watching the routine activities of the previous generation through the instilling of discipline, role modelling, and modelling (Inanna et al., 2020). Weaving skill is not innate but is acquired through intensive intergenerational interaction and learning by doing (Asriani et al., 2021). Similar patterns of transmission within families without formal education have been found in the making of *tope le'leng* in the Kajang customary community (Ansaar, 2024) and in the ikat weaving of Southwest Sumba (Ate et al., 2026). This means that when young people are no longer around the loom, this natural learning pathway is also cut off.

Studies of Wajo silk weaving have so far focused mainly on economic aspects, business strategies, digital marketing, and gender roles (Akram et al., 2025; Sulolipu et al., 2022; Suriani et al., 2018; Taroniarta & Yahya, 2022). Studies that touch on transmission have read it through the lens of informal entrepreneurship education (Inanna et al., 2020), the SECI model of knowledge management (Asriani et al., 2021), or the sociology of social change (Firdaus, 2021; Syukur et al., 2014). These lenses explain *what* is passed on and *what* results, but they do not yet explain how the learner's social position changes within the community. Yet the finding that children learn by observing and are then gradually involved (Asriani et al., 2021) is a central feature of situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Cross-cultural studies, for example of Kente weavers in Ghana, have also shown that weavers' competence is formed through participation in tiered informal work practice, from novice and junior weaver to master weaver (Agyemang et al., 2023).

Situated learning theory views learning as an inseparable part of social practice rather than as the transfer of information from one head to another (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Newcomers learn by taking part in the real work of a community, starting with legitimate, low-risk peripheral tasks and moving toward full participation as their competence and community recognition grow. Lave and Wenger stress that legitimate peripheral participation (LPP) is not a

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teaching method but an analytical lens for understanding learning as a social activity; in later work, Lave (2019) emphasises that learning is a change in participation in practices that are themselves changing. Wenger (1998) identifies three dimensions that constitute a community of practice: mutual engagement, joint enterprise, and shared repertoire. Learning in such a community is always tied to identity formation: a person learns not only to weave but also to become a weaver. Farnsworth et al. (2016) emphasise that the theory is essentially a social theory of learning in which identity, competence, and recognition are interrelated, and Pyrko et al. (2017) add that communities of practice really work when their members "think together" about real problems, so that tacit knowledge can be shared through direct engagement. Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2020) have extended these ideas to social learning spaces that create immediate, potential, and strategic value for participants, which allows learning patterns in a community of weavers to be read as a source of principles for designing learning spaces outside the community, including schools.

Polanyi (1966) states that people know more than they can tell. Such tacit knowledge is embedded in the body and in experience, so it is difficult to transfer through verbal explanation. In weaving, the body serves as a source of information through cues arising from physical interaction with tools and materials (Agyemang & Wessels, 2022). The transfer of tacit knowledge from master to apprentice occurs mainly through time spent together while the master works, the delegation of tasks, and the master's willingness to guide (Agyemang & Boateng, 2019). In traditional crafts, this knowledge is often unwritten and survives only through practice, so weak intergenerational transmission is a major threat to the continuity of intangible cultural heritage (Maldonado-Erazo et al., 2025; Pariwongkhuntorn & Phanpanya, 2026). In Wajo, weaving transmission has been explained with the SECI model, for example through the use of *fuce-fuce*, remnants of earlier generations' weaving that serve as motif references (Asriani et al., 2021).

Culturally responsive teaching places the knowledge, experience, and ways of learning of students' communities at the centre of learning, so that schools are not detached from students' cultural lives (Gay, 2018). In Indonesia, this space is provided through local content in the Merdeka Curriculum (Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi [Kemendikbudristek], 2024) and the mandate for the advancement of culture (Republik Indonesia, 2021). Several studies have used weaving as an ethnopedagogical learning resource, for example Kediri ikat weaving integrated into various elementary school subjects (Ilmiyah & Suprayitno, 2026) and Pringgasela weaving, whose values are taught through science and social studies (IPAS) lessons, practice on small looms, and visits to weaving centres (Bahri et al., 2024). These studies focus on integrating cultural values and content but have not translated the participation structure of weaving communities into pedagogical principles.

