



**NAZHARAT:
JURNAL KEBUDAYAAN**
Vol. 29 No. 01, Juni 2023



**NGANGAH IMAU TRADITION IN PULAU TENGAH VILLAGE
KERINCI DISTRICT**

Siti Zahara, Mina Zahara

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kerinci
Universitas Islam Negeri Sulthan Thaha Saifuddin Jambi

Sitizahara131@gmail.com
minazahara19@uinjambi.ac.id

The Ngagah Imau ritual in the Middle Island Village community is an ancestral heritage that has been passed down from generation to generation. The purpose of carrying out this ceremony is to pay a wake-up call (compensation) for a dead tiger. What is meant by pay-a-wake is an activity that aims to support the spirit of the tiger or so that other tigers do not descend into the village. The research method functions as a basic reference in conducting research, so that researchers obtain conclusions from the results of existing data analysis. This Research Methods section includes several sub-chapters, namely Types of Research, Research Locations, Determining Research Informants, Types and Sources of Data, Data Collection Techniques and Data Analysis Techniques which will be explained as follows: According to the story of the residents of Pulau Tengah Village, such incidents occurred among the people This kind of ritual is believed by the local community that if a tiger dies in the Kerinci area, it must be protected by the village community, so that other tigers do not come down to the village and prey on livestock or humans. It is said that the beginning of this ritual was that there was a relationship between the Kerinci community and tigers. The background to the ngangah imau dance ritual in Pulau Tengah village, Keliling Danau sub-district, Kerinci Regency, was that initially the ngangah imau ritual was performed as a tribute when a tiger died so that the tiger would not return to residents' yards to prey on people. However, along with the development of the ritual era.

مستخلص

البحث

Abstract

Kata Kunci: Ngagah Imau, Tradisi, Kerinci

كلمات

أساسية

Keyword

INTRODUCTION (مقدمة)

The Kerinci community has many cultures, in general, the culture that grows and develops in society is socio-religious, inseparable from social life and closely related to community beliefs. Culture cannot be separated from society, one example is the cultural event of the ritual ceremony to summon the spirits of ancestors. According to Koentjaraningrat, a ritual ceremony or ceremony is a system of activities or a series of actions arranged by customs or laws that apply in society that are related to various kinds of events that usually occur in the society concerned.¹ However, the ceremony is arranged in such a way by the traditional stakeholders of the community and there is a system that is mutually agreed.

The ceremony contains a meaning based on the ceremony itself, but basically the ceremony is a traditional party that has been regulated according to the customs or laws that apply in society.² Furthermore, rituals are also techniques (methods, methods) to make a custom sacred. Rituals create and maintain myths, including social and religious customs, because rituals are a religion in action.³ As done by the people of Pulau Tengah Village, Kerinci Regency, they have a ritual called *the Ngagah Imau* (Ngagah Harimau) ritual, Kerinci is indeed famous for its variety of traditional arts and culture that are still used today.

The *Ngagah Imau ritual* in the people of Central Island Village is an ancestral heritage that has been passed down from generation to generation. The purpose of this ceremony is to pay for the dead tiger, which is meant by paying for the tiger is an activity that aims to support the tiger spirit or so that other tigers do not come down to the village. The implementation of the *Ngagah Imau ritual* does not have a specific time, except when there is an incident or when there is a tiger that dies in the settlement of the residents of Pulau Tengah Village, or who dies in the forest in the residents' plantation, the *Ngagah Imau* ritual ceremony is carried out. Meanwhile, the place where the *Ngagah Imau* ritual ceremony is held is in an open field located in the settlement of the Central Island community itself. The existence of *the Ngagah Imau* ritual ceremony in the midst of the people of Central Island is a form of paying for a dead tiger found by the people of Central

¹ Koentjaraningrat. *People and Culture in Indonesia*. (Jakarta, Djambatan, 1990), p. 190

² Aryono Suyono. *Kamus Antropologi*. (Jakarta, Akademika Pressindo 1985), hlm 423

³ Mariasusai Dhavamony, *Religious Phenomenology* (Yogyakarta, Kanisius, 1995), p. 167

Island. The hope is that with this ritual there will be no cross-dispute between tigers and the people of Central Island.⁴

