

Analysis of Moral Repressive Actions through the Implementation of Local Customary Norms: 'Cuci Kampung' in Bengkulu City

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This study aims to describe the moral repressive actions occurring through the implementation of Local Customary Norms and Traditions, particularly in the practice of 'Cuci Kampung' in Bengkulu City. The research seeks to comprehend how customary norms and local traditions lead to moral repressive actions within the local community. Employing a qualitative descriptive research method involving data collection through in-depth interviews with relevant parties, participatory observations, and documentation analysis of narratives depicting the execution of 'Cuci Kampung' and its impact on individuals and communities. Subsequently, the data was cross-checked to ensure accuracy. Data sources included local customary leaders and religious figures in the Pondok Besi neighborhood. Analysis was conducted using the Miles and Huberman approach, involving data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The research findings highlight the complexity of the relationship between local traditions, the customary norms of 'cuci kampung,' and moral repressive actions. The study discovered that the implementation of Local Customary Norms and Traditions, such as in the practice of 'Cuci Kampung,' could become a powerful mechanism for social control. However, it often imposes moral pressure on individuals not entirely in line with the existing norms, resulting in internal and external conflicts. This study provides deep insights into how customary norms and local traditions can influence moral repressive actions within a community. The implications of these findings underline the necessity for a balance between preserving local traditions, individual rights, and safeguarding the plurality of moral values within a society.

Keywords: Ceremony in Bengkulu, Cuci Kampung, Customary Norms, Local Traditions, Repressive Moral Actions.

Penelitian ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan tindakan represif moral yang terjadi melalui implementasi Norma Adat dan Istiadat Lokal, khususnya dalam praktik Cuci Kampung di Kota Bengkulu. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami norma-norma adat dan tradisi lokal mengarah pada tindakan represif moral dalam masyarakat setempat. Jenis penelitian menggunakan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui wawancara mendalam kepada pihak terkait, observasi partisipatif, dan analisis dokumentasi terhadap narasi-narasi yang menggambarkan pelaksanaan Cuci Kampung dan dampaknya terhadap individu dan komunitas. Kemudian data dikroscek untuk memastikan data tersebut akurat. Sumber data adalah pemangku adat dan pemuka agama di kelurahan Pondok Besi. Selanjutnya dilakukan analisis dengan pendekatan Miles dan Huberman, yaitu reduksi data, penyajian data dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian ini menyoroti kompleksitas hubungan antara tradisi lokal, norma adat cuci kampung, dan tindakan represif moral. Dari hasil penelitian ditemukan bahwa implementasi Norma Adat dan Istiadat Lokal, seperti dalam praktik Cuci Kampung, bisa menjadi mekanisme kontrol sosial yang kuat. Namun demikian, hal ini juga sering kali memberikan tekanan moral pada individu yang tidak sepenuhnya sesuai dengan norma yang ada, menghasilkan konflik internal dan eksternal. Kajian ini memberikan wawasan yang mendalam tentang norma-norma adat dan tradisi lokal dapat mempengaruhi tindakan represif moral dalam masyarakat. Implikasi dari temuan ini menggarisbawahi perlunya keseimbangan antara pelestarian tradisi lokal dan hak asasi individu serta perlindungan terhadap pluralitas nilai-nilai moral dalam sebuah masyarakat.

Kata kunci: Upacara di Bengkulu, Cuci Kampung, Norma Adat, Tradisi Lokal, Tindakan Akhlak Represif.

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1. Introduction

Indonesia is a country rich in cultural diversity, encompassing various ethnicities, languages, religions, and traditions passed down through generations. This diversity shapes a unique national identity and must be preserved as part of the nation's cultural heritage. One way of preserving it is through customary norms still practiced in social life. These norms not only regulate individual behavior but also impose social sanctions for violations of cultural values. Therefore, customary norms serve as a strong mechanism for social control in a plural society (Darmansyah et al., 2022).

In traditional communities, customary norms are often more respected than state laws because they derive from deeply rooted local values. This is evident in how indigenous communities respond to moral violations that are often overlooked by formal law. Customary norms develop within collective consciousness and transform into unwritten laws that must be obeyed. People believe that violating these norms may bring misfortune to the entire community. As such, customary sanctions are still implemented as efforts to restore social balance (Sudirman et al., 2021).

However, in the modern era, customary norms face serious challenges due to globalization and shifting moral values. The flow of information and global lifestyles significantly influence behavior patterns, especially among the younger generation. One notable impact is the rise in cases of promiscuity and early marriage. This phenomenon demands serious attention from both formal legal systems and cultural approaches. Communities are seeking alternative ways to re-establish moral standards.