This review reveals at least four unresolved gaps. First, a theoretical gap: no study has yet read *mattennung* through the framework of communities of practice and LPP (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Second, an empirical gap: stages such as *mappali* and *sau* have been mentioned (Asriani et al., 2021), but the production sequence of *lipa' sabbe* has not been mapped as a learning trajectory from the periphery to the core. Third, a conceptual gap: previous studies explain how knowledge moves but not when and by whom a person is recognised as a weaver, even though recognition and identity are at the heart of this theory (Farnsworth et al., 2016). Fourth, a practical gap: weaving instruction in schools generally integrates cultural values into subjects (Bahri et al., 2024; Ilmiyah & Suprayitno, 2026) but has not been designed to follow the way weaving knowledge itself is learned, even though Law No. 5 of 2017 and Government Regulation No. 87 of 2021 position traditional knowledge and technology as objects of cultural advancement to be fostered, among other means, through education (Republik Indonesia, 2017, 2021).

The novelty of this study lies in mapping the six stages of *mattennung* as a trajectory of participation using the community of practice and LPP framework, which shifts the focus of inquiry from the family to the community, from outcomes to process, and from preservation to pedagogy (Lave, 2019; Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2020). Accordingly, this study

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aims to: (1) describe the structure of the *mattennung* community of practice; (2) map the trajectory of novices' participation across the stages of *lipa' sabbe* production; (3) identify the technical knowledge, tacit knowledge, and cultural values learned at each stage; (4) explain the mechanisms of competence recognition and weaver identity formation; and (5) formulate implications for developing culture-based local content learning in Wajo Regency, in line with the space for local content in the Merdeka Curriculum (Kemendikbudristek, 2024).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is qualitative research with an ethnographic design. A qualitative approach was chosen because the study seeks to understand the meaning and process of learning in *mattennung* from the perspective of its practitioners rather than to measure relationships between variables (Creswell & Poth, 2018). An ethnographic design was chosen because *mattennung* transmission is embedded in the daily life of the weaving community and its knowledge is largely tacit, so it can only be understood through the researcher's direct involvement in the field (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019; Spradley, 1980). The community of practice and LPP framework was used as a sensitising concept that directed the focus of observation without precluding findings outside the framework (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

The study was conducted in Wajo Regency, South Sulawesi, from July to October 2026. Sites were selected purposively among weaving centres that still carry out the *lipa' sabbe* production sequence relatively completely, namely Pakkanna Village (Tanasitolo District), Rumpia Village (Majauleng District), and Wallanae Subdistrict (Sabbangparu District). These three sites are weaving centres recorded in previous studies (Firdaus, 2021; Suriani et al., 2018) and represent communities using both backstrap looms (*gedogan*) and ATBM. A four-month fieldwork period allowed the researchers to follow at least one complete *lipa' sabbe* production cycle, in line with the principle of prolonged engagement in ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019).

The social situation in this study was the *lipa' sabbe* weaving community in Wajo Regency, comprising place (weavers' houses and the space beneath their stilt houses), actors (members of the weaving community), and activities (all stages of production) (Spradley, 1980). Informants were selected through purposive sampling, expanded through snowball sampling, and grouped according to their position of participation in the community (Creswell & Poth, 2018), as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Informant Groups and Criteria

Informant group	Criteria	Estimated number
Senior weavers (old-timers)	Aged about 40–60 years, weaving for more than 20 years, mastering all stages (*mappute* to *ma'jai*), and recognised by the community as master weavers	4–6 people
Young weavers	Aged 20–30 years, weaving for more than 10 years, weaving independently and mastering all stages, but not yet recognised by the community as master weavers	4–6 people
Novices (newcomers)	Aged 15–19 years, currently learning to weave, and involved only in the early stages (*mappute–mappali*)	4–6 people
Supporting informants	Non-weavers who understand all stages of *mattennung*, including community and customary leaders, weaving preservationists and observers, silk entrepreneurs, and local content teachers or administrators	3–5 people