Before this ritual existed, at that time the people of Pulau Tengah Village often found dead tigers in the forest, after which this *Ngagah Imau* ritual was created. Currently, the *Ngagah Imau* ritual is very rarely displayed, even this ritual is better known as *the Ngagah Imau dance*, because now there are no more dead tigers in the forest. This dance is often performed at the Kerinci Lake Festival (*Kenduri Sko*), where this festival is the largest traditional ceremony for the people of Kerinci and a tourism promotion event, a promotion event for various historical relics and cultural attractions of the people of Kerinci Regency.⁵

For the people of Kerinci, especially Pulau Tengah Village, tigers are their best friends, the community believes that tigers are drops of their ancestors who are tasked with preserving the forest of Mount Rayo. The community also gave the tiger a title, namely *Inyik* (*Ninek* or *Tuo*) which means ancestor or elder. The preservation of this relationship has been maintained since ancient times to the present day. It is said that in the past, there was indeed a resident of Central Island who was friendly with tigers to be used as friends to wait for the garden from looters. This tiger always goes around the garden of the owner community at all times, the owner of this tiger feeds every morning (after dawn) and evening (before Maghrib) in the form of offerings consisting of White, yellow and black rice. This continues to be done every day. At one time, this Tiger can be seen directly with the eyes of others to believe in its existence, but what other people often hear is in the form of roars and sounds such as broken wood branches or other shirking sounds.

Based on the description above, there are interesting problems to be researched, especially related to the background of the emergence of the ritual of *preventing imau* in Pulau Tengah Village, Kerinci Regency. The reason is because this ritual has its own uniqueness, one of which is related to magic⁶, and has become a tradition that has been attached from the past to the present in the people of Central Island Village. Apart from

⁴ Masvil Tomi dkk, *Jurnal Ilmu Humaniora*, Vol.3, No. 02, Desember 2019

⁵ Randa Gustiawan, *Kenduri Sko di Kabupaten Kerinci (Studi Kasus di Dusun Empih Tahun 1991-2011)*, (Jambi, Universitas Jambi, 2017), hlm 6

⁶ Ministry of National Education (2002), *Great Dictionary of Indonesian*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, p. 695. Magic (magical) comes from the word magi meaning Faith according to the Ancient Persians.

that, of course, there are reasons why the community maintains this tradition, one of which is believed to bring good luck or remove bad luck from the influence of tigers or other magical disturbances so that it is in demand by the local community. We can see this in the form of the reaction of the participating and enthusiastic people in organizing this ritual ceremony.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK (نظريات)

1. Teori Fungsionalisme

In this study, the researcher uses Malinowski's theory of thought, the concept is about the social function of customs, human behavior and social institutions. In that it distinguishes between social functions at the level of abstraction, namely:

1. The social function of a custom, social institution or cultural element at the first abstract level regarding its influence or effect on customs, human behavior and other social institutions in society.
2. The social function of a custom, social institution or cultural element at the second level of abstraction regarding its influence or effect on the need of a custom or other institution to achieve its purpose, as conceived by the citizen concerned.
3. The social function of a custom, social institution or cultural element at the third level of abstraction regarding its influence or effect on the absolute need for the integrated continuation of a particular system.⁷

Based on this theory, the level of abstraction. First, regarding the influence or effect on customs, human behavior is a society that still towers over the traditions of ancestors by conceptualizing these traditions as entertainment that can be enjoyed by the community. The second abstraction is about its influence or effect on the needs of a custom or other institution to achieve a goal desired by the community by preserving the cultures that exist in each region. The third abstraction is about its influence or effect on the absolute need for an integrated manner of a particular system, in this case it is not only as entertainment but can

⁷ Koentjaraningrat, *Sejarah Teori Antropologi I*, (Jakarta:Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1987), hlm.167.

also introduce our culture to society more broadly, so that maximum integration is established. So, the researcher concluded that the theory was carried out to see how the ritual and dance of *Ngagah Imau* in Keliling Lake District, Kerinci Regency.

