Cultural changes in the *Hapo Ana* ritual among the community of Waduwalla village, Sabu Liae district, Sabu Raijua regency

Yeni Ariany Rike
Universitas Negeri Makassar
yennirike@gmail.com

Nurlela
Universitas Negeri Makassar
nurlela@unm.ac.id

Abstract

This study examines cultural changes in the *Hapo Ana* ritual among the people of Waduwalla Village, Sabu Liae District, Sabu Raijua Regency. This traditional ritual serves as an expression of gratitude and a means of establishing cultural identity for newborns within the social structure of the Sabu community. Employing a qualitative method with an anthropological approach, data were collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews with traditional leaders and community figures, and the study of documentation. The findings indicate that modernization, the introduction of formal religious teachings, advancements in medical technology, and shifting values among the younger generation have triggered significant transformations in the execution of the ritual. These changes are evident in the simplification of traditional processions, a reduction in the use of original ritual symbols, and the integration of modern religious elements. This phenomenon reflects the cultural adaptation dynamics of the Waduwalla community as they seek to balance ancestral traditions amidst the currents of global change.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji perubahan budaya dalam ritual Hapo Ana pada masyarakat Desa Waduwalla, Kecamatan Sabu Liae, Kabupaten Sabu Raijua. Ritual tradisional ini merupakan bentuk ungkapan syukur sekaligus pengenalan identitas kultural bagi bayi yang baru lahir dalam struktur sosial masyarakat Sabu. Menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan antropologi, data dikumpulkan melalui observasi partisifatif, wawancara mendalam dengan tokoh adat serta pemuka masyarakat, dan studi dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa modernisasi, masuknya ajaran agama formal, kemajuan teknologi medis, serta pergeseran nilai generasi muda telah memicu transformasi signifikan dalam pelaksanaan ritual. Perubahan tersebut terlihat pada simplifikasi prosesi adat, pengurangan penggunaan simbol-simbol ritual asli, hingga integrasi unsur keagamaan modern. Fenomena ini mencerminkan dinamika adaptasi kultural masyarakat Waduwalla dalam menyeimbangkan tradisi leluhur di tengah arus perubahan zaman global.

Keywords

Cultural change, Cultural identity, Hapo ana

1. Introduction

Indonesia is a nation characterized by immense cultural diversity, evidenced by the existence of various ethnic groups, languages, customs, and belief systems that have evolved across its different regions (Saebani, 2012). This cultural heritage is passed down through generations and serves as the identity of local communities. One manifestation of culture that persists to this day is the traditional ritual, which embodies religious, social, and cultural values (Pujileksono, 2017). From an anthropological perspective, rituals are not merely viewed as a series of ceremonial activities; rather, they function as a medium for preserving cultural identity, strengthening social solidarity, and transmitting life values to subsequent generations. Consequently, traditional rituals play a vital role in ensuring the continuity of a society's culture (Koentjaraningrat, 2002).

Fundamentally, traditional rituals are an integral part of a cultural system comprising the ideas, actions, and human creations that are learned and transmitted within a society (Sairin, 2002). According to Koentjaraningrat, a ritual consists of a sequence of actions performed according to specific customary rules, with the timing, location, required paraphernalia, and participants all predetermined by the community that upholds them (Koentjaraningrat, 1990). Thus, a ritual is not merely a symbolic activity; it also reflects the values, norms, and worldview embraced by a social group. This implies that any change in a ritual may signify a shift within the society's own cultural system (Hisyam, 2020).

One such traditional ritual, still recognized by the people of Sabu Raijua Regency, is the *Hapo Ana* ritual, practiced by the community of Waduwalla Village. This ritual is an ancestral cultural legacy that holds significant meaning: it serves as an expression of gratitude, a gesture of respect toward ancestors, and a means to strengthen social bonds among community members. The *Hapo Ana* ritual incorporates various cultural elements, including traditional prayers, symbolic objects, the assignment of roles based on custom, and the collective participation of the community. Consequently, this ritual serves as a cultural identifier that distinguishes the community of Waduwalla Village from other groups. Nevertheless, the passage of time has brought various changes to the community's way of life, including the execution of the *Hapo Ana* ritual. The currents of modernization, technological advancement, rising education levels, population mobility, and the introduction of new values have led to adjustments in certain elements of the ritual. These changes are evident in the simplification of the ritual's stages, the use of more accessible language, adjustments to the timing of the proceedings, and the adoption of more practical equipment. Despite these technical shifts, the community continues to strive to uphold the core values embedded within the ritual, ensuring that the cultural significance bequeathed by their ancestors is not lost. Beyond the influence of modernization, the evolution of the *Hapo Ana* ritual is also linked to shifts in its social function. In the past, the ritual served as a primary means of strengthening social solidarity, fostering mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), and ensuring adherence to customary rules. Today, however, many community members are occupied with education, employment, or economic activities, which has altered the level of participation in the ritual. As a result, the *Hapo Ana* ritual no longer functions solely as a medium for observing custom; it has also become a symbol of the preservation of the cultural identity of the Waduwalla Village community amidst a changing era.