The number of informants was determined by the principle of data saturation, that is, data collection stopped when new information no longer added meaningful understanding; a systematic review shows that saturation in relatively homogeneous populations is generally

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reached at 9–17 interviews (Hennink & Kaiser, 2022). For novice informants who were still minors, interviews were conducted with the consent and accompaniment of parents or guardians, and the identities of all informants were anonymised with codes (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The focus of the study was the transmission of *mattennung* knowledge as a community of practice through LPP. This focus was broken down into dimensions and indicators derived from the frameworks of Wenger (1998) and Lave and Wenger (1991) and from the categories of tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966), as presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Research Focus, Dimensions, and Indicators

Focus	Dimension	Observed indicators
Mattennung community of practice	Mutual engagement	Patterns of interaction among weavers, shared workspaces, senior–novice relationships
	Joint enterprise	Goals and quality standards agreed by the community
	Shared repertoire	Bugis terms, tools, motifs, *fuce-fuce*, stories, and work habits
Trajectory of participation	Periphery, movement, and full participation	Early stages assigned to novices, requirements for moving between stages, and core stages and those who perform them
Knowledge learned	Technical, tacit, and cultural values	How each stage is performed; sensitivity to yarn tension, motif counting, and colour matching; meaning of motifs, patience, meticulousness, and *siri'*
Recognition and identity	Mechanisms of recognition and identity formation	Who judges, markers of competence, moments of recognition, and how novices see themselves
Pedagogical implications	Learning principles	Patterns that can be translated into local content learning

Data were collected through four complementary techniques. First, participant observation, in which the researchers took part directly in *mattennung* activities, from passive observation to learning to perform simple stages, so that they experienced the position of a newcomer in the community (Spradley, 1980). Observation focused on the sequence of novices' involvement, interaction during work, and the ways senior weavers gave examples, corrections, and recognition. Second, semi-structured in-depth interviews with each informant group using descriptive, structural, and contrast ethnographic questions (Spradley, 1979). Interviews with senior weavers explored their learning histories and how they teach, while interviews with novices explored their ongoing learning experiences. Third, documentation in the form of photographs, videos, and artefacts such as *fuce-fuce*, motif samples, looms, and relevant government documents (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019). Fourth, focus group discussions (FGDs) in the final stage with senior weavers, young weavers, and supporting informants to confirm preliminary findings and explore their implications for local content (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The main research instrument was the researchers themselves (human instrument), supported by observation guidelines, interview guidelines for each informant group, descriptive and reflective field notes, recording devices used with informants' consent, and FGD guidelines (Creswell & Poth, 2018). These guidelines were flexible and refined during the study in keeping with the emergent nature of qualitative design (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019).

Analysis was carried out from the beginning of data collection to the end of the study by combining Spradley's (1980) ethnographic analysis model with the interactive analysis of Miles et al. (2020). The steps were: (1) data condensation, namely transcription, sorting, and initial

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coding based on the research dimensions; (2) domain analysis to identify general categories, such as "production stages", "types of novice tasks", and "how senior weavers teach"; (3) taxonomic analysis to detail the internal structure of each domain, such as the sequence of stages and the tasks at each stage; (4) componential analysis to identify differences in tasks and responsibilities between novices, young weavers, and senior weavers; (5) cultural theme analysis to connect all domains and interpret them through the LPP framework; and (6) data display and conclusion drawing in the form of narratives, tables, and a diagram of the participation trajectory.