METHOD (طريقة \ منهج البحث)

The research method that the researcher will use in this study is to use a qualitative research method with a case study approach. In this study, researchers are required to be able to dig up data based on what is said, felt, and done by participants or data sources and must do theories based on data obtained in the field or social situations.⁸

In this study, the researcher uses a case study approach with the *Intrinsic case study type*, meaning the study of specific cultural cases. The case study model research is a description of the description or thought about cultural phenomena, where this description is carried out in a comprehensive descriptive manner that seeks to study the subject of the research. Then the data collection in this study can be done by means of interviews, observations, curriculum vitae, document review and others. As a qualitative cultural study.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION (بحث ومناقشة)

Latar Belakang Munculnya Ritual *Ngagah Imau*

Kerinci is one of the inland areas on the island of Sumatra and is surrounded by hill rows that stretch in the west and east. In addition, this region is in the middle of two major cultures that are very influential, namely the Malays of Jambi and Minangkabau. The Kerinci tribe as well as other tribes in Sumatra are Austronesian speakers. Based on the language and customs of the Kerinci tribe can be categorized as close to Minangkabau, even the language in Manang Kabau has become the market language in the district capital (Sungai Panjang) which has now undergone expansion into a Mayor who is separated from Kerinci district but from an administrative point of view since the independence period Kerinci has become part of the administrative area of Jambi

⁸. Sugiono, (2016), *Quantitative, Qualitative, and R&D research methods*, Bandung: Alfabeta, p. 214.

province. These two conditions ultimately affect the Kerinci culture both in terms of artifacts and ethnography.⁹

In an article written by Hafiful Hadi (2013) which explains that:

"The Kerinci tribe is the oldest tribe on the island of Sumatra, which inhabits the top highlands of Kerinci including the Proto Malay Cluster (Proto Malay) which is suspected to have originated from the Yunan of the South China plain. In ancient times, the Kerinci tribe adhered to the belief system of Animism and Dynamism. Where Animism is a belief in spirits and spirits, while Dynamism is a belief in surrounding objects that are considered to have supernatural powers. At that time, they thought that there were other spiritual forces that controlled the universe, namely the belief that the spirit (soul) was not only in living beings, but also in certain objects and bianatang that had souls and supernatural powers that must be respected so as not to disturb peace, including also believing in certain objects and bianatang that had souls and supernatural powers that must be respected so as not to disturb humans. In addition to this, the people of Kerinci also worship the spirits of their ancestors and believe that the spirits of ancestors always nurture and protect their descendants from danger."¹⁰

Based on the results of the interview, it was explained that in ancient times there was a bond of friendship between tigers and humans where the content of the agreement between the two parties did not interfere with each other. Therefore, if a dead tiger is found in the wilderness of Pulau Tengah Village, the community should not immediately execute the tiger who finds it, it is mandatory to report it to the traditional elders.¹¹

According to the story of the residents of Central Island Village, such an incident by the indigenous people such a ritual is believed by the local community, if there is a dead tiger in the Kerinci area, it must be prevented by the village community, so that other tigers do not come down to the village and prey on livestock or humans. It is said that the beginning of this ritual is that there is a relationship between the Kerinci people and tigers. a long time ago, there was a young man who married a tiger and had a daughter named

⁹ Asyhadi Mufsin et al, " *Journal of the University of Jambi*", Vol.3, No.02, December 2019

¹⁰ Hadi, " *The Asheik Ritual as an Appropriation between Islamic Culture and the Pre-Islamic Culture of the Kerinci Tribe*," 108

¹¹ Results of Interview with Mr. Jores Saputra as Handler and Chairman of the Art Studio in Pulau Tengah Village, (June 10, 2023)

Sari waiting, after marrying a tiger this young man also married a girl in Central Island Village.¹²