Bengkulu Province is among the regions in Indonesia that continues to uphold customary norms as a guide for social behavior. Various customary practices, including the “Cuci Kampung” tradition, are still enforced to address moral violations such as adultery or premarital pregnancy. According to DP3AP2KB data, around 20% of children under 19 in Bengkulu choose early marriage due to promiscuity (Bisri, 2022). This reflects the weakening of formal moral control within society. As a result, local traditions become the primary instruments in maintaining community ethics and values.

“Cuci Kampung” is a customary sanction involving collective purification rituals addressing immoral acts believed to defile the community. It includes a series of rituals such as animal sacrifice, public processions, and symbolic environmental cleansing. The practice is believed to restore social harmony and prevent disasters associated with norm violations. However, the implementation of such sanctions also raises issues regarding social pressure and stigmatization of offenders. It is therefore necessary to critically examine the social and psychological impacts of these moral repressive actions (Devi, 2016).

Moral repressive actions in “Cuci Kampung” go beyond the restoration of customary values; they may also function as social control mechanisms that infringe on individual rights. When customary norms are imposed rigidly, human rights and dignity can be overlooked. Especially in a plural and increasingly open society, repressive approaches often conflict with principles of social justice. Thus, this tradition should be critically analyzed—not only as cultural heritage but also as a social practice with far-reaching effects. A deeper investigation is needed to reassess the relevance of such practices in a modern context.

The indigenous community in Pondok Besi Subdistrict, Bengkulu City, provides a concrete example of the ongoing practice of “Cuci Kampung.” In this area, violations such as *merabal* (inappropriate physical contact), adultery, or visiting someone’s house overnight without permission are considered serious offenses. Customary sanctions are imposed to preserve communal honor and moral integrity. However, sanctioned individuals often suffer from mental pressure and social exclusion. This illustrates how customary norms operate within a cultural framework that binds all members of the community.

The “Cuci Kampung” practice essentially conveys deep moral messages and serves an educational function for society. It reminds the community of the importance of etiquette and healthy social relationships. Nevertheless, its application must align with humanitarian values to avoid violating individual rights. Otherwise, such sanctions risk becoming forms of cultural persecution that harm offenders and weaken social cohesion. A more reflective and inclusive approach to the tradition is therefore required (Braithwaite, 2021).

Previous studies have largely focused on “Cuci Kampung” from the perspective of cultural preservation. For example, (Suparlan, 2018) discussed customary sanctions normatively, while (Rahmadiana A., 2022) examined them through criminological and restorative justice lenses. However, few have specifically explored the dimension of moral repressive actions within “Cuci Kampung” and their effects on social structures. This aspect is essential to understanding the dynamics between local culture and modern values. It is this gap that the present study seeks to address.

As a tradition rich in moral values, “Cuci Kampung” needs to be analyzed using social theory and legal anthropology frameworks. This study incorporates perspectives from legal sociology, social control theory, and reintegrative shaming theory to explore how customary sanctions function in society. Moreover, local values must be viewed as cultural capital that can be adapted to contemporary contexts. Therefore, this study aims to explore

the complex dynamics between norms, sanctions, and morality within local traditions. Ideally, it will contribute to filling the existing gap in academic literature.

In the Bengkulu context, customary norms and traditions like “Cuci Kampung” serve as key instruments for upholding social order. However, the tradition is not free from criticism, especially concerning its treatment of offenders who often face social exclusion. This research is important to examine the boundaries between collective moral enforcement and the protection of individual rights. By doing so, it aims to develop a more just and humane model for customary sanctions. The future direction of tradition should be designed through a reflective and rights-based approach (Nurdiana et al., 2023).

The objective of this study is to analyze the forms and impacts of moral repressive actions in the “Cuci Kampung” tradition in Bengkulu City. The study seeks to describe the implementation of customary norms in response to moral violations in society. It also aims to identify the relationship between customary values and the social pressure generated by these sanctions. The main focus is on how the tradition is preserved, adapted, or contested within the local community. Thus, this research hopes to contribute to contemporary discourse on indigenous legal systems.

By applying a qualitative descriptive approach, this study delves into local narratives and the subjective experiences of offenders and traditional leaders. Data collection techniques include in-depth interviews, participatory observations, and document analysis. Data sources comprise customary figures and religious leaders in Pondok Besi Subdistrict, Bengkulu City. The analysis follows the (Miles, M. B., & Huberman, 1994) model of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Through this method, the social and cultural dimensions of customary moral enforcement can be comprehensively explored.