Trustworthiness was maintained through prolonged field engagement and persistent observation; triangulation of sources, techniques, and time; member checking with informants; and an audit trail of the entire research process (Birt et al., 2016; Nowell et al., 2017). The researchers' reflexivity was recorded in reflective field notes to separate description from early interpretation (Braun & Clarke, 2021).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research Sites and Informants

The study was conducted in Pakkanna Village (Tanasitolo District), Rumpia Village (Majauleng District), and Wallanae Subdistrict (Sabbangparu District) from July to October 2026. The 16 informants consisted of senior weavers, young weavers, novices, and a supporting informant. This grouping follows the distinction between old-timers and newcomers in the LPP framework (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The profiles of the key informants are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Profiles of Key Informants

Code	Group	Number	Age	Weaving experience	Loom	Stages mastered
PS-01	Senior weavers	5 people	40–60 years	More than 20 years	Backstrap (*gedogan*)	All stages
PM-01	Young weavers	5 people	20–30 years	More than 10 years	Backstrap (*gedogan*)	All stages
PP-01	Novices	5 people	15–19 years	More than one year	Backstrap (*gedogan*)	*Mappute–mappali*
IP-01	Supporting informant	1 person	40 years	Non-weaver; preservationist and observer	–	Understands all stages

The *Mattennung* Process: From *Mappute* to *Ma'jai*

Observation showed that *lipa' sabbe* production proceeds through six stages known in the community by their Bugis names (Table 4). In this article, *mattennung* is used in two senses: as the name of the whole weaving practice and as the name of the fifth stage, namely weaving the yarn into cloth. This sequence is consistent with descriptions of other traditional weaving processes in South Sulawesi, which also begin with processing and dyeing the yarn and end with finishing the cloth (Ansaar, 2024).

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Table 4. Stages of the *Mattennung* Process

No	Stage	Activity	Tools and materials	Actors observed
1	*Mappute*	Bleaching the silk yarn before dyeing	Hearth, large pot, and *majang* (traditional bleach)	PS-01, PM-01, PP-01, IP-01
2	*Maccello*	Dyeing the yarn	Dye, hearth, large pot, and two wooden sticks for lifting and dipping the yarn	PS-01, PM-01, PP-01, IP-01
3	*Mappali*	Spinning the yarn into one continuous strand	A simple manually operated wooden spinning device with two wheels: one wheel for unwinding the yarn and one for joining the spun yarn	PS-01, PM-01, PP-01, IP-01
4	*Massau*	Arranging the yarn strand by strand to form the desired motif	A simple *massau* frame assembled beneath the stilt house	PS-01, PM-01, IP-01
5	*Mattennung*	Weaving the silk yarn into cloth	The *tennung walida* set: *walida*, *jakka*, *sumellang*, *wakkangeng*, *falava*, *pattolo are'*, *pappanendre*, *fefeng allulungeng*, and *simong*	PS-01, PM-01, IP-01
6	*Ma'jai*	Sewing the cloth by hand into a ready-to-wear sarong	Needle and thread	PS-01, PM-01, IP-01

The six stages are interdependent. Errors in the early stages, such as uneven colour during *maccello* or tangled yarn during *mappali*, carry through to the finished cloth. Each stage therefore has quality standards shared by the weaving community, which in Wenger's (1998) framework constitute the joint enterprise of a community of practice.

Mattennung as a Community of Practice

The results show that *mattennung* fulfils the three dimensions of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998), as summarised in Table 5. Mutual engagement arises because all stages are carried out around the home, so that members at different levels of participation observe one another every day. This condition is similar to the finding of Inanna et al. (2020) that the children of craftspeople grow up amid their families' routine weaving activities.

Table 5. Dimensions of the *Mattennung* Community of Practice

Dimension	Findings
Mutual engagement	All stages are carried out around the home, so novices, young weavers, and senior weavers work in the same space and observe one another
Joint enterprise	The community shares the goal of producing *lipa' sabbe* that meets quality standards: even colour, neat yarn arrangement, accurate motifs, and seamlessly joined sarongs
Shared repertoire	The terms *mappute*, *maccello*, *mappali*, *massau*, *mattennung*, and *ma'jai*; motif names; loom components; and *fuce-fuce* as motif references

The community's shared repertoire, especially Bugis work terms and *fuce-fuce*, functions as a common resource that connects generations of weavers. This finding supports the observation of Asriani et al. (2021) that *fuce-fuce* were deliberately made by earlier generations as motif references for their successors.