In ancient times, the Central Island was called the land of Pasmah Tinggi and the country of tigers was called Pasmah Low. Because the young man broke his promise to the tiger, the tigers demanded payment of the promise with as many as 40 pieces of cloth and wood in black, white and red, as well as gold as high as the young man's neck. At the time of the payment of the promise, a brotherly relationship was made between the people of Central Island and tigers. So that if there is a tiger that dies in the forest area of the Central Island community, it must be respected by the way it is carried out, this ritual is carried out by indigenous people by performing rituals carried out by handlers (state shamans) with certain offerings consisting of various kinds of special objects that are conditions for a substitute for life (pay for waking up) for a tiger, including in the form of shiny objects in exchange for eyes, three-color cloth as a substitute for stripes, keris as a substitute for fangs, sword instead of nails, spear (*kujeu*) as a substitute for tail, and gong as a substitute for sound (roar) by reciting a special spell by the state shaman (pawang) these objects are then placed in front of the dead tiger by means of silat (pencak silat) by the head of the state jar after which it is followed by the public to display their pencak silat abilities. This ritual is witnessed by the community in a way (*ngihok*) by the hulubalang to inform the time and place of the ritual event, community activities are focused on the performance, garden farmers, rice fields and fishermen school children are on holiday, some even those who are overseas take the time to watch the sacred ritual event. In response to the event, until now no one of the residents of Central Island has ever been eaten or attacked by a tiger. Therefore, the tradition of the pay wake ceremony is a must for the residents of Central Island when there is a dead tiger, the event is held which is known as "*Ngagoah Imo or Ngagah Imau*". It continues to be preserved until now.

This performance received attention from artists who tried to preserve it by creating a dance called "*tiger dance*". This dance was performed by dancers consisting of 8 girls from Central Island Village, wearing clothes like tigers that have stripes. Dance movements are also accompanied by sword silat movements, during the dance of dead

¹² Results of Interview with Febby Ardianto as a Community of Central Island Village, (June 10, 2023)

tigers are placed in front of the dancers, incense smoke is smelled and drums and gongs are played.¹³

As a payment for the death of the tiger, namely, the eyes were replaced with shiny objects, the stripes were replaced with three-colored cloth, the fangs were replaced with daggers, the claws were replaced with swords, the tail was replaced with spears (*kujeu*), and the voice was replaced with a gong. At the time of this dance, many villagers began to be possessed by the spirit of the tiger. They shouted and acted like tigers by rolling around and clawing at the ground. Harun Pasir as the creator of the *Ngagah Harimau* dance in Central Island Village said that initially the *Ngagah Harimau* ritual was carried out when a dead tiger was found in the wilderness of Central Island Village, Kerinci Regency. However, because it is very rare to find dead tigers in Central Island Village, this ritual is used as a performing art. As conveyed by Harun Pasir :

"If you want to wait for the tiger to die, this tradition is no longer visible," he said.¹⁴

According to Harun Pasir the *Ngagah Harimau* ritual has existed since the time of his ancestors. When he was a child, Harun admitted that he had seen this ritual. He said the last time he saw this ritual was in the 70s, after that no dead tigers were found in the Central Island Village area. This effort to preserve *Ngagah Harimau* began from his curiosity when Harun saw traditional leaders reciting mantras during the *Ngagah Harimau* ritual ceremony. At that time, Harun Pasir immediately asked the traditional leaders what he read, the traditional leaders hit the floor and scolded him, he said. However, after the incident, he returned to the customary stakeholder. Finally, Aaron Sand was also taught. In addition, the customary ruler told him that there was an unwritten agreement between the ancestors of the Central Islanders and the tiger. Especially the three state-owned tigers nicknamed Pemangku Gunung Rayo, Hulu Balang Tigo, and Rintik Rainhot Rain.

"Drip Rain Hot, to wait for the field, called to come quickly. Lost in the wilderness, call the Regent of Mount Rayo to point to the jago in Rimbo. Hulu Balang Tigo to aek (water) so buayo, across the sea came jugo (said Harun Pasir). This kind of

¹³ Results of Interview with Mr. Harun Pasir as the Creator of the *Ngagah Imau Dance*, (10 June 2023)

¹⁴ Results of Interview with Mr. Harun Pasir as the Creator of the *Ngagah Imau Dance*, (10 June 2023)

ritual is carried out because it has been proven that there are tigers who violate the agreement. Once in the 70s, a big tiger entered the village and ate goats, then the community drove it back into the forest. In the agreement, the residents believe that when there is a tiger that violates it, the three tigers belonging to the Central Island Country will punish it. Three days after the incident, someone found a dead tiger, the tiger was a tiger that ate a goat belonging to a resident. It was found that his body was torn apart like being scratched by another tiger. Then at that time the *Ngagah Harimau* ritual was carried out. Pay for our term, debt release tando again, cross dispute no ado anymore, others do not wait for return, said Aaron.