Cultural change is an inevitable process in any society. Koentjaraningrat explains that culture is dynamic and constantly evolves as a result of human interaction with both social and physical environments. Such changes may occur gradually or rapidly, depending on the specific conditions of the society in question. Thus, the changes observed in the *Hapo Ana* ritual can be understood as a form of social adaptation a way for the community to adjust to social change without abandoning the core cultural values that lie at the heart of the ritual (Mahfuz, 2019). Based on the description above, research on the cultural transformation of the *Hapo Ana* ritual within the community of Waduwalla Village is significant,

as it offers insight into the dynamics of local culture in the face of social change. This study is expected to contribute to the development of cultural anthropology—specifically regarding cultural change and the preservation of local traditions. Furthermore, the findings are intended to serve as a point of consideration for local government authorities, traditional leaders, and the community at large in their efforts to ensure the continuity of the *Hapo Ana* ritual as a piece of cultural heritage with historical value.

Literally, the word *Hapo* means "to welcome" or "welcoming"; thus, the *Hapo* ceremony can be simply understood as a welcoming ritual for a newborn child. *Hapo Ana* is a ceremony to welcome and accept a newborn, establishing them as a legitimate child according to customary law. This ceremony takes place when a child is born to a legally recognized wife. *Hapo* may also be performed to welcome a child born to a woman who is not a legally recognized wife, or a child born to a woman by a man who is not her husband in which case the child becomes part of the mother's family. Such a child is referred to as *ana do bui pa kepue*, or "a child who has fallen from a tree". Sacred phenomena represent the constructs and established customs of a society encompassing beliefs, myths, dogmas, and legends which serve as a system of representation expressing the essence of the sacred, as well as virtues and powers associated with the Divine. The history and interrelationships among sacred elements are analogous to the relationships found within the profane realm. Therefore, the sacred cannot be reduced to mere personal entities such as deities or spirits; rather, objects including stones, trees, springs, pieces of wood, or even houses can all be perceived as sacred (Campbell, 1994). Against this backdrop, this study aims to provide a clear overview of the cultural shifts occurring within the *Hapo Ana* ritual in Waduwalla Village. By fostering a deeper understanding of these changes, it is hoped that the community may find a balance between tradition and modernity in their daily lives.

2. Reseacrh Method

This study employs a qualitative approach, utilizing a descriptive anthropological research design to explore shifts in the values and practices (Komara, 2014) of the *Hapo Ana* ritual in Waduwalla Village. Data collection involved participant observation to witness the ritual firsthand as well as in-depth interviews with key informants, including traditional leaders (*Meneo*), elders, and community figures, to understand the symbolic meanings and the factors driving changes in the tradition. Additionally, documentation such as photographs of the ritual and local historical records served as supporting data to strengthen the validity of the information gathered in the field.

The collected field data were processed using an interactive model of data analysis, which consists of three continuous, interconnected stages. The first stage, data reduction, involved sorting, simplifying, and focusing the raw data from interviews and observations regarding changes (Soehartono, 2000) in the *Hapo Ana* procession. This was followed by data display, where information was presented narratively and systematically to map the various cultural shifts; the validity of these findings was then verified through triangulation using multiple sources and methods to ensure an objective anthropological interpretation (Ikbar, 2012).