Trajectory of Participation across the Six Stages

The main finding of this study is that the six stages are not only a production sequence but also form a ladder of participation for novices. Manawati, a senior weaver from Tanasitolo, explained, "*narekko magguru mopi taue mattenung, de'nawedding ri yalang jama-jamang masussae*", which means, in simple terms, that novices do not begin learning from the first stage

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in order but from the stages whose errors are easy to correct and do not damage the cloth as a whole. This pattern reflects the principle of legitimate peripheral participation, namely involvement in real tasks that contribute to production but carry low risk (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The mapping of participation positions at each stage is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Mapping of Participation Positions across the *Mattennung* Stages

Stage	Participation position	Novice's role	Senior weaver's role	Reason for placement
Mappute	Peripheral	Helping to wash, rinse, and dry the yarn	Deciding when the yarn is white enough	Physical, repetitive task; relatively low risk of damage under supervision
Mappali	Peripheral	Spinning and winding the yarn into a continuous strand	Checking the neatness of the strand	Repetitive task that trains patience and tactile sensitivity
Maccello	Intermediate	Helping to dip and dry the yarn	Mixing dyes and judging the results	Mixing dyes requires experience; novices only help with technical parts
Ma'jai	Intermediate	Helping and observing	Joining the cloth so the motifs meet	Accurate motif alignment determines the value of the sarong
Massau	Core	Observing	Arranging yarn strands according to the motif	Arrangement errors ruin the motif of the whole cloth
Mattennung	Core	Observing	Weaving the motif	Requires sensitivity to yarn tension and the rhythm of beating

Figure 1 shows that the learning sequence differs from the production sequence. Novices enter through several "doors" at the peripheral stages (*mappute* and *mappali*), then take part in *maccello* and *ma'jai* under supervision, and finally move toward *massau* and *mattennung* as the core of the practice once recognised by the community. This tiered pattern from novice to master weaver is consistent with the master–junior–novice structure of the Kente weaving community (Agyemang et al., 2023).

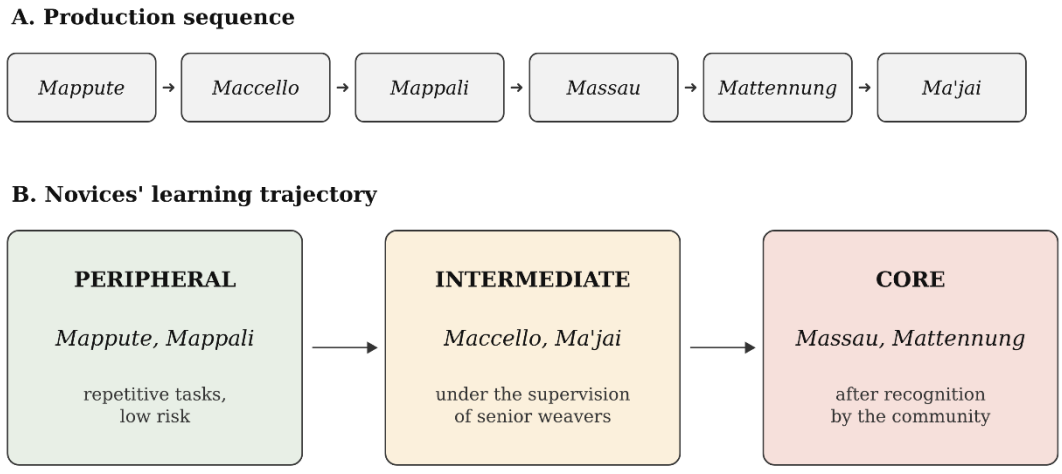


Figure 1. Production Sequence and Novices' Learning Trajectory in *Mattennung*

Knowledge Learned at Each Stage

Each stage of *mattennung* contains three types of knowledge learned simultaneously: technical knowledge, tacit knowledge, and cultural values (Table 7). Tacit knowledge, such as sensitivity to yarn tension and the rhythm of the *walida* beat, is hard to put into words and can only be mastered through repeated involvement (Polanyi, 1966). Cultural values, such as the

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meaning of motifs and *siri'* as a weaver, are learned together with technique, in line with the position of *lipa' sabbe* motifs as carriers of Bugis customary values (Amir, 2018).