When the ritual is carried out, several pieces of equipment are prepared as a wake-up payment for the death of the tiger. The tiger's stripes were replaced with three pieces of cloth, the fangs were replaced with bare daggers, the claws were replaced with swords, the tail was replaced with spears, the eyes were replaced with shiny or glass objects, and the sound was replaced with gongs.¹⁵ This *Ngagah Harimau ritual dance* has a sartifitive of Indonesia's intangible cultural heritage, of course, Harun Pasir is committed to continuing to maintain one of the cultural arts of Kerinci Regency.



Peralatan bayar bangun
(dokumentasi sanggar telago biru)

Prosesi Ritual *Ngagah Imau* di Desa Pulau Tengah, Kabupaten Kerinci

The *Ngagah Imau ritual* is now better known as *the Ngagah Imau Dance*, this ritual has never been done again because no dead tigers have been found in Pulau Tengah

¹⁵ Results of Interview with Mr. Harun Pasir as the Creator of *the Ngagah Imau Dance*, (10 June 2023)

Village. Therefore, the *Ngagah Imau* Dance was created by Mr. Harun Pasir so that this ritual can still be seen today and become a cultural heritage of Tegah Island Village. Harun Pasir is a native of Pulau Tengah Village who still lives in the village. Harun Pasir was held with Depati Cayo born on Central Island, Keliling Danau District, Kerinci Regency in 1941, which at this time is 80 years old. Harun Pasir is the first of 10 children from H. Nahri and HJ. Sa'adiyah, Harun Pasir is commonly called by his nickname Harun Nahri. The name Nahri is his father's name, his father's name is used as a sign of honor to his father.

The beginning of Harun Pasir was introduced to traditional arts by his grandfather since he was a child, the first art he knew was the Bamboo Flute which is an art from Pulau Tengah Village, Keliling Danau District, Kerinci Regency. Family environmental factors also support the process of forming Harun Pasir creativity in art, in addition to his grandfather, Harun Pasir father is an active person in the traditional system in Koto Tuo, Central Island. His father once received the title of Depati in the customary government system, this made his father know about the customs and cultural arts of Koto Tuo Village, Central Island.

In the 1960s, Harun Pasir delved into spiritual knowledge to Mangku Abu, and then he began to be introduced to the term *Ninek Tragea* (Grandma Telago) who is one of the ancestors of the people of Central Island who is considered sacred and Mangku Gunung Rayo of the Tiger Kingdom in the Land of Pasmah. The spiritual science that Harun Pasir learned then became a supporter of the artworks he produced. In 1974 Harun Pasir was appointed as a traditional scribe, during his time as a traditional scribe Harun Pasir obtained various information and had knowledge about the customs and cultural arts of Central Island. At that time, he knew the *Ngagah Imau Ceremony* deeply and continued to explore old cultures. Since then, activities in the field of art began to be carried out armed with the artistic talent that he had since childhood that was inherent in him, and he always tried to preserve the traditional arts that existed, especially traditional dances contained in traditional ceremonies.¹⁶

In this study, the researcher will write how the *Ngagah Imau Ritual* procession was carried out in ancient times, and how the *Ngagah Imau* Dance is today.

¹⁶ Results of Interview with Mr. Harun Pasir as the Creator of the *Ngagah Imau Dance*, (10 June 2023)

1. *Kuliah 1 'rocession of Ngagah Imau*

As explained earlier, this ritual is carried out if there is a dead tiger and if it is found by the residents of Central Island Village, the residents are not allowed to execute it immediately. Residents are obliged to report this to traditional members. After being reported, the traditional members decide the head of the jar to pick up the tiger then the tiger will be carried together or taken to the village hall or field, then the tiger is made as if alive and placed on the stage after this process is completed, then a payment ceremony is held. Lost stripes replaced with stripes, lost fangs replaced with fangs, lost eyes replaced with eyes, as for the properties used such as stripes replaced with three-colored cloth, fangs replaced with daggers, nails replaced with swords, tails replaced with spears (*kujeu*), and sounds replaced with gongs.