Ultimately, this study aims not only to contribute to academic discourse in social science and legal anthropology. More importantly, it seeks to offer new insights into how communities can uphold local values without compromising human rights and inclusivity. In an increasingly open and plural society, value transformation is inevitable. Thus, the enforcement of customary sanctions must be continuously re-evaluated to ensure relevance and humanity. Striking a balance between cultural preservation and individual rights is the ideal goal for a dignified and civilized society.

Literature review

A Customary law is a collection of rules and habits that grow and form within a specific society or region, considered to have high value and respected and adhered to by the local community (Tahan et al., 2021). In Indonesia, regulations related to aspects of human life become customary law that is binding. Customary law has been institutionalized in the life of the community, encompassing traditions, ceremonial practices, and other elements that can control the behavior of residents with feelings of joy or pride. The role of customary leaders as community figures also holds significant importance. According to (Laia, 2019), customary law is normative and unwritten but possesses a strong binding force on community members, so violations of customary law can result in severe, sometimes indirect sanctions. For example, in communities that prohibit divorce, sanctions are not only applied to the individuals involved but can also involve their families and even the entire community. For a nation, customary law is a spiritual element that drives them to preserve their existence and identity.

(Siska, 2016) states that customary law is not only a part of historical artifacts and local community lifestyles but also a part of social institutions that function as bodies to resolve various issues arising in society. In the culture of Bengkulu City, customary law, as an institution, although not taking a form like governmental institutions, still plays a key role in regulating the way of life of the nation.

Indigenous communities are groups of people living in an independent country, with social, cultural, and economic conditions that differentiate them from other community groups within that country (Saddam et al., 2020). The status of indigenous communities is regulated either wholly or in part by traditions, customs, and local communities, or through specific legal frameworks and regulations. According to (Agung, 2017) based on the Document of the Archipelago Indigenous Community Alliance, indigenous communities are those that inherit ancestral origins through generations, live in specific geographical areas, and possess unique systems of values, ideologies, economies, politics, cultures, and social structures. Indigenous communities still experience injustice and are often overlooked in various aspects of life, but a new awareness demands improvements in development policies and laws that have existed for over 30 years. There are two sources of injustice towards indigenous communities: first, development policies and legal products that tend to be standardized, formalistic, and do not reflect legal principles suitable for the diverse socio-cultural systems of indigenous communities throughout the archipelago.

One of the customary law practices in Bengkulu City is the “cuci kampung” ceremony. “Cuci kampung” serves as a form of customary law applied when a resident in a village is involved in an act of adultery. Typically, the offender is required to provide a sacrificial animal, such as a goat, or fulfill other conditions as a purification act for the indecent behavior. This ceremony is believed to eliminate the negative consequences and prevent the outbreak of diseases within the village. While the “cuci kampung” tradition is considered beneficial for maintaining tranquility in the village and as a preventive measure against increasing adultery behaviors, not everything considered good in practice will proceed without controversy. Essentially, “cuci kampung” is a disaster prevention ritual aimed at protecting villagers from calamities, often activated when a resident is involved in adultery in a village, creating an act of collective purification and protection.

The "Cuci Kampung" ceremony held in several regions in Indonesia aims to cleanse the village from various forms of pollution or destructive behaviors originating from its residents. However, for the residents of Bengkulu City in Pondok Besi Village, the "Cuci Kampung" event serves as a form of customary sanction imposed on individuals involved in adultery (Merabal/Mena Gawe). Based on the research findings by Suparlan (2018) regarding the sanctions imposed by traditional leaders and religious scholars in North Seluma against adultery offenders, several actions were identified. First, the adulterer is required to undergo the "Cuci Kampung" ceremony as a form of punishment. Second, if proven guilty, the adulterer may be expelled from the residential area. Third, those who flee will face fines. Fourth, the adulterer may also be paraded around the village. This research indicates that from an Islamic legal perspective on customary sanctions for adultery in North Seluma District, some interesting findings emerge. First, these actions are not fully covered by Islamic law. Second, the sanctions imposed only involve "Cuci Kampung" and not stoning (rajm). Third, the sanctions are more educative in nature, aiming to make the offender repent, aligning with the views of Islamic law.

(Rahmadiana A., 2022) revealed research findings on the implementation of the customary sanction "Cuci Kampung" by the community in Air Rambai Village, Bengkulu Province, against individuals involved in adultery. This study used a normative legal research method through literature review, analyzing primary and secondary data from various sources. The purpose of this article is to provide an overview of how the implementation of the customary sanction "Cuci Kampung" is perceived from a criminological perspective, especially within the frameworks of restorative justice theory and reintegrative shaming theory. Based on the research, it is concluded that the existence of the customary sanction "Cuci Kampung" can reduce adultery within the community of Air Rambai. Its implementation creates a deterrent effect by causing shame for the offender after engaging in an act deemed degrading and immoral by the local community. Thus, the customary sanction "Cuci Kampung" is considered to play a role in restoring justice and reintegrating the individual back into society.