Table 7. Types of Knowledge at Each Stage of *Mattennung*

Stage	Technical knowledge	Tacit knowledge	Cultural values
Mappute	How to bleach and clean the yarn	Sensing when the yarn is clean and soft enough	Patience, cleanliness
Maccello	Dye materials and dyeing methods	Sensitivity to dye proportions and colour evenness	Meaning of colours in Bugis culture
Mappali	How to spin and wind	Tactile sensitivity to yarn tension	Perseverance
Massau	How to count and arrange the yarn	Visualising the motif from the yarn arrangement	Meaning of motifs (e.g., *balo' renni*, *balo' lobang*)
Mattennung	How to operate the loom	Rhythm and force of the *walida* beat	Meticulousness, *siri'* as a weaver
Ma'jai	How to sew the sarong	Precision in matching the motifs	Wholeness, perfection of the work

Table 7 shows that the share of tacit knowledge and cultural values increases as novices move toward the core stages. In *massau*, for example, weavers must be able to visualise the whole motif from the arrangement of yarn strands, an ability to see the relationship between parts and the whole that characterises tacit knowledge in crafts (Agyemang & Wessels, 2022; Polanyi, 1966).

Mechanisms of Recognition and Weaver Identity Formation

The data show that recognition of competence is granted not through examinations but through gradual trust from senior weavers. This finding is consistent with Wenger's (1998) view that competence in a community of practice is determined by the recognition of community members rather than by external evaluation. Saidah, a senior weaver, stated, "*majettapi pattennung loloe inappai wedding napatipu seddie lipa*", meaning that the responsibility for completing a whole silk sarong is given to a novice weaver only when she has properly understood each step of the process. The markers of recognition found are summarised in Table 8.

Table 8. Markers of Recognition in the *Mattennung* Community

Marker	Description
Work no longer needs correction	The novice's *mappali* yarn is used directly without being redone
Permitted to perform *massau*	The main marker of moving into the core of the practice
Woven cloth is sold	The work is recognised as having market value
Trusted to guide other novices	The marker of full participation

The last marker, being trusted to guide other novices, shows that full participation in *mattennung* includes the ability to teach, not only the ability to weave. This is similar to the finding among Kente weavers that weaving competence encompasses mastery of weaving knowledge as well as the capability to mentor (Agyemang et al., 2023).

Pedagogical Implications for Local Content

The *mattennung* pattern of transmission can be translated into six pedagogical principles for local content learning (Table 9). These principles were formulated from the field findings and FGDs and then aligned with the idea of social learning spaces (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2020) and culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2018).

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Table 9. Pedagogical Principles Derived from the *Mattennung* Pattern of Transmission

Principle	Application in local content
Learning starts with real, low-risk tasks	Students begin with *mappute* and *mappali*
The learning sequence need not follow the production sequence	The curriculum is organised by level of risk and complexity, not by the order of the process
Progression is based on trust	Performance assessment and portfolios for each stage
Tacit knowledge is learned through observation and direct correction	Weavers are involved as practice resource persons
Technique and meaning are learned together	The meanings of colours and motifs are taught during *maccello* and *massau*
Identity forms through community recognition	Exhibitions of students' work before the weaving community

Hidden Structure in "Unstructured" Transmission

The finding that the six stages of *mattennung* form a ladder of participation shows that the transmission of *lipa' sabbe* weaving is not a random process but an informal education system with a structure. This structure is unwritten and not designed as a curriculum, yet it works consistently: each stage has its own actors, knowledge, and requirements for moving on. This finding both reinforces and goes beyond Inanna et al. (2020), who described weaving education in the family as an unstructured process.