This ritual is accompanied by *tarawak tarawoi* music, these two musics are formed on the ground by the way the soil is chopped, the first is hollowed out, then the second is hollowed, the second is placed betel nut fronds, this is done because of the opinion of the previous people that the tiger hears from the ground, then if we do pay the wake using this music, the tiger will hear and so that they know that the pay ceremony is being carried out.¹⁷

CONCLUSIONS (خلاصة \ خاتمة)

Conclusion

After describing and discussing the problem of "Ngangah Imau Ritual in Pulau Tengah Village, Keliling Lake District, Kerinci Regency", the author tries to draw the conclusion that:

1. The background of the ngangah imau dance ritual in Pulau Tengah village, Keliling Lake District, Kerinci Regency, initially the ngangah imau ritual was carried out as a tribute when there was a dead tiger so that the tiger would not come back to the yard of the resident's house to prey on the masyarakat. However, along with the development of the era of the ritual by a figure named Harun Pasir was changed to the ngangah imau dance. When the ritual is carried out, several pieces of equipment are prepared as a wake-up payment for the death of the tiger. The tiger's stripes were replaced with three pieces of cloth, the fangs

¹⁷ Results of Interview with Mr. Harun Pasir as the Creator of *the Ngagah Imau Dance*, (10 June 2023)

were replaced with bare daggers, the claws were replaced with swords, the tail was replaced with spears, the eyes were replaced with shiny or glass objects, and the sound was replaced with gongs. This *Ngagah Harimau ritual dance* has a sartifitive of Indonesia's intangible cultural heritage, of course, Harun P . . . 114 committed to continuing to maintain one of the cultural arts of Kerinci Regency.

2. This *Ngagah Imau* dance procession is carried out by the community if first, a dead tiger is found in the residents' yard, but when residents find a dead tiger, residents are not allowed to execute it immediately. This is because residents must first report to the customary institution that oversees the problem. Second, *the Ngagah Imau* Dance is usually performed in an open and spacious room. Before the show starts, a doll or statue that looks like a real tiger is placed in the middle of the field with its back to the audience. Initially the handler surrounded the performance area carrying burnt incense, this was intended for the show.

BIBLIOGRAPHY (قائمة المراجع)

References :

- Arriyono dan Siregar, Aminuddi. 1985. *Kamus Antropologi*. Jakarta: Akademik Pressindo
- Agus Bustanuddin. 2007. *Agama Dalam Kehidupan Manusia*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada
- Bahar Mahdi. 2016. *Menyiasati Musik Dalam Budaya*. Padang: CV.Visigraf
- Dhavamony Mariasusai. 1995. *Fenomenologi Agama*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius
- Gazalba Sidi. 1976. *Masyarakat Islam, Pengantar Sosiologi dan Sosiografi*. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang
- Gunawan H. Ari. 2000. *Sosiologi Pendidikan*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta
- Gustiawan Randa. 2017. *Kenduri sko di Kabupaten Kerinci*. Jambi: Universitas Jambi
- Mattulada. 1997. *Kebudayaan Manusia dan Lingkungan Hidup*. Makasar: Hasanuddin University Press
- Koentjaraningrat.1990. *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Djambatan
- Koentjaraningrat. 1985. *Beberapa Pokok Antropologi Sosial*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat
- Koentjaraningrat. 1979. *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*. Jakarta: Aksara Baru

- Soekanto. 1993. *Kamus Sosiologi*. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada
- Soekanto Soejono. 1990. *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*. Jakarta: Rajawali
- Soelaiman Munandar M. *Ilmu Sosial Dasar Teori dan Konsep Ilmu Sosial*. Bandung: Eresco
- 115 Aryono. 1985. *Kamus Antropologi*. Jakarta: Akademika Pressindo
- Sztompka Piotr. 2007. *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*. Jakarta: Prenada Media Grub
- Tomi Masvil dkk. 2019. *Musik Tarawak Tarawoi dalam Ritual Ngagah Harimau di Masyarakat Pulau Tengah Kabupaten Kerinci*. Jurnal Ilmu Humaniora. UNJA JOURNAL. Vol.3, No. 02. Diakses pada 16 November 2020
- Utami Anisa P. 2020. *Harun Pasir Pencipta Tari Ngagah Imau Sebagai Tari daerah Kerinci :Studi Koreografi*. Jambi: Universitas Jambi
- Winangun. 1990. *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius