



The Bēqēn Ritual as a Mechanism for Community Formation and Social Integration in the Pene Lando Indigenous Community on Lombok Island

Hablun Ilhami^{1*}, Ajid Thohir², Setia Gumilar³, Muliadi⁴

^{1,2,3,4} UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author, Email: hablunilhami@gmail.com

Received: December 6, 2025, *Revised:* December 4, 2025, *Accepted:* December 4, 2025,
Published: December 4, 2025

Abstract: This study aims to examine how the Bēqēn ritual can become a mechanism for community formation and a medium for social integration in the Pene Lando indigenous community on Lombok Island. The focus of this study is to see how the Bēqēn ritual creates a space that allows for the suspension of social structures and differentiation, thereby encouraging the formation of egalitarian relations and strengthening solidarity and social cohesion among community members. This study uses qualitative methods with ethnographic and sociological approaches. Data collection techniques in this study use interview, observation, and document techniques. The data obtained are then analyzed using Victor Turner's theoretical framework, particularly the concepts of liminality and community, as well as Emile Durkheim's collective consciousness. Theoretically, this study emphasizes the relevance of ritual as a mechanism for community formation and social integration. The results show that the Bēqēn ritual functions as an arena for the reproduction of collective values that strengthen the social bonds of the community. Practically, this study has implications for efforts to maintain resilience and strengthen social harmony through local traditions. The originality of this research lies in its comprehensive analysis of the Bēqēn ritual as a local traditional practice positioned not only as a religious expression but also as an active social mechanism in shaping community and social integration. The value of this research lies in its function, namely enriching academic discourse on the existence of ritual in maintaining sustainable relations and social cohesion for local communities.

Keywords: bēqēn ritual; community formation; pene lando indigenous community; social integration.

Introduction

Rituals are not merely understood as formal behaviors referring to actions based on religious beliefs or belief systems (Turner, 1982), but more than that, they are mechanisms for producing social relations, regulating tensions, and reproducing social order (Bell, 2009). In this understanding, rituals do not stop at being arenas of symbolic representation, but are collective actions that performatively consolidate social structures while also becoming mechanisms of social integration. From a contemporary anthropological perspective, rituals are no longer viewed as static activities or merely cultural heritage, but rather as dynamic processes that continuously shape, produce, and reproduce social relations within society. In other words, rituals function as spaces of interaction that enable the negotiation of meaning, the redistribution of social roles, and the strengthening of collective cohesion amidst complex social change.

In the context of traditional societies, rituals often serve as the primary medium for maintaining balance between humans, nature, and spiritual entities. However, in the development of modern social theory, rituals are also understood as social tools that have structural and functional roles in maintaining the sustainability of social systems. Therefore, rituals cannot be reduced to mere symbolic expressions of religion but must be understood as social practices that have real consequences for the structure of social relations in society. This demonstrates that rituals have a powerful performative dimension in shaping repetitive and institutionalized patterns of social interaction.

To test this thesis, the Pene Lando indigenous community on Lombok Island presents an empirical case through a ritual practice called the Bēqēn ritual. The Bēqēn ritual itself can be simply understood as a communal eating ritual performed by the Pene Lando indigenous community every 7th month of the Sasak calendar or November of the Gregorian calendar (Ilhami, 2021). In practice, the Bēqēn ritual is a rite that marks the transition of the Pene Lando indigenous community before entering the planting season. Essentially, the Bēqēn ritual is rooted in the traditional cosmological system of the Sasak people. However, the Bēqēn ritual in the Pene Lando indigenous community operates performatively as an arena that reduces daily hierarchies, produces community, and fosters horizontal solidarity among individuals.

In the context of social life, solidarity can be understood as a cohesive force that functions to maintain unity and integration among individuals within a social order (Fathoni, 2024). Solidarity arises not only as a consequence of geographical proximity or cultural similarities, but is also formed through continuously reproduced social practices, one of which is through ritual. In indigenous communities, solidarity is often manifested in the form of collective participation that is not only symbolic, but also material and emotional. Therefore, rituals become an important space for strengthening a sense of togetherness, emphasizing group identity, and reducing the potential for social conflict that may arise from differences in status or individual interests.

This research starts from the assumption that ritual is not only a cultural entity that "contains meaning," but more than that, it is a social procedure that produces certain social implications or impacts. Within this framework, ritual is understood as a social mechanism that works through structured collective action, where each participant has a role in shaping the ongoing social reality. Therefore, within this framework, the researcher attempts to combine two concepts: community formation and social integration. First, community, namely the intense collective experience of society as the subject of rituals that are tactical, liminal, and performative that unites people from various levels during the ritual procession. This concept emphasizes that in ritual moments, social structures that are usually hierarchical can temporarily dissolve, thus creating symbolic equality between individuals.

Second, social integration, namely the Bēqēn ritual as a structured action or activity that actually results in the re-actualization of social cohesion through the formation of social relationships during the ritual procession. Social integration in this context refers not only to normative social order, but also to the community's ability to maintain unity and harmony in the long term. Thus, the ritual serves as a means to strengthen social networks, renew collective commitment, and ensure the sustainability of the social system in the Pene Lando indigenous community.

From both classical and contemporary social theory perspectives, ritual phenomena have been widely studied as part of broader social mechanisms. Emile Durkheim, for example, viewed ritual as a means of strengthening social solidarity through sacred collective representations. Meanwhile, Victor Turner emphasized the liminality within rituals that enables social transformation and community formation. Mary Douglas later added that rituals also function as classification systems that help societies symbolically organize their social worlds. Within this framework, the Bēqēn ritual can be positioned as a social practice that combines these various dimensions, including symbolic, structural, and performative.

Research on the Pene Lando indigenous community has focused primarily on the syncretism dimension (Idrus, 2020). Furthermore, the issue of identity has also been a focus of research in examining the Pene Lando indigenous community (Hidayat et al., 2024). This has led to a lack of micro-studies on the function or role of ritual in community development. This is the gap this research seeks to fill: by analyzing mechanisms rather than simply the values or dynamics of the community's

social identity. Therefore, this research focuses not only on the meaning of the Bēqēn ritual but also on how it functions as a social mechanism that produces tangible impacts on community life.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the social changes occurring in the Pene Lando indigenous community have also influenced the practice of the Bēqēn ritual. Modernization, technological penetration, and changes in economic patterns have brought new dynamics to the social structure of the community. Nevertheless, the Bēqēn ritual remains a social space that maintains the continuity of traditional values and strengthens the community's collective identity. This demonstrates that rituals have a high adaptive capacity in facing changing times, while also functioning as a cultural anchor that maintains social stability. The purpose of this study is to explain the process of the Bēqēn ritual practice, how the Bēqēn ritual serves as a mechanism for community formation and social integration, and how the reality of the Bēqēn ritual as a mechanism for community formation and social integration in the Pene Lando indigenous community on Lombok Island. Thus, this study is expected to provide a theoretical contribution to the development of ritual anthropology studies, as well as an empirical contribution to understanding the social dynamics of indigenous communities in Indonesia, particularly in the context of the relationship between ritual, solidarity, and social integration.