2. Method

This study employed a qualitative approach with a descriptive research design, aimed at understanding social phenomena in depth through direct interaction with subjects and the research context. This approach is deemed appropriate because the study focuses on the meaning of moral repressive actions in the implementation of the "Cuci Kampung" traditional sanction in Bengkulu society. As (McCusker K., 2015) explain, qualitative methods are effective for examining complex social realities that cannot be quantified.

The subjects of this research included traditional leaders (rajo penghulu), religious figures, and individuals or families who had been involved in or subjected to the "Cuci Kampung" sanction. Informants were selected using a purposive sampling technique, wherein participants were intentionally chosen based on their knowledge, experience, and roles in the tradition. The criteria for selection included individuals with authority in customary structures, deep understanding of local norms, and direct involvement in traditional practices.

The study was conducted in Pondok Besi Subdistrict, Teluk Segara District, Bengkulu City, Bengkulu Province. This location was selected because it is one of the areas in which the "Cuci Kampung" tradition is actively maintained and practiced as a customary sanction against violations of moral norms. Additionally, this region still preserves a functioning customary system that is respected within the local community's social structure.

Data collection techniques included several methods. First, in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants to explore their perspectives, experiences, and interpretations related to the "Cuci Kampung" tradition. Second, participant observation was carried out to observe traditional ceremonies and social interactions, particularly during the implementation of the ritual. Third, document analysis was performed by examining customary law documents, traditional records, local news, and regional regulations related to customary norms and violations. Data triangulation was applied to ensure the accuracy and consistency of information from different sources.

Data were analyzed interactively using the (Miles, M. B., & Huberman, 1994) model, consisting of three main stages: (1) data reduction, which involves selecting and simplifying field data relevant to the research focus; (2) data display, which refers to systematically organizing information in the form of narratives and thematic matrices; and (3) conclusion drawing and verification, which entails identifying patterns, meanings, and relationships within the data to answer the research questions. Data presentation was supported by direct quotes from informants to enhance the authenticity of findings.

3. Results & Discussion

Results

Local Customary Norms of "Cuci Kampung" in Bengkulu City

Merabal Customary Norms

Merabal Customary Norms, as regulated in the Bengkulu City Regional Regulation Article 23 No. 29 of 2003, refer to actions involving physical contact or feelings between the opposite sex without the bond of marriage. Violations of these norms are considered a breach of social norms and customary values that apply within the community. Based on interviews with the Customary Head in Pondok Besi Village, violations of merabal

customary norms may incur two types of sanctions: a light sanction in the form of an apology and the "Tepung Setawar Sedingin" ceremony, and a heavy sanction involving the implementation of "cuci kampung" and possible expulsion from the village. In cases where the violation does not involve intentional or passionate feelings towards the opposite sex, only a light customary sanction is imposed. However, violations that involve violence, breach of marital bonds, or are repeated, may incur additional sanctions through a deliberation with the "Rajo Penghulu."

Cuci Kampung Norms

According to an interview with (SA), the "cuci kampung" tradition involves the cleansing of the village from events that tarnish its reputation and create discomfort. The primary focus of this tradition is to respond to immoral actions or adultery committed by local residents or outsiders. Meanwhile, (YS) added that "cuci kampung" occurs not only due to violations against the village's reputation, but also when the village is seen as frequently experiencing disasters such as accidents or criminal acts. Through "cuci kampung," the community hopes to cleanse their village from negative events that have tainted the place.

The Process of "Cuci Kampung"

The "Cuci Kampung" process is a series of ritual ceremonies aimed at cleansing and purifying the village from events that have tainted its reputation. The initial step usually involves an announcement to the community about the incident that triggers the need for "cuci kampung." Following that, a committee or community leader imposes fines on those who have violated the norms. The ceremony begins with prayers and symbolic rituals that express the intention to cleanse and purify the village. Afterward, the community collectively cleans the physical environment of the village, including public roads and other communal areas.

Village Cleansing as a Moral Reaffirmation Act

Village cleansing as a moral reaffirmation act reflects a strong effort to restore the depth of moral values within the community. The participation of women who have passed their reproductive years and men who have entered advanced age shows a selective presence in the ceremony, acknowledging the life experiences and wisdom possessed by the participants. As a reaffirmation act, the village cleansing process is not only to erase the traces of destructive events but also to function as a platform for moral teachings for the entire community.