The final stage of the analysis involves drawing conclusions and critically verifying the data to address the research questions. Preliminary, tentative conclusions were formulated early in the data collection process and continuously tested against new evidence emerging from the field (Moleong, 2007). The final conclusions were reached after cross-referencing the draft findings with theories from cultural anthropology, providing a comprehensive overview of the dynamics surrounding the *Hapo Ana* ritual and how the people of Waduwalla Village have adapted their ancestral

traditions in the modern era.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. General Overview of the Research Site

Waduwalla Village is located in the Sabu Raijua Regency, a region rich in cultural heritage and natural beauty. Geographically, the village is situated in a mountainous area with varying elevations, offering stunning natural vistas and a cool climate. The local topography consists of small hills covered in diverse vegetation, including lush forests and agricultural land. The presence of these hills and valleys presents unique challenges for the local community regarding infrastructure development and accessibilityparticularly concerning transportation and the distribution of agricultural produce. The climate in Waduwalla Village is shaped by its geography, characterized by two distinct seasons: the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy season typically lasts from November to March, while the dry season spans from April to October. Significant rainfall during the wet season ensures fertile agricultural land, supporting the cultivation of food crops such as corn, rice, and vegetables. However, the area is also prone to natural disasters, such as landslides, often triggered by extreme rainfall. This necessitates a heightened awareness among the community regarding risk mitigation and sustainable land management.

Given its geographical setting, the community of Waduwalla Village possesses a strong body of local wisdom regarding the utilization of natural resources. Land and forest use are guided by traditional knowledge passed down through generations. In addition to farming, some residents engage in fishing and handicrafts a reflection of how the local geography shapes a diverse range of economic activities. The community's deep connection to nature fosters a harmonious relationship, which has become an integral part of their cultural identity. Consequently, a thorough understanding of the village's geographical conditions is essential for developing sustainable development policies that are well-aligned with the needs and characteristics of the local population.

Waduwalla Village, located in Sabu Raijua Regency, has a growing population, shaped by the social and economic dynamics of the region. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) and local sources, the village is home to approximately 1,500 to 2,000 people. The population of Waduwalla Village is predominantly composed of the Sabu people, who possess a strong culture and set of traditions. This deep connection to their cultural heritage fosters a cohesive community, in which values and customs are passed down from one generation to the next.

Waduwalla Village, located in Sabu Raijua Regency, features a tropical climate influenced by its geographical position within an archipelago. This climate is characterized by two distinct seasons: the rainy season and the dry season. The rainy season typically lasts from November to March, bringing significant rainfall that can reach 1,500 mm annually. The high precipitation during this period provides ample moisture for plant growth, leading many residents to rely on the agricultural sector for their livelihoods.

The economy of Waduwalla Village in Sabu Raijua Regency is dominated by the agricultural and fishing sectors, which serve as the primary sources of livelihood for the community. Agriculture is a vital lifeline, with the majority of the population depending on agricultural produce as a source of income. Key crops cultivated in the village include rice, corn, vegetables, and various tubers. This agricultural diversity not only meets local needs but also creates opportunities for sales in nearby markets, thereby supporting the village's overall economy. (Waduwalla Village Office Profile, 2025). In

addition to agriculture, the fishing sector is an integral part of the economic life of the Waduwalla community. Surrounded by the ocean, the village enjoys excellent access for fishing activities. Many families are engaged in fishing, utilizing both traditional boats and other fishing techniques. The marine catch is used for family consumption and sold in local markets, providing supplementary income for the fishers. These activities also reinforce the community's local wisdom regarding the preservation of natural resources and the management of aquatic ecosystems. (Waduwalla Village Office Profile, 2025). Based on data regarding the livelihoods of the residents of Waduwalla Village, the majority of the population works in the agricultural sector. Approximately 679 residents work as farmers, making the agricultural sector the primary livelihood and a key pillar of the village economy. Additionally, about 305 residents work as fishermen; given the coastal location of Waduwalla Village, marine resources serve as a vital source of sustenance for the community. Meanwhile, around 30 residents are employed as civil servants. This indicates that the occupational structure in Waduwalla Village remains dominated by the primary sector specifically agriculture and fisheries while government-sector roles account for only a small fraction of the total working population.

The socio-religious landscape of Waduwalla Village, located in Sabu Raijua Regency, is characterized by a diversity that reflects the traditions and culture of its people. The majority of the village's population adheres to Christianity, which serves as a primary pillar of social life and daily activities. The church functions as both a center for worship and a gathering place for the community. Church activities extend beyond weekly worship services to include various social endeavors, such as the celebration of religious holidays, fundraising, and other social programs aimed at improving community well-being.

Alongside the influence of Christianity, local culture and traditional beliefs remain vibrant within the Waduwalla community. Many residents integrate religious practices with customary traditions, such as thanksgiving rituals and the honoring of ancestors. Such activities foster harmony between religious faith and local wisdom, ensuring that cultural values are preserved within the context of everyday life. For instance, the *Hapo Ana* ritual serves as an expression of gratitude to God, while also acknowledging the significance of ancestors in the lives of the people.

The community of Waduwalla demonstrates a high level of tolerance toward differences in belief. While the number is relatively small, there are residents who follow other religions. Interreligious tolerance is evident in joint celebrations that involve cross-faith participation. The socio-religious life in Waduwalla serves not only as a means for worship but also as a venue for strengthening bonds among community members. This fosters strong social ties, which are essential for navigating the challenges and changes encountered in daily life. Consequently, the socio-religious landscape of Waduwalla Village reflects a harmonious integration of the community’s traditions, culture, and religiosity.

3.2. Changes in the *Hapo Ana* Ritual in Line With The Evolution Of Society

The Hapo Ana ritual is a traditional cultural practice that remains vibrant, passed down through generations among the people of Waduwalla Village. This ritual is deeply rooted in the local worldview, which perceives a child (*ana*) as a gift from the ancestors and the vital link ensuring the continuity of both the family lineage and the indigenous community. Within this local cultural context, Hapo Ana is not merely a ceremonial event; it serves as a means to strengthen the bonds between human beings, their ancestors, and the spiritual forces believed to safeguard the lives of the villagers. Generally, the Hapo Ana ritual is performed at specific stages in a child’s life cycle, particularly during their early years.

The ritual seeks to invoke protection, safety, and good health, as well as to secure a bright future for the child. The people of Waduwalla believe that without this ritual, a child is not yet fully accepted either customarily or spiritually into the village's social and cosmological sphere. The execution of the Hapo Ana ritual involves various members of the indigenous community, including the child's parents, traditional leaders, village elders, and the extended family. Each party holds specific roles and responsibilities, as dictated by established customary laws. The ritual typically incorporates traditional symbols, such as offerings, customary prayers, and spoken expressions rich in symbolic meaning. The entire sequence of the procession reflects values of togetherness, mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), and reverence for the ancestors. Beyond its spiritual purpose, the Hapo Ana ritual serves an important social function: it reinforces kinship ties, strengthens solidarity among residents, and facilitates the transmission of cultural values to the younger generation. In this way, Hapo Ana acts as a medium for cultural education, instilling a sense of identity and selfhood in the people of Waduwalla Village from an early age. Within the life of the Waduwalla community, the Hapo Ana ritual is regarded as an inseparable component of the local customary and cultural system. Its persistence reflects the community's efforts to maintain a balance between ancestral traditions and the ever-evolving dynamics of social life.

The Hapo Ana ritual is a tradition encompassing spiritual and social practices within a specific community. As the community evolves, certain aspects of this ritual have undergone changes. These aspects include the following: (1) Meaning and Purpose: Originally, the Hapo Ana ritual held profound spiritual significance often linked to local beliefs and myths—centered on seeking blessings, protection, and maintaining harmonious relationships with ancestors or supernatural forces. While the methods or forms of the ritual may shift, the core intent remains spiritual; these adaptations ensure that prayers and spiritual intentions are effectively conveyed and retain their power within the community's belief system. In other words, such changes are better understood as new ways for the community to express their faith and spiritual values, rather than a loss of the ritual's inherent sacred meaning. With modernization, this meaning may shift toward the symbolic, serving as a means to foster social cohesion or preserve the memory of tradition. (2) Participation: The nature of participation in the ritual may also evolve. In the village of Waduwalla, for instance, the involvement of the younger generation is evident during both the preparation and execution phases such as assisting with event logistics, learning and performing the ritual stages, and upholding the associated customary rules. Furthermore,

the younger generation acts as a bridge between tradition and the changing times; they introduce new approaches that keep the ritual relevant and prevent it from falling into disuse. By participating, they help ensure that the spiritual significance and cultural identity of the Hapo Ana ritual endure, even as the specific methods of its execution adapt to the contemporary needs of the community. (3) Symbols and Implements: The tools and symbols employed in the Hapo Ana ritual have also undergone shifts. Traditional objects may be replaced by modern symbols or more readily available items, leading to variations in how the ritual is practiced. Changes in the *Hapo Ana* ritual reflect the evolving dynamics of society. While shifts in meaning and practice may occur, the core endeavor to preserve traditions and social bonds remains the primary focus a testament to cultural resilience in the face of changing times.