Method

This study uses a qualitative research method with an ethnographic and sociological approach. This approach was chosen because the study aims to deeply understand the practice, function, and role of the Bēqēn ritual in the social life of the Pene Lando indigenous community, particularly as a mechanism for community formation and social integration. Through an ethnographic and sociological approach, researchers can directly observe the cultural context, social interactions, and the meanings constructed by the community in carrying out the ritual. This approach also allows researchers to capture the subjective experiences of the ritual participants as well as the ongoing social dynamics, thus obtaining a comprehensive picture of the role of the Bēqēn ritual in the social life of the Pene Lando indigenous community (Creswell, 2018).

This research was conducted in the Pene Lando indigenous community on Lombok Island, specifically in Pene Village, Jerowaru District, East Lombok Regency. The selection of this research location was based on the consideration that the Pene Lando indigenous community has a series of rituals that are still carried out today, one of which is the Bēqēn ritual. Here the researcher is interested in seeing how rituals function in the midst of community life. To obtain data in this study, the researcher used a participatory observation method with the researcher directly participating in the Bēqēn ritual practice procession. In addition, to obtain comprehensive data related to the research topic, the researcher also used an in-depth interview method, namely by conducting interviews with Pene Lando indigenous community leaders including: Muhammad Pauzi (traditional elder of the Pene Lando indigenous community), Sugianto (Pene Lando indigenous community academic), and Amaq Suti (Bēqēn ritual traditional leader) (Sugiyono, 2019).

To strengthen the data obtained from observations and interviews, researchers also conducted a review of documents related to the practice of the Bēqēn ritual in the form of books, journals, and so on. The data obtained from these data sources were then analyzed by researchers using the concepts of ritual, liminality, and community by Victor Turner to explain how the Bēqēn ritual creates equality and emotional bonds between community members. In addition, here researchers also use the concepts of social integration and collective consciousness by Emile Durkheim to analyze the role or function of the Bēqēn ritual in strengthening social cohesion and order (Miles et al., 2014).

Results and Discussion

The Practice of the Bēqēn Ritual in the Pene Lando Indigenous Community on Lombok Island
Historically, the Bēqēn ritual was first practiced around the 17th century, during the Pene Kingdom. The Bēqēn ritual can be simply understood as a communal meal ritual that accompanies the transition of the Pene Lando indigenous community before entering the planting season. For the Pene Lando indigenous community, the Bēqēn ritual is not merely seen as a cultural activity or tradition, but rather as a traditional ritual that holds high sacred status and value as part of their ancestral spiritual heritage. In practice, the Bēqēn ritual involves a series of structured processes and activities, where each stage

has a specific socio-cultural purpose and function. The activities carried out during the ritual not only affirm the community's collective identity but also strengthen solidarity, social integration, and upheld moral values (Ilhami, 2021). In this context, Sugianto, an academic working on the Pene Lando indigenous community, explains that:

One of the core activities of the Bēqēn ritual is eating together. This communal meal aims to maintain harmony and camaraderie among the community. By eating together and exchanging dishes during the Bēqēn ritual, the community can strengthen their ties and social bonds (Sugianto, interview, 8 August 2025).

The Bēqēn ritual can be understood as a cultural practice that simultaneously combines religious, social, and symbolic aspects. Here, the Bēqēn ritual functions as a framework for community life in building harmony and social cohesion through customary practices. In practice, the Bēqēn ritual consists of a series of stages that have strong symbolic and social meaning. Each stage in the Bēqēn ritual practice functions not only as a technical procedure, but also as a mechanism for building solidarity, social integration, and internalizing the cultural values of the local community. Muhammad Pauzi, a traditional elder of the Pene Lando indigenous community, explains the process or stages of the Bēqēn ritual practice as follows:

Because the Bēqēn ritual is a sacred ritual, the process must be carefully observed to conform to the customs inherited from ancestors. The process of practicing the Bēqēn ritual begins with: collecting rice, meriap (cooking), reading the Puspakerma palm leaf, gathering at the bale beleq (traditional house), walking to the ritual location, gathering at the ritual location, reciting dhikr, eating together, and sprinkling aiq men-men (ritual water) (Muhammad Pauzi, interview, 4 September 2025).

First, collecting rice from the community. Collecting rice from the community demonstrates the strong principles of collective participation and mutual cooperation as the main foundations of life for the Pene Lando indigenous community. The contribution from each household demonstrates the community's collective awareness that the Bēqēn ritual belongs not to a particular individual or group, but to all. This action represents mechanical solidarity, namely the shared values and goals that can strengthen social cohesion (Muhammad Pauzi, Interview, September 4, 2025).

Second, meriap (cooking). The cooking process in the Bēqēn ritual is divided into two: collective cooking, carried out collaboratively in the bale beleq (traditional house), and individual cooking, carried out in each resident's home. This cooking process demonstrates a flexible division of roles while remaining oriented toward the common good. Cooking is not only a domestic activity to fulfill ritual consumption needs, but also a space for social interaction that strengthens relationships between residents. This collective work strengthens a sense of togetherness and emphasizes the value of cooperation as a social norm within the Pene Lando indigenous community (Muhammad Pauzi, Interview, September 4, 2025).



Figure 1. Cooking activities in the Bēqēn ritual

Third, reading the Puspakerma palm leaf manuscript in the bale beleq (traditional house). Reading the Puspakerma palm leaf manuscript serves as a medium for transmitting knowledge, sacred values, and social norms. The palm leaf manuscript, as a traditional text, contains moral teachings, spiritual values, and religious legitimacy for the ritual practices carried out. The bale beleq (traditional house) as a symbolic space emphasizes the position of the Bēqēn ritual within the cosmological structure of the Pene Lando indigenous community. In this procession, the Bēqēn ritual serves as a medium connecting the profane and sacred dimensions, namely strengthening collective consciousness through ritual symbols (Amaq Suti, Interview, August 5, 2025).



Figure 2. Reading of the Puspakerma lontar in the bale beleq (traditional house)

Fourth, gather at the bale beleq (traditional house). After cooking activities are completed in each resident's home, the community will then gather at the bale beleq (traditional house). The bale beleq (traditional house) is a symbolic gathering space for the community, namely a meeting room that prepares the Pene Lando indigenous community before entering the main phase of the ritual. Socially, this space functions as a center for social consolidation and collective identity, while symbolically representing the connection between ancestors, humans, and the customary order. This stage emphasizes the role of the bale beleq (traditional house) as a center of cultural legitimacy. Here, the bale beleq (traditional house) acts as a center of social integration, a place where individuals are melted into a collective identity as members of the Pene Lando indigenous community (Amaq Suti, Interview, August 5, 2025).



Figure 3. Pene Lando indigenous people gather

Fifth, the ritual journey to the Bēqēn ritual site is collective and carried out in tandem, regardless of social status, economic status, education level, or age. The collective journey to the ritual site reflects an egalitarian state where social stratification is dissolved or suspended. This phase can be understood as part of the process of community formation, namely a social state where hierarchical differences are dissolved and all participants are in an equal position as ritual subjects. This collective mobility also represents a dimension of liminality in the practice of the Bēqēn ritual, namely the transitional space from the profane to the sacred (Muhammad Pauzi, Interview, September 4, 2025).



Figure 4. The ritual journey of the Pene Lando indigenous people

Sixth, they gather at the ritual locations: Reban (upstream), Bukit Peresak (high place), Bagek Tandok, and Batu Bireng (downstream). The gathering of the Pene Lando indigenous people at the ritual location marks the final consolidation before entering the core stage of the ritual. The selection of the Bēqēn ritual location, which represents the upstream, middle, and downstream, reflects the cosmological view of the Pene Lando indigenous people as a unity that must be maintained in balance. Furthermore, symbolically, these spaces integrate humans, nature, and transcendent powers. The presence of the entire community in one sacred space strengthens social bonds while also bringing about a collective awareness of the sanctity of the ritual carried out by Sugianto, Interview, August 8, 2025).



Figure 5. The Pene Lando indigenous people gather at the ritual site

Seventh, collective remembrance. Remembrance as a spiritual practice in the Bēqēn ritual emphasizes a religious-transcendental dimension. Remembrance in the Bēqēn ritual practice is a collective spiritual expression of the Pene Lando indigenous people, which not only has a religious

dimension but also strengthens the emotional unity of the community (social). Sociologically, this practice of remembrance strengthens collective spiritual awareness and creates a unified emotional atmosphere among ritual participants, which can strengthen social solidarity (Muhammad Pauzi, Interview, September 4, 2025).



Figure 6. Joint *dhikr* activities in the Bēqēn ritual practice

Eighth, eating together. Eating together as one of the core activities in the Bēqēn ritual is a symbol of brotherhood, equality, and the pinnacle of togetherness in the Bēqēn ritual. The absence of differences in social status during this communal eating activity emphasizes the egalitarian values of the Pene Lando indigenous community. This practice also strengthens social bonds through sharing and tasting food among community members. This communal eating activity serves as a means of social reconciliation and strengthens relationships between individuals within the community (Sugianto, Interview, August 8, 2025).



Figure 7. The activity of eating together in the ritual practice of Bēqēn

Ninth, the sprinkling of ritual water. The sprinkling of ritual water in the Bēqēn ritual practice carries symbolic meaning as a process of purification, renewal, and protection (Muhammad Pauzi, Interview, September 4, 2025). Water, as a universal symbol of life, signifies renewal and the restoration of balance between humans, nature, and transcendental powers. The sprinkling of ritual water in the Bēqēn ritual practice symbolizes the hopes of the Pene Lando indigenous people for safety, prosperity, and harmony in life. This sprinkling also concludes the ritual cycle, returning the Pene Lando indigenous people to normal social life with a renewed identity (Muhammad Pauzi, Interview, September 4, 2025).



Figure 8. Ritual water sprinkling

The Bēqēn Ritual in the Structure of the Rite of Passage

Rituals can be understood as practices related to sacred experiences that contain social and moral bonds (Mustofa, 2020). Referring to Arnold van Gennep's theoretical framework regarding the ritual structure of rites of passage, Victor Turner explains that rituals are formal, structured behaviors that refer to beliefs in mystical beings and powers (Turner, 1982). Within them, a liminal process occurs that allows for social transformation through the temporary suspension of established social structures (Turner, 1974). In line with Arnold van Gennep, Turner divides rituals into three main phases: separation (separation), liminality (transition), and reintegration (reintegration) (Turner, 1974). Within this framework, the practice of the Bēqēn ritual can be understood as a social arena and instrument for building social, emotional, and spiritual bonds in the form of what Turner calls community (Turner, 1974).

First, separation. In the practice of the Bēqē ritual, the process when the Pene Lando indigenous people gather in the bale beleq (traditional house) before undertaking the ritual journey to the Bēqēn ritual site can be understood as the separation phase. In this phase, the Pene Lando indigenous people experience a temporary release from their profane daily lives. The gathering of the Pene Lando indigenous people in the bale beleq (traditional house) marks a release or transition from the profane social space to the sacred ritual space. In this phase, the individual identities of the Pene Lando indigenous people, such as teachers, village officials, traditional leaders, and so on, begin to merge into a collective identity as participants in the Bēqēn ritual. Here, formal social boundaries or identities attached to individuals begin to soften (Turner, 1974).

Second, liminal (transition). The liminality phase is manifested in the ritual journey undertaken by the Pene Lando indigenous people from the bale beleq (traditional house) to the Bēqēn ritual practice location. In this phase, the Pene Lando indigenous people are in a state of "between," namely a condition where they are not fully bound by the previous social structure, but also have not yet entered a new social order. The ritual journey carried out collectively without regard to status, age, education level, or economic condition reflects the characteristics of what Turner calls *communitas*. Turner explains that community as a social form of liminality is characterized by equality, egalitarianism, and solidarity among ritual subjects. Furthermore, Turner explains that in this phase the hierarchical structure of society is temporarily suspended and replaced by horizontal and inclusive social relations (Turner, 1974). These values or social forms are then reinforced by the practice of *dhikr* and eating together through collective social and spiritual experiences. The act of remembrance in the Bēqēn ritual practice not only connects individuals with the transcendent but also creates emotional bonds and a shared awareness among participants. Eating together is a concrete manifestation of normative community, where the principles of sharing, equality, and togetherness are institutionalized in concrete social actions.

Here, eating together can be understood as a symbol of strengthening the social bonds formed during the liminal process.

Third, reintegration. The ritual water sprinkling marks the reintegration phase, namely the return of the Pene Lando indigenous community to the daily social structure, bringing with it a renewed identity and social ties. The ritual water sprinkling in the Bēqēn ritual practice symbolizes that the Pene Lando indigenous community not only physically returns to social life but also symbolically renews itself morally and spiritually. In this context, community, as a social form of liminality formed during the ritual, does not stop at the liminal moment alone; its values and spirit continue in post-ritual social life through the strengthening of solidarity, social cohesion, and collective consciousness (Turner, 1974).