The most important finding is that the learning sequence differs from the production sequence. Novices do not learn from *mappute* through to *ma'jai* in order; instead, they enter through low-risk stages such as *mappute* and *mappali* and are only later entrusted with *massau* and *mattennung*. The weaving community thus arranges the learning pathway according to level of risk and complexity rather than workflow, a concrete form of the regulation of access in LPP (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

There are at least three explanations for why this pattern forms. First, the risk to raw materials. Silk yarn is expensive, especially when weavers depend on imported silk (Suriani et al., 2018), so errors in *massau* or *mattennung* can ruin the motif of the whole cloth, whereas errors in *mappute* or *mappali* can still be corrected without major loss. Risk-sensitive delegation of this kind has also been found in master–apprentice relationships in other skill-based occupations (Agyemang & Boateng, 2019). Second, the tacit nature of weaving knowledge. Sensitivity to yarn tension in *mappali*, colour evenness in *maccello*, or the rhythm of the *walida* beat in *mattennung* is hard to express in words and can only be mastered through repeated involvement (Polanyi, 1966). The peripheral stages serve as practice spaces for building this bodily sensitivity, just as the body is the main source of information in Kente weaving practice (Agyemang & Wessels, 2022). Third, the social structure of Bugis families in Wajo. All family members are involved in supporting the household economy (Asriani et al., 2021), and women play a dominant role in silk production (Taroniarta & Yahya, 2022), so girls are around weaving activities from an early age. The role of women as guardians and successors of weaving traditions is also prominent in weaving communities across Indonesia (Ate et al., 2026; Prasadja & Singgalen, 2025).

These findings are consistent with Inanna et al. (2020), who found that weaving education in the family takes place through role modelling and modelling, and with Asriani et al. (2021), who found that children learn by watching their parents perform *mappali*, *sau*, and weaving and are then gradually involved. However, this study goes further. Whereas Asriani et al. (2021) explained transmission as the conversion of tacit and explicit knowledge through the SECI model, this study shows that behind the impression of being "unstructured" there is an orderly sequence of participation and clear markers of recognition. The SECI approach has also been applied to Khmer crafts in Thailand but was directed more toward documentation and youth training (Pariwongkhuntorn & Phanpanya, 2026) than toward the structure of participation within the community.

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The findings on the peripheral stages offer a new explanation for the regeneration problem noted by Firdaus (2021) and Taroniarta and Yahya (2022). If *mappute* and *maccello* are no longer carried out at home, for example because weavers buy yarn that has already been bleached and dyed (as is now widely found in the traditional markets of Atapange and Sempangnge), novices lose their entry point into the community. The regeneration problem is therefore caused not only by the low interest of young people (Akram et al., 2025; Ulfa et al., 2023) but also by the disappearance of legitimate peripheral tasks for novices.

Compared with Syukur et al. (2014), who showed the transformation of looms from *gedogan* to ATBM and machine looms, this study adds an educational dimension: changes in tools and materials alter not only the way of production but also the structure of the learning pathway. Meanwhile, compared with Seediq weaving instruction in Taiwan, which is course-based and starts from technique (Hwang & Huang, 2019), the community-embedded transmission of *mattennung* unites technique with cultural meaning. This finding is also consistent with the study of Guano knotted carpet weaving in Ecuador, which found that weak intergenerational transmission is a major source of vulnerability for intangible cultural heritage (Maldonado-Erazo et al., 2025).

These findings are consistent with the concept of LPP (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The *mappute* and *mappali* stages are legitimate forms of participation because they contribute directly to the production of *lipa' sabbe*, and peripheral because their risk is low and they lie outside the core of motif formation. Through these stages, novices absorb the community's culture of practice before being entrusted with core tasks. The findings on recognition and identity are also consistent with Wenger (1998) and Farnsworth et al. (2016), who hold that learning means becoming a member of a community, not merely mastering skills. Senior weavers' direct corrections while novices work also reflect the "thinking together" that makes communities of practice function (Pyrko et al., 2017).