The *Hapo Ana* ritual a thanksgiving tradition for newborns among the Sabu people, specifically those who follow *Jingitiu* (an indigenous belief system centered on various deities) demonstrates a dynamic response to societal development. Fundamentally, the ritual serves as an expression of a family's gratitude for the gift of a new life, as well as a formal recognition of the child within the community, with the aspiration that the child will grow into a contributing member of

society. However, social and cultural shifts including the influence of religions such as Christianity can introduce tensions and alter the way the ritual is performed. For Sabu people who have embraced Christianity, the *Hapo Ana* ritual, rooted in the indigenous *Jingitiu* faith, is often perceived as conflicting with Christian teachings teachings that were, initially, confrontational toward such customs. This has necessitated a process of contextualization, allowing the ritual to remain relevant and compatible with the people's new religious convictions.

Societal development also influences the procedural aspects and values inherent in the *Hapo Ana* ritual. While core stages—such as cutting the umbilical cord (*Atte ahhu*), hanging the placenta (*Ketoe nyabbu*), naming the child (*Pehune ngara*), and the thanksgiving ceremony (*Hapo Ana*) remain recognized, broader social changes can lead to shifts in the values they embody. Research indicates that the *Hapo Ana* ritual in Waduwalla Village typically begins with a preparatory phase, carried out by the family with the assistance of relatives or neighbors; this includes gathering the necessary ritual items according to customary requirements, scheduling the event, and assigning roles to those involved. The ritual then commences with the presence of a ritual leaderan individual deemed knowledgeable in the prescribed procedures followed by a series of prayers or invocations. These prayers express hopes for safety and tranquility, seeking protection from any perceived disturbances. Throughout the process, participants follow the established order and rules, observing specific protocols regarding the presentation of ritual items, the positioning of attendees, and the appropriate, respectful demeanor to be maintained. Once the core prayers and invocations are concluded, the ritual draws to a close, often marked by the offering of counsel or a reaffirmation of the ritual's significance for the family. The event concludes with a communal gathering, characterized by social interaction such as exchanging greetings, expressing gratitude to those who assisted, and sharing a meal. Through this sequence, *Hapo Ana* is understood not merely as a series of sacred acts, but as a process that strengthens *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) and preserves the order of cultural values within the community of Waduwalla Village.

The adaptation of a ritual to a new social context is one of the most visible forms of change. In an effort to prevent the loss of a tradition, there is often a negotiation of meaning and a transformation of function much like the revitalization of traditional houses seen in other ritual contexts. Although specific information regarding the modernization of *Hapo Ana* is not detailed in the search results, it is highly likely that changes to the *Hapo Ana* ritual center on adjusting its execution to align with evolving social norms and beliefs, while preserving its fundamental role as a significant milestone in the life cycle.

Changes in the procedures of the *Hapo Ana* ritual may occur as society evolves for instance, in the sequence of activities, the manner in which specific parts of the ritual are performed, or adjustments made to suit the circumstances under which the ritual takes place. Some members of the community view these changes as a form of adaptation, ensuring the ritual remains relevant to contemporary needs and conditions without stripping away its core meaning. Conversely, others argue that excessive changes may diminish the ritual's authenticity or adherence to established traditional standards (*pakem*), leading to a divergence in perspectives between those who embrace these shifts and those who advocate for preserving the original tradition. As noted by Nenek Banni Gadji, a traditional elder:

> As a traditional elder in Waduwalla Village, I observe that changes in the *Hapo Ana* ritual such as the sequence of activities, timing, the delivery of prayers, the distribution of roles, and the ritual paraphernalia have been adapted to the current circumstances of the community. Nevertheless, these changes have not diminished the core meaning or the essential components of the *Hapo Ana* tradition.

This observation is reinforced by Tepa, a traditional elder:

> As a traditional elder in Waduwalla Village, I see that changes in the *Hapo Ana* ritual have occurred in its execution and organization including the sequence of activities, the timing, the delivery of prayers, the distribution of roles, and the ritual items used all of which have been adjusted to suit the present-day conditions of the community. However, despite these adjustments, the core values and primary significance of the *Hapo Ana* tradition remain preserved as a cultural identity for the people of Waduwalla.