The Bēqēn Ritual: Liminality and Community Formation

Etymologically, the term liminality comes from the Latin word *limen*, which can be interpreted as a threshold or limit. Liminality refers to a phase when an individual or group is in a state of transition or transition (Lukas et al., 2024). In the ritual practice of Bēqēn, liminality is not only understood as a transitional phase in rites of social transformation, but also as an epistemic and ontological space where the boundaries of social categories are suspended and allow for more fundamental forms of human relations. The phenomenon of liminality is a temporal paradox that signifies a break from the chronological and structural systems of secular society (Pellokila et al., 2024).

In such conditions, social relations that are usually regulated by differentiation of caste, class, or social status are replaced by horizontal solidarity and a temporary collective consciousness (*communitas*). Turner explains that there are two models of human interconnectedness that are conceptually and functionally positioned in a dialectical oppositional relationship. First, the structural model, namely society as a hierarchical, organized, and differentiated legal, political, and economic system. In this model, individuals are placed vertically in a social scheme that distinguishes "higher" and "lower" positions based on the role, status, and power held within the social structure. Second, the *communitas* model, namely the representation of society as an egalitarian and unstructured entity, where relationships between humans are built on the basis of existential equality. In this condition, individuals experience a deeper connectedness through a transcendent collective consciousness, transcending the formal social boundaries that usually regulate daily life (Turner, 1974).

This distinction is not a simple dichotomy between "secular" and "sacred," but rather a dialectical mechanism that regenerates social structures in a liminal phase or space. In liminal space, there is a temporary suspension of established social structures, thus opening up the possibility of more egalitarian social relations. At this moment, society experiences a reaffirmation of the foundations of human equality that are the very basis for the existence of social hierarchy itself. Liminality functions as a symbolic space for critique of existing social structures, where social boundaries become more fluid and can be renegotiated. It also reminds us that hierarchy cannot exist without an egalitarian foundation of humanity. Thus, this understanding contains a profound ethical dimension, namely that authority and social status derive legitimacy not solely from formal structures, but also from a liminal awareness of humility, mutuality, and reciprocity among individuals in social life (Turner, 1974).

The liminality phenomenon manifested in the collective ritual journey of the Pene Lando indigenous people to the Bēqēn ritual practice site represents a zone of social ambiguity where the Pene Lando indigenous people escape the classification network that places their position and circumstances within a particular cultural space (Klarissa et al., 2019). During the liminal period, the social structure, which is usually hierarchical, is suspended. During this period, a form of society emerges that can be characterized as anti-structural or only has a simple structure with a minimal level of social differentiation. During this period, the Pene Lando indigenous people appear as a form of community, namely a form of social entity based on the principles of equality and horizontal solidarity between individuals (Turner, 1974). This phenomenon is manifested in the form of a journey undertaken by the Pene Lando indigenous people collectively and in tandem to the Bēqēn ritual practice site without any distinction of class, social status, education level, economy, or age.

During this journey, the Pene Lando indigenous community formed an egalitarian and non-hierarchical horizontal solidarity. In this condition, social relations were no longer governed by structural differentiation, but rather by a shared awareness of existential equality under the symbolic authority of the mangku (ritual mediator). The mangku here functioned not as a holder of power in the political sense, but as a guardian of the symbolic and moral order that guided the ritual transition process. The collective journey of the Pene Lando indigenous community can be understood as a performative process of community formation where social cohesion was not built through formal institutions but through shared experiences of sacredness and symbolic attachment. The liminal period became an arena where the formal social order was suspended and then replaced by a form of social cohesion that was egalitarian and oriented towards shared values and collective participation in unifying ritual experiences (Turner, 1974). Here, the Bēqēn ritual can be understood as a sociocultural mechanism that systematically produced community. Turner explains as follows:

I would argue that it is liminality that communitas emerges, if not as a spontaneous expression of sociability, at least in a cultural and normative form stressing equality and comradeship as norms rather than generating spontaneous and existential communitas, though of course spontaneous communitas may and does arise in most cases of protracted initiation ritual (Turner, 1974).

Through a liminal process that temporarily suspends formal social structures, the Bēqēn ritual creates a more egalitarian space for all participants. In this space, the social boundaries that typically distinguish status, roles, and positions in everyday life become more fluid, allowing for the development of more equal relationships among community members. This situation opens up opportunities for solidarity, brotherhood, and social integration that transcend structural social barriers. The community formed in this ritual is not only emotional and spiritual but also has a tangible social dimension in strengthening the collective bonds of the community. Furthermore, the experience of togetherness that emerges during the Bēqēn ritual contributes to the ongoing strengthening of the social resilience of the Pene Lando indigenous community. Thus, this ritual serves as an important mechanism in maintaining the stability, cohesion, and sustainability of community social life amidst ongoing social change. The attributes of liminality in the practice of the Bēqēn ritual include the following:

a. Symbolic equality

The journey of the Pene Lando indigenous people to the Bēqēn ritual practice site demonstrates equality, where in the procession all Pene Lando indigenous people walk together side by side regardless of economic class, social status, age, or educational level. During this period, there is a contemporary suspension of social structure. In this condition, the Pene Lando indigenous people experience a transformation from "structure" to "community", from differentiation to equality. In the liminal space of the Pene Lando indigenous people's journey, social relations are not determined by education level, social status, economy, or age, but by shared experiences in the ritual procession (Turner, 1974).

Equality in the context of the liminal journey of the Pene Lando indigenous community represents a social condition and symbolic form that fundamentally suspends all categories of differentiation within the social structure. The attribute of equality in this phase is not only the absence of a hierarchical social structure, but also a manifestation of a form of ontological state that places all individuals in the same space. Within this space, all forms of differences in social status, economic class, educational level, and age are dissolved. Equality is not only a social reality, but also an ontological symbol of human unity. Here, all individuals are returned to the same existential essence, namely humans as equal or equal beings and subject to sacred power (Turner, 1974).

b. Partial anonymity

The attribute of anonymity in the liminal journey of the Bēqēn ritual practice indicates a process of symbolic depersonalization that marks a release from previous identities. This condition is an

articulation of the principle of anti-structure, namely a temporary condition in which the ritual subject is freed from the hierarchical differentiation system and exists in a homogeneous space that is not regulated by structural norms. In this status, the Pene Lando indigenous people enter a realm of ontological ambiguity, they are no longer the old entity (pre-liminal), but also not yet fully become a new entity (post-liminal). In the liminal journey of the Bēqēn ritual practice, this anonymity can be understood as a symbolic strategy aimed at reducing the individual ego and expanding communal awareness (Turner, 1974).