However, there are two differences that enrich the theory. First, Lave and Wenger (1991) tend to portray the trajectory from periphery to core as a relatively linear movement, whereas in *mattennung* the trajectory branches: novices can enter through several peripheral stages at once, and the sequence does not follow the production flow. Second, the trajectory of participation in *mattennung* is vulnerable to disruption when the production chain changes, for example when *mappute* and *maccello* are replaced by ready-made yarn from outside. This supports Lave's (2019) view that learning is a change in participation in practices that are themselves changing, while showing that the sustainability of a community of practice depends on the integrity of the work sequence that provides space for novices' participation.

Theoretically, this study extends the application of situated learning theory to Indonesian traditional crafts and adds two concepts: a branching trajectory of participation that does not parallel the production sequence, and the vulnerability of the trajectory of participation to changes in the production chain (Lave, 2019; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Unlike previous studies that read *mattennung* transmission through the lens of informal entrepreneurship (Inanna et al., 2020), knowledge management (Asriani et al., 2021), or social change (Firdaus, 2021; Syukur et al., 2014), the novelty of this study appears in three findings: a learning sequence that does not parallel the production sequence, permission to perform *massau* as the main marker of competence recognition, and the vulnerability of the learning pathway to changes in the production chain.

Practically, for the development of local content, weaving instruction in schools should be organised according to level of risk and complexity, starting with *mappute* and *mappali* (Table 9). This principle complements ethnopedagogical weaving practices that have so far emphasised integrating values into subjects (Bahri et al., 2024; Ilmiyah & Suprayitno, 2026) and is in line with culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2018). For local governments, preservation programmes need to maintain *mappute*, *maccello*, and *mappali* in weaving centres because these stages are the entry points for young people, in line with the mandate to foster objects of cultural advancement (Republik Indonesia, 2021). For weaving communities, these

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findings can serve as a basis for recognising and strengthening their role as educators (Wenger-Trayner & Wenger-Trayner, 2020).

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

This study concludes that *mattennung* in Wajo Regency is a community of practice that passes on the knowledge and skills of *lipa' sabbe* weaving through legitimate peripheral participation. The community has mutual engagement in household workspaces, a joint enterprise in the form of *lipa' sabbe* quality standards, and a shared repertoire consisting of Bugis work terms, motif names, loom components, and *fuce-fuce*. The six stages of *mattennung* form a trajectory of participation from the periphery (*mappute*, *mappali*) through the intermediate stages (*maccello*, *ma'jai*) to the core (*massau*, *mattennung*), and this learning sequence does not parallel the production sequence because the community arranges it according to level of risk and complexity.

Each stage contains technical knowledge, tacit knowledge, and cultural values that are learned together, with the share of tacit knowledge and cultural meaning increasing toward the core stages. Competence is recognised through gradual trust from senior weavers, with permission to perform *massau* as the main marker and being trusted to guide other novices as the marker of full participation; along with this recognition, novices form their identity as Bugis weavers of Wajo. Because this trajectory is vulnerable to disruption when the peripheral stages disappear from the community, preserving *mattennung* requires not only technical training and marketing but also maintaining the integrity of the work sequence that provides space for novices' participation.

Based on these findings, it is suggested that (1) local governments maintain *mappute*, *maccello*, and *mappali* in weaving centres and strengthen the role of senior weavers as educators; (2) education offices and schools develop *lipa' sabbe* weaving local content that begins with low-risk tasks, is organised by complexity, is assessed through performance and portfolios, and involves weavers as resource persons; and (3) weaving communities continue to involve young people from an early age, including in the peripheral stages, while passing on the meanings of colours and motifs together with technique.

This study is limited in that the key informants were dominated by *gedogan* users and the number of informants per group was limited. Future research is recommended to compare the trajectories of participation of *gedogan* and ATBM weavers, examine the impact of using ready-made yarn from outside the region on the integrity of the learning pathway, investigate the role of gender in access to participation in *mattennung*, and develop and test a local content learning model based on the *mattennung* pattern of transmission through research and development.

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