Discussion

Local Customary Norms of "Cuci Kampung" in Bengkulu City

Merabal Customary Norms

Merabal Customary Norms, which regulate behavior within society, function not only as a boundary between what is acceptable and what is unacceptable in social interactions but also as an instrument for shaping broader moral norms in society. The practice of merabal reminds us of the importance of values that guide the community in maintaining social honor and integrity. According to (Lindsey, 2020) in her work on customary law and social transformation, traditional norms like merabal, although continuously confronted with the changes of time and global influences, remain relevant due to their adaptive function in maintaining social balance amid the challenges of modernity. Therefore, merabal is not merely considered a violation of social norms but also an effort to reaffirm the collective identity of the customary community.

The impact of violations of this norm, as explained by (A. Susanti & Darmansyah, 2022), shows that such actions affect not only the individual who commits them but also the entire social and moral structure of the community. Merabal highlights the role of social control theory, as proposed by Foucault (2021), where society internally regulates itself through established norms without direct intervention from state authorities. In this context, customary sanctions serve as a form of social control that maintains order and morality in the community through preventive actions and collective social cleansing.

Cuci Kampung Norms

The "Cuci Kampung" custom represents the community's effort to restore harmony and the reputation of a village that has been tarnished due to moral violations, such as adultery. However, more than just a physical cleansing ritual, this practice embodies social control based on social agreements passed down through generations. According to (Foucault, 2021), social control occurs not only through state power but also through internal mechanisms accepted by the community, such as the "cuci kampung" tradition. The community manages its own norms, maintaining social harmony in a way that involves not only punishment but also social and spiritual cleansing.

Furthermore, this social control theory can also be observed in the context of the "Cuci Kampung" ceremony, which serves as a mechanism for upholding the moral values strongly held by the community. At the same time, this tradition shows how the people of Bengkulu respond to violations of norms in a structured and authoritative way, involving all community elements in resolving the issue. This indicates that the social norms applied within the customary community not only regulate individual behavior but also strengthen collective solidarity and shape a strong cultural identity.

The Process of "Cuci Kampung"

The process of carrying out "Cuci Kampung" as a ritual is a manifestation of the moralism theory proposed by (Goffman, 2022) in his work on stigma and the management of social identity. Goffman explains how society deals with moral violations by forming social stigmas that affect how individuals are perceived by the community. In the context of "Cuci Kampung," individuals involved in moral violations are subjected to a collective ritual that serves not only to erase the individual's "sin" but also to restore the moral unity of the community that has been distorted by such actions. This process, which involves the wider community, illustrates how society collectively defines and enforces its moral norms.

Thus, the "Cuci Kampung" ritual is not just a social punishment but also a process of moral renewal that provides an opportunity for the community to reflect on and reinforce their values. Through this ritual, individuals involved in moral violations are not only punished but also given the chance to repair their social relationships with the wider community. This shows the social and cultural depth of the ceremony, which serves as a means of strengthening moral bonds and social solidarity within the community.

Village Cleansing as a Moral Reaffirmation Act

The "Cuci Kampung" ceremony serves as a reaffirmation of moral values in the Bengkulu customary community. In this context, the social moralism theory proposed by (Goffman, 2022) is relevant to understanding how this collective action aims not only to erase the "shame" or violation but also to reassert the norms and values present in the community. By involving elderly individuals or women who have passed their reproductive years, this ritual carries a deeper moral dimension, where individuals with more life experience are trusted to lead and guide the social cleansing process.

As a moral reaffirmation act, this process has long-term impacts on both the individuals involved in the violation and the community as a whole. As explained by (T. Susanti & Darmansyah, 2022) moral values function as a guide that distinguishes between good and bad behavior within a society. Therefore, "Cuci Kampung" plays a role in restoring social harmony and reinforcing the moral values accepted by all members of the community. This ceremony has a positive influence, not only for the violator but also for the entire community involved in the ritual, making it a collective lesson on the importance of maintaining integrity and social morality.

4. Conclusion

This study reveals that the implementation of local customary norms and the "Cuci Kampung" tradition in Bengkulu City serves as a strong social control mechanism against moral violations within the community. The tradition reinforces community solidarity and reaffirms collective moral values. However, the practice of "Cuci Kampung" also carries the risk of moral repressive actions, including social pressure, stigma, and exclusion of individuals deemed to have violated norms. This leads to both internal and external conflicts within the community. Therefore, a more reflective and rights-based approach is necessary to maintain a balance between preserving local traditions, respecting human rights, and embracing the plurality of moral values in an increasingly modern society.

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