During the liminal journey to the Bēqēn ritual practice site, individuals of the Pene Lando indigenous community do not appear as “figures,” “elders,” or “youth,” but rather as a homogeneous social entity before the sacred power of ancestors and spiritual entities. In this position, anonymity creates a liminal condition that suspends the formal social identities typically attached to individuals in everyday life. In this state, individuals are no longer represented through specific social structures or positions, but rather merge into a larger, collective “social body.” The liminal journey in the Bēqēn ritual practice displays a significant process of deindividuation, in which the boundaries of personal identity become blurred and replaced by a collective consciousness. Thus, the community does not simply gather physically in one space, but also unites symbolically, emotionally, and spiritually into a more complete unity as a ritual community undergoing a temporary social transformation (Turner, 1974).

c. Submission and reversal of hierarchy

The presence of the attribute of submission in the course of the Bēqēn ritual practice is an important dimension of the social and symbolic transformation process that occurs during the liminality phase. During this period, submission is not only understood as a form of external obedience to the mangku (customary authority) as the ritual authority, but also as a symbolic and pedagogical mechanism that allows for the release of oneself from one's previous authority. This process reflects the individual's transition from everyday social structures to symbolic structures governed by ritual logic. This submission is total within the context of the ritual, so that the individual enters a new social space marked by symbolic equality and collective experience. Furthermore, submission during the liminality period in the Bēqēn ritual practice marks a temporary reversal of the power structure that prevails in everyday social life, where hierarchies can be reduced and replaced by a more egalitarian order in the ritual space (Yaqin et al., 2022).

The Pene Lando indigenous people, who previously held certain status, authority, or social roles, must shed all of these attributes and place themselves in a subordinate position under the authority of the mangku (customary leader). The requirement to obey and accept instructions from the mangku without protest serves as an important mechanism in affirming that the Pene Lando indigenous people are temporarily outside the social order they are accustomed to. This situation indicates that they have moved beyond the formal social structure and entered an anti-structural zone marked by the suspension of everyday hierarchies and social roles. In Turner's view, this submission is not a form of social degradation, but rather a symbolic cleansing process of ego, status, and privilege inherent in the old structure. This process also has a spiritual and collective dimension, in which individuals experience a transformation of social consciousness that allows for the formation of symbolic equality, solidarity, and deeper connectedness within this liminal ritual space (Turner, 1974).

The Bēqēn Ritual as a Medium of Social Integration

Social integration refers to a state of stability through cooperative relationships within a social system that allows for the strengthening of social relations within society (Alamari, 2020). Social integration itself fundamentally encompasses two main aspects: control (conflict, incompatibility, deviation) and the process of unifying diverse elements within a society to form an orderly social order (M. Arif, 2021). In the context of the Bēqēn ritual practice, through a series of processes and activities within the Bēqēn ritual practice, this ritual cannot be understood solely as a form of religious and cultural practice. The Bēqēn ritual functions as a social instrument that builds and strengthens social integration within society. Social integration in this context is understood as the process of uniting individuals and groups into a harmonious social

order characterized by solidarity, cooperation, and an understanding of shared values (Ninsiana, 2016).

In this context, Durkheim views society as an integrated social entity, where the interconnectedness between individuals is shaped by distinctive characteristics that are of its kind. This means that society is understood as a reality that has its own existence beyond individual consciousness, and therefore cannot be reduced solely to the personal characteristics of its members. Social facts, in Durkheim's understanding, exist objectively and have coercive power over individuals through the norms, values, and institutions that exist within society. From this perspective, social order does not arise by chance but rather results from a collective system that regulates individual behavior. Thus, social solidarity is formed through the internalization of shared values that bind individuals within a collective consciousness. This view emphasizes that society has integrative structures and mechanisms that maintain the continuity and stability of social life as a whole (Fatia et al., 2021). Here, Durkheim sees ritual as having an integrative function, namely as a social mechanism that plays a role in building and maintaining societal cohesion and unity (Durkheim, 1965).

As a medium for social integration, the Bēqēn ritual provides a collective meeting space for all levels of society regardless of differences in social status, age, or gender. Joint involvement in the entire series of ritual processes, from the preparation stage such as gathering rice to meriap (cooking), implementation such as ritual journeys, dhikr (remembrance), and communal meals, to the closing marked by sprinkling ritual water, creates a pattern of intensive and repetitive social interactions. These interactions strengthen social relations between individuals and affirm a sense of togetherness as part of the same community group (Ninsiana, 2016). In this context, Durkheim explains that rituals act as an integrative mechanism that strengthens social cohesion by connecting individuals into groups (Mubayanah & Amin, 2024).

Here, the Bēqēn ritual serves as a forum or medium for internalizing social values that form the basis of community integration, such as mutual cooperation, solidarity, adherence to customary norms, and respect for ancestors. These values are symbolically transmitted through a series of ritual processes, starting with collective preparations by collecting rice from each resident's home, traveling together, reciting dhikr and praying, and eating together. The activities in the Bēqēn ritual practice strengthen the community's collective consciousness, thus creating a uniform value orientation that forms the basis for social integration. In this context, the Bēqēn ritual serves as a symbolic deconstructor of social tensions. Through the practice of the Bēqēn ritual, the community enters a sacred space that places all participants on an equal footing before spiritual power. This condition indirectly reduces social barriers and opens up space for reconciliation and renewal of social relations, oriented towards the realization and maintenance of social balance (Wahyu, 2025).

In Emile Durkheim's sociological perspective, ritual is understood as a collective practice that represents collective consciousness (*conscience collective*) in society. This collective consciousness refers to a set of beliefs, values, and norms shared by members of society and serves as the basis for social order. Through rituals, this collective consciousness is reinforced and continuously reproduced in everyday social life. Rituals are an important means of strengthening social solidarity because they provide an emotional and symbolic experience of togetherness. In the process, individuals not only participate physically but also psychologically connect with collective values greater than themselves. Thus, rituals function as a mechanism of social integration that maintains societal cohesion. Collective consciousness (*conscience collective*) is essentially a normative consensus that includes a shared belief system that supports social order and ensures the continuity of solidarity within a community (Hasbullah, 2012). Here Durkheim emphasizes that religion and ritual are not solely oriented towards transcendental aspects, but rather have a fundamental social function, namely maintaining social order and integration (Wahyu, 2025).

Within this framework, the Bēqēn ritual of the Pene Lando indigenous community on Lombok Island can be understood as a social mechanism that plays a crucial role in building and maintaining community social integration. The Bēqēn ritual, as an activity involving collective community participation, represents what Durkheim called a "social fact," namely a pattern of action that is external, coercive, and binding on individuals (Mahmud, 2018). The Pene Lando

indigenous community's involvement in the Bēqēn ritual is not solely driven by personal will, but also by a moral obligation stemming from the community's collective agreement (Arifuddin, 2020).