Based on interviews with Banni Gadji and Tepa both traditional elders in Waduwalla Village it can be concluded that the changes within the *Hapo Ana* ritual are adaptive in nature rather than transformative of its cultural substance. These changes are evident in the technical aspects of the ritual, such as the sequence of activities, timing, the delivery of prayers, the distribution of roles, and the use of ritual paraphernalia, all of which have been adjusted to the current social conditions of the community. Even so, the fundamental elements that constitute the core of the *Hapo Ana* ritual have been maintained; thus, its meaning, values, and the cultural identity of the Waduwalla people remain unchanged. In this sense, the shifts represent an adjustment to the changing times without stripping away the essence of a tradition passed down through generations.

When viewed through the lens of Bronislaw Malinowski's functionalism theory, the changes in the *Hapo Ana* ritual demonstrate that every cultural element serves a function in meeting the needs of the community. According to Malinowski, a culture will endure as long as it continues to fulfill its social functions. In the context of the Hapo Ana ritual, adjustments to the procedures have been made to ensure the ritual remains relevant to the conditions of modern society, while still upholding its primary functions: preserving cultural values, strengthening social solidarity, safeguarding community identity, and serving as a means to pass on customs to the next generation. Consequently, changes to the technical aspects of the ritual do not diminish its social function; rather, they represent a form of adaptation that allows the Hapo Ana tradition to remain alive and functional within the life of the community in Waduwalla Village.

Based on the interview results and the researcher's assessment, it can be concluded that the *Hapo Ana* tradition in Waduwalla Village remains extant and is upheld by the community, despite undergoing changes in its execution. These changes have emerged as an adaptation to contemporary developments and societal conditions affecting aspects such as the sequence of activities, timing, the distribution of roles, and the ritual paraphernalia. Nevertheless, these modifications have not diminished the core values, significance, or cultural identity of *Hapo Ana*. This demonstrates that the community of Waduwalla Village has successfully preserved its cultural heritage by adapting the tradition to the changing times a phenomenon consistent with Koentjaraningrat's cultural theory, which posits that culture is dynamic while simultaneously retaining its fundamental values.

4. Conclusion

The changes that have occurred in the performance of the *Hapo Ana* ritual among the community of Waduwalla Village are evident in several key aspects. First, the procedures for conducting the ritual have undergone adjustments. The sequence of activities and the methods for preparing the necessary items now tend to align more closely with the current needs of the community, making the ritual more practical while preserving its core purpose: expressing gratitude for the birth of a child. Second, there has been a shift in community participation. The involvement of residents in specific roles is no longer as uniform as it once was, as some families now choose to tailor their level of participation based on their individual circumstances, capabilities, and personal schedules. Third, there has been a change in how the community interprets the ritual. While the people of Waduwalla still view *Hapo Ana* as an act of thanksgiving and prayer, this

interpretation has evolved to reflect contemporary perspectives; the tradition is maintained, yet certain elements are adapted to suit the changing times. Overall, the changes in the *Hapo Ana* ritual in Waduwalla Village represent a form of adaptation the community has adjusted specific aspects (such as procedures, participation, and interpretation) to ensure that the ritual can endure and remain relevant to the lives of the community today.

Bibliography

Campbell, T. (1994). *Tujuh Teori Sosial: Sketsa, Penilaian, Perbandingan*. Kanisius.

Hisyam, C. J. (2020). *Sistem Sosial Budaya Indonesia*. Bumi Aksara.

Ikbar, M. Y. (2012). *Metode Penelitian Sosial Kualitatif*. Refika Aditama.

Koentjaraningrat. (1990). *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*. Djambatan.

Koentjaraningrat. (2002). *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*. Rineka Cipta.

Komara, E. (2014). *Filsafat Ilmu dan Metodologi Penelitian*. Refika Aditama.

Mahfuz, G. (2019). *Pandangan Kolektif Terhadap Tradisi*. Multimedia Center Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah. https://mmc.kalteng.go.id/berita/read/6761/pandangan-kolektif-terhadap-tradisi

Moleong, L. J. (2007). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: remaja rosdakarya.

Pujileksono, S. (2017). *Pengantar Antropologi: Memahami Realitas Budaya*. Intrans Publishing.

Saebani, B. A. (2012). *Pengantar Antropologi*. Pustaka Setia.

Sairin, S. (2002). *Perubahan Sosial Masyarakat Indonesia: Perspektif Antropologi*. Pustaka Pelajar.

Soehartono, I. (2000). *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. Rosda.