In this context, Durkheim believed that social facts occupy a more fundamental position than individual facts (Humaira & Dewi, 2024). In its implementation, the Bēqēn ritual creates what Durkheim calls a "collective emotional outburst," a condition where individuals gathered in a sacred setting experience a shared emotional amplification that transcends individual experiences. This collective outburst reinforces the social bonds between ritual participants and awakens a sense of belonging to a larger social entity (Bell, 2009).

Here, the Bēqēn ritual serves as a medium for reproducing moral values that form the basis of social integration, such as solidarity, mutual cooperation, and respect for ancestors. Durkheim explained that morality originates from society itself, and ritual is the primary means for instilling and renewing individual commitment to collective norms. Through repeated engagement in rituals, these values are internalized into individual consciousness and form behavioral patterns aligned with shared social interests (Bell, 2009). In this context, the Bēqēn ritual can be understood as an instrument in building social integration among the Pene Lando indigenous community. By strengthening collective consciousness and reproducing moral values through a series of processions in the Bēqēn ritual practice, this ritual serves to maintain social cohesion and harmony in society. The Bēqēn ritual not only reflects the existing social order but also reproduces and strengthens social integration as the foundation for the sustainability of community life.

The Reality of the Bēqēn Ritual as a Mechanism for Social Integration and Community Formation in the Pene Lando Indigenous Community on Lombok Island

The implementation of the Bēqēn ritual in the Pene Lando indigenous community represents a socio-religious practice that functions as a medium for social integration as well as an arena for the formation of a temporary and contextual community. In practice, the social integration that is built during the ritual procession is not permanent, but rather emerges intensely and strongly within the space and time of the ritual. This shows that social cohesion in society is not only supported by formal social structures but is also produced periodically through repeated collective rites. From Durkheim's perspective, the Bēqēn ritual can be understood as a manifestation of a strengthening collective emotional state, namely when individuals gather in the same sacred activity, thus creating a sense of togetherness that transcends individual interests. At this moment, the community experiences a strengthening of collective consciousness that reaffirms the values, norms, and social solidarity that form the basis of social order in the life of the Pene Lando indigenous community (Bell, 2009).

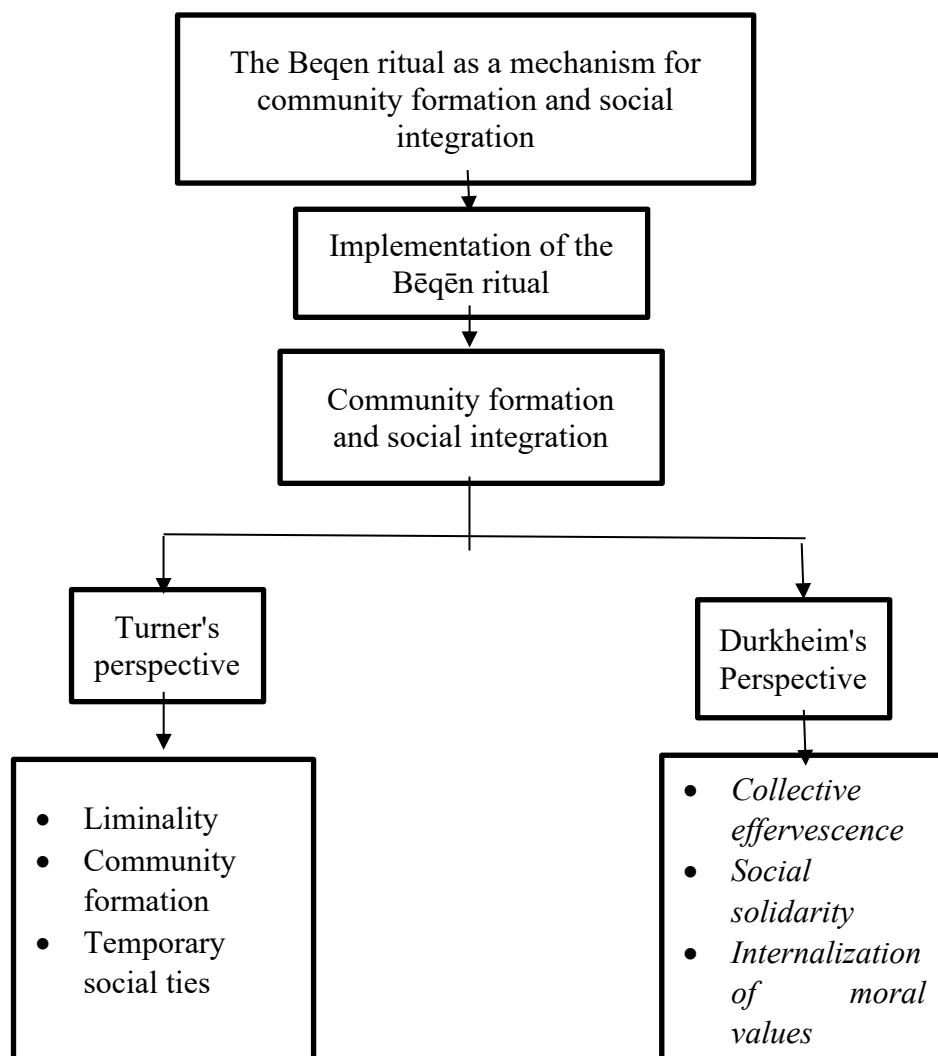
During ritual moments, collective participation creates intense shared emotional experiences, which in turn foster social solidarity and strengthen the collective consciousness of the community. In this context, rituals serve not only as a space for cultural expression but also as a medium for forming and strengthening social bonds between individuals. Moral values and customary norms are not only passed down verbally or through formal learning processes but are also deeply internalized through symbolic experiences, ritual actions, and the emotional involvement of the community as active participants in the ritual. Through this involvement, individuals become not merely observers but also integral parts of the ongoing social process. In ritual practices, community identity is strengthened through adherence to sacred order, harmonious interactions between participants, and social cooperation that is concretely evident throughout the ritual process, resulting in stronger and more sustainable social integration (Kamirudin, 2017).

Within Victor Turner's theoretical framework, the Bēqēn ritual can be placed within the framework of liminality, a transitional phase in which individuals or groups find themselves in a state of "in-betweenness" or "threshold" (Hilmy et al., 2024). In this liminal situation, social hierarchies, status differences, and social stratification are loosened, opening up space for the formation of community. The community that emerges during the Bēqēn ritual practice is egalitarian, emphasizing equality, emotional solidarity, and togetherness that transcends formal social relations. The social bonds formed during this phase are not based on formal structural

positions, but rather on symbolic and emotional experiences shared collectively during the ritual procession (Winangun, 1990).

However, as is the fundamental characteristic of a community in the liminal phase, the social bonds that are formed are temporary. After the Bēqēn ritual concludes, participants return to the everyday social order, which is fraught with pragmatic interests, role differentiation, and potential conflict. At this stage, the intensity of solidarity decreases, and social relations are again governed by a more rational and instrumental socio-economic logic. This emphasizes that the social integration generated by the ritual is situational and requires continuous reproduction. Within this framework, the Bēqēn ritual is a periodic mechanism that functions to renew social cohesion, not an instrument that guarantees permanent social integration. The Bēqēn ritual can be understood as a "temporary social bond" that operates through symbolism, collective emotions, and transcendental experiences. For social cohesion, integration, and solidarity to remain relevant in daily life, support from other social practices, such as mutual cooperation, kinship systems, and sustainable customary institutions, is essential.

Figure 9. Turner and Durkheim's theoretical scheme in viewing the Bēqēn ritual as a mechanism for community formation and social integration



These two perspectives demonstrate that the Bēqēn ritual cannot be understood solely as a religious expression. More than that, the Bēqēn ritual is a social strategy that plays a crucial role as a mechanism for strengthening social interaction networks among community members, maintaining collective values, and producing community identity. The Bēqēn ritual is not only a

sacred arena, but also a social space that enables the creation of solidarity and social cohesion, as well as a renewal of the meaning of togetherness. The Bēqēn ritual is a symbolic arena where the Pene Lando indigenous community rebuilds social ties, reduces tensions and the potential for social and spiritual disintegration, and restores harmony in relationships among community members. The Bēqēn ritual functions as a mechanism for transmitting sociocultural values. Here, the Bēqēn ritual is not merely an expression of religiosity, but also a social institution capable of negotiating the rhythms of life and communal relationships within the community.

This study shows that the Bēqēn ritual plays a significant role as a mechanism for community formation and strengthening social integration in the Pene Lando indigenous community on Lombok Island. The Bēqēn ritual functions as a communal social space that allows for more intensive social interactions among community members. The Bēqēn ritual facilitates the creation of social cohesion and reduces the potential for social fragmentation through a series of ritual processions carried out collectively. This finding strengthens the concept of community proposed by Victor Turner, especially in the liminal phase of the ritual. In the context of the Bēqēn ritual practice, the liminal condition allows the Pene Lando indigenous community to suspend differences, thus forming more egalitarian social relations. In addition, the findings in this study are in line with Emile Durkheim's theory of social integration, which emphasizes the role of collective practices in maintaining social order and cohesion. The Bēqēn ritual functions as an integrative mechanism that unites the Pene Lando indigenous community from various social strata.

Theoretically, this study confirms the relevance of rituals to the concept of community and social integration within the context of local communities. Practically, this research demonstrates the importance of preserving traditional rituals as a means of maintaining social cohesion. However, it is important to understand that the scope of this study is relatively limited, so the results cannot be broadly generalized. Furthermore, the qualitative nature of data interpretation allows for subjectivity. Therefore, further comparative research with other traditional rituals or using more comprehensive methods and approaches is needed. This research is expected to broaden understanding of the existence and function of rituals in shaping and maintaining social integration.

Conclusion

The Bēqēn ritual plays a strategic role as a socio-cultural mechanism in forming community and strengthening social integration in the Pene Lando indigenous community on Lombok Island. This ritual is not only understood as a ceremonial activity rooted in ancestral traditions, but also as a social space that actively produces more egalitarian and harmonious social relations among community members. Through the implementation of the Bēqēn ritual, the community enters a liminal phase that temporarily suspends the formal social structure that is usually characterized by differences in status, roles, and social hierarchy in everyday life. This condition opens up space for the creation of more fluid, equal, and togetherness-filled social interactions. In this liminal phase, the Bēqēn ritual presents a collective experience that strengthens emotional bonds and solidarity among community members. Community in this context can be interpreted as an intense social experience, in which individuals feel symbolic equality and deep connectedness with fellow community members. Through the interactions that occur during the ritual, a collective consciousness is formed that strengthens the sense of belonging to the group and strengthens the social identity of the Pene Lando indigenous community. On the other hand, the Bēqēn ritual also functions as an instrument of social integration that operates through sacred and meaningful collective practices. Shared participation in this ritual not only strengthens social relationships but also reaffirms the norms, values, and rules that form the basis of social order in society. Thus, the Bēqēn ritual plays a role in maintaining social stability by reinforcing the consensus of shared values. This research confirms that the Bēqēn ritual cannot be reduced to merely a religious expression or cultural tradition, but rather is a social mechanism that significantly contributes to maintaining social cohesion in society. The continuity of this ritual is a crucial element in maintaining the continuity of social solidarity, strengthening integration between individuals, and ensuring the stability of the social structure of the Pene Lando indigenous community amidst the dynamics of ongoing social change.

References

- Alamari, M. F. (2020). Imigran Dan Masalah Integrasi Sosial [Immigrants and the Problem of Social Integration]. *Jurnal Dinamika Global*, 5(02), 254–277. <https://doi.org/10.36859/jdg.v5i02.237> [In Indonesian]
- Arif, A. M. (2020). Perspektif Teori Sosial Emile Durkheim Dalam Sosiologi Pendidikan [Emile Durkheim's Social Theory Perspective in Sociology of Education]. *Moderasi: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*, 1(2), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.24239/moderasi.Vol1.Iss2.28> [In Indonesian]
- Arif, M. (2021). Analisis Faktor Integrasi Sosio-Kultural-Historis pada Masyarakat Multikultural [Analysis of Socio-Cultural-Historical Integration Factors in Multicultural Societies]. *Sosio-Didaktika: Social Science Education Journal*, 3(2), 126–134. <https://doi.org/10.15408/sd.v3i2.4374> [In Indonesian]
- Bell, C. (2009). *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. Oxford University Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (2018). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Durkheim, E. (1965). *The Elementary Forms of The Religious Life*. IRCiSoD.
- Fathoni, T. (2024). Peran Teori Sosial Émile Durkheim Dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama Islam (Perspektif Solidaritas Sosial Dan Integrasi Masyarakat) [The Role of Émile Durkheim's Social Theory in the Development of Islamic Religious Education (Perspectives of Social Solidarity and Social Integration)]. *AL-MIKRAJ Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora*, 5(01). <https://doi.org/10.37680/almikraj.v5i01.6403> [In Indonesian]
- Fatia, D., Nurwati, R. N., & Sekarningrum, B. (2021). Tradisi Maulid: Perkuat Solidaritas Masyarakat Aceh [Maulid Tradition: Strengthening Acehese Solidarity]. *Sosioglobal : Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, 5(1), 61–72. <https://doi.org/10.24198/JSG.V5I1.27096.G14864> [In Indonesian]
- Hasbullah, H. (2012). REWANG: Kearifan Lokal dalam Membangun Solidaritas dan Integrasi Sosial Masyarakat di Desa Bukit Batu Kabupaten Bengkalis [REWANG: Local Wisdom in Building Solidarity and Social Integration in Bukit Batu Village, Bengkalis Regency]. *Sosial Budaya*, 9(2), 231–243. <https://doi.org/10.24014/SB.V9I2.385> [In Indonesian]
- Hidayat, A. A., Rohandy, F., & Ilhami, H. (2024). Revitalization of Self-Identity of the Penelando Islamic Indigenous Community Amidst Global Cultural Change in Sasak Community. *Jurnal Fuaduna : Jurnal Kajian Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 8(2), 168–179. <https://doi.org/10.30983/FUADUNA.V8I2.9149>
- Hilmy, A. N. I., Kusdiwanggo, S., & Yusran, Y. A. (2024). Konsep Liminalitas Dalam Ritual Andherenat [The Concept of Liminality in the Andherenat Ritual]. *Studi Budaya Nusantara*, 8(1), 43–58. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.sbn.2024.008.01.03> [In Indonesian]
- Humaira, V., & Dewi, T. U. (2024). Norma dan Integrasi Sosial: Studi Perbandingan Film AADC dan Film Dilan 1990 Sudut Pandang Durkheim [Norms and Social Integration: A Comparative Study of the Film AADC and the Film Dilan 1990 from Durkheim's Perspective]. *Diksatrasia : Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, 8(1), 279. <https://doi.org/10.25157/diksatrasia.v8i1.13451> [In Indonesian]
- Idrus, S. A. J. Al. (2020). *Pene Lando Tradition: Islamic Syncretism and Local Culture in the Pene Jerowaru Village East of Lombok*. 3(1), 111–128. <https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v2i2.p-ISSN>
- Ilhami, H. (2021). Telaah Dampak Nilai-Nilai Sufisme Dan Sosiologis Dalam Tradisi Beqen Sebagai Konstruksi Sosial Masyarakat Desa Pene Kecamatan Jerowaru [Study of the Impact of Sufism and Sociological Values in the Beqen Tradition as a Social Construction]

- of the Pene Vil. *Tasamuh*, 19(2), 181–196. <https://doi.org/10.20414/tasamuh.v19i2.4480> [In Indonesian]
- Kamirudin, K. (2017). Agama dan Solidaritas Sosial: Pandangan Islam Terhadap Pemikiran Sosiologi Emile Durkheim [Religion and Social Solidarity: An Islamic Perspective on Emile Durkheim's Sociological Thought]. *Al-Fikra : Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman*, 5(1), 70. <https://doi.org/10.24014/af.v5i1.3768> [In Indonesian]
- Klarissa, F. P., Setyobudi, I., Yuningsih, Y., & Budaya, A. (2019). Analisis Liminalitas Pada Upacara Nyawen Dan Mahinum Di Dusun Sindang Rancakalong Sumedang [Analysis of Liminality in the Nyawen and Mahinum Ceremonies in Sindang Rancakalong Hamlet, Sumedang]. *Jurnal Budaya Etnika*, 3(1), 23–40. <https://doi.org/10.26742/BE.V3I1.1125> [In Indonesian]
- Lukas, A. V. A., Lattu, I. Y. M., Tampake, T., & Ludji, I. (2024). Ritual Rukat'tu sebagai Ruang Liminalitas dalam Perjumpaan Agama Kristen dan Jingitiu di Sabu Barat [The Rukat'tu Ritual as a Space of Liminality in the Encounter between Christianity and Jingitiu in West Sabu]. *Jurnal Ilmiah Religiosity Entity Humanity (JIREH)*, 6(2), 169–180. <https://doi.org/10.37364/jireh.v6i2.239> [In Indonesian]
- Mahmud, R. (2018). Social As Sacred Dalam Perspektif Emile Durkhem. *TASAMUH*, 15(2), 111–116. <https://doi.org/10.20414/tasamuh.v15i2.214>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Mubayanah, S., & Amin, N. (2024). Transformasi Makna Ritual Dalam Masyarakat Modern: Analisis Sosiologis Dan Budaya [Transformation of the Meaning of Ritual in Modern Society: A Sociological and Cultural Analysis]. *GAHWA*, 3(1), 17–33. <https://doi.org/10.61815/gahwa.v3i1.473> [In Indonesian]
- Mustofa, A. Z. (2020). Konsep Kesakralan Masyarakat Emile Durkheim: Studi Kasus Suku Aborigin di Australia [Emile Durkheim's Concept of the Sacred Society: A Case Study of the Aboriginal Tribe in Australia]. *Madani Jurnal Politik Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan*, 12(03), 265–280. <https://doi.org/10.52166/madani.v12i03.2175> [In Indonesian]
- Ninsiana, W. (2016). Islam dan Integrasi Sosial dalam Cerminan Masyarakat Nusantara [Islam and Social Integration in the Reflection of Indonesian Society]. *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, 21(2). <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v21i2> [In Indonesian]
- Pellokila, C. M. P., Sailana, K. W., Tampake, T. R. C., & Kristinawati, W. (2024). Deviasi Peran To'o sebagai Negosiator dalam Ruang Negosiasi Penentuan Belis Budaya Rote - Nusa Tenggara Timur [Deviation of To'o's Role as a Negotiator in the Negotiation Space for Determining Rote Cultural Belis - East Nusa Tenggara]. *Jurnal Adat Dan Budaya Indonesia*, 6(2), 208–219. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jabi.v6i2.82249> [In Indonesian]
- Sugiyono. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D [Quantitative, Qualitative, and R&D Research Methods]*. Alfabeta.
- Turner, V. (1974a). *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Cornell University Press.
- Turner, V. (1974b). *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Penguin Books.
- Turner, V. (1982). *Dramas, Fields, and, Methaphors, Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Cornell University Press.
- Wahyu, C. (2025). Agama Dalam Pembentukan Struktur Sosial Masyarakat Sidoarjo [Religion in the Formation of the Social Structure of Sidoarjo Society]. *SOSIOLOGIA : Jurnal Agama Dan Masyarakat*, 3(2), 85–96. <https://doi.org/10.35905/sosiologia.v3i2.11022> [In Indonesian]

- Winangun, Y. W. W. (1990). *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur Liminalitas dan Komunitas Menurut Victor Turner [Free Society: Structure of Liminality and Community According to Victor Turner]*. Kanisius.
- Yaqin, H., Rosyidah, F. U., & Azisi, A. M. (2022). Pandemi, New Normal, Dan Liminalitas Kehidupan Beragama Di Jawa Timur [The Pandemic, the New Normal, and the Liminality of Religious Life in East Java]. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 16(1), 37–54. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2022.161-03> [In Indonesian]



© 2025 by the author. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY SA) license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>).