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Cultural Shifts in *Maranggap* among the Batak Community: The Impact of Christianity and Modernization

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Article History Abstract

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Published July 30, 2025 The Maranggap tradition in Batak Toba society of North Sumatra carries deep social and traditional medical values. This ethnographic qualitative research examines the changes and continuities of Maranggap in the face of Christian influences and modernization, as well as their impact on collective identity and social cohesion. The study was conducted over six months (January-June 2024) in Humbang Hasundutan, Sidikkalang, Girsang Sipangan Bolon, and Tanah Jawa. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with customary leaders, religious figures, and community members, as well as participatory observation. Thematic analysis was used to identify key patterns and themes. Findings reveal that in Girsang Sipangan Bolon and Tanah Jawa, Maranggap has been replaced by Christian-style thanksqiving rituals, while in Humbang Hasundutan and Sidikkalang, it is still practiced with modifications. Christian influences are reflected in the use of prayers, hymns, and new interpretations of traditional elements. Modernization has led to changes in food offerings, event organization through digital platforms, and a decline in the role of traditional birth attendants due to medical regulations. However, traditional health practices—such as marbara (smoke healing) and the use of betel leaves, turmeric, and ginger-remain relevant. The integration of traditional and modern medical knowledge is growing, and technology aids in preserving and disseminating Maranggap's health-related wisdom. This study highlights how traditional values adapt within shifting religious and contemporary contexts, and the ongoing challenge of sustaining cultural identity in a transforming society.

Keywords: Batak Toba; Christianity; Maranggap; modernization; traditional medicine

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INTRODUCTION

The Maranggap tradition in the Batak Toba of North Sumatra community is a cultural practice rich in social values and traditional medical knowledge (Agustrisno et al. 2023). Although this tradition has begun to fade, it is still preserved in some (Gusar and Sianturi 2024). The tradition involves neighbors spending the night at the home of a family that has just welcomed a new child, with the aim of helping the family, particularly those who are first-time parents. This activity involves women taking care of household chores, while men protect the mother and the baby from malevolent spirits and ensure their safety during the night. The Maranagap period often lasts up to a week and aims to provide emotional and practical support to newly-arrived families (Agustrisno et al. 2023).

This tradition reflects the Batak Toba community's belief that newborn babies are very vulnerable to disturbance from subtle spirits and can become the target of someone who is studying them (Gultom 2017). Therefore, the baby's placenta must be secretly planted in the hope that the child will be blessed with food and avoid spiritual disturbances (Hutahaean 2024). The planting of the placenta is typically performed in a traditional manner, utilizing specific materials such as candlenuts and betel leaves, which are believed to bring blessings and protection. Similar practices are also found in other regions of Indonesia, such as Madura, Palembang, and Bone, but under different names (Misdi et al. 2024).

The role of the *baso*—a female expert in childbirth or traditional midwife is crucial in the process of childbirth. The *baso* provides not only physical care, but also rituals involving medicinal plants and traditional practices to cleanse the baby of birth residue and maintain the mother's health. This use of traditional medical knowledge reflects the integration between

cultural and health practices in Batak Toba society (Gultom 2017).

However, modernization and the introduction of Christianity have brought significant changes to this tradition. Modern medical technology and changes in attitudes towards traditional practices have reduced reliance on the old ways. Modernization brought more advanced health facilities and altered the community's role in the postnatal recovery process. With these changes, many aspects of the *Maranggap* tradition have been modified or even abandoned (Hutahaean 2024).

Social changes influenced modernization and Christianity affect not only cultural practices but also the collective identity and social cohesion of communities (Wardoyo et al. 2021), and the Batak Toba community is no exception. The decline of the community's role in supporting new families and changes in the way traditional practices are viewed create new challenges in maintaining cultural values (Afdhal 2023). These changes raise questions about how the values and medical knowledge of the Maranggap tradition are adapting to the new social context.

This research aims to explore the sustainability changes and of Maranggap tradition under the influence of Christianity and modernization. It will analyze how these changes impact the collective identity and social cohesion of the Batak Toba community, and explore efforts to preserve the values and medical knowledge embedded in the tradition. Approaches used will include cultural change theory and social identity theory to provide a broader understanding of the dynamics of cultural change and identity in Batak Toba society (Sinulingga, et al. 2024).

Literature Review

The *Maranggap* tradition, as a form of communal postnatal care and spiritual

safeguarding in Batak Toba society, reflects a rich tapestry of indigenous values, social traditional solidarity. and medical knowledge. However, the rise of Christianity and modernization have profoundly reshaped many indigenous practices across Indonesia, including those in the Batak region. This literature review examines the intersection of religious transformation, cultural negotiation, and the continuity of local wisdom—particularly in the context of communal rituals-while identifying the underexplored area that this study aims to address.

Several studies have examined how religious conversion and modernization reshape traditional practices in Batak society. For instance, Budiono Simbolon conducted a quantitative study on Christian beliefs concerning salvation based on 1 Peter 3:18-22 among Batak Toba Christians. While the focus was theological, the findings indirectly indicate how Christian doctrine often replaces traditional formerly believed to ensure rituals wellbeing and protection-hinting at the displacement of practices like Maranggap (Simbolon et al. 2024).

Similarly, Maringan Sinambela examined religious moderation among Batak Toba communities in Pahae Julu, emphasizing the enduring role of *adat* (custom) as a mediator in pluralistic settings. Though *Maranggap* is not explicitly discussed, the research suggests that traditional practices can persist when reinterpreted or harmonized with new religious values, including Christian ones (Sinambela et al. 2024).

The spatial and architectural transformation of Batak traditional villages was discussed by Robert Sibarani, who documented how *huta* (traditional settlements) have evolved from communal to individualistic forms under the influence of modernization (Sibarani et al. 2021). This shift not only changes physical space but

also communal behavior and values—providing an analogue to the decline of collective rituals like *Maranggap*, which rely heavily on group participation and shared cosmology.

Agustrisno et al. explored Batak childbirth rituals, noting a partial retention of traditional practices such as herbal healing and postpartum rituals, albeit often in symbolic or limited forms (Agustrisno et al. 2023). This reflects a broader trend in which rituals like *Maranggap* are not entirely lost, but are instead selectively practiced or adapted in response to religious and technological changes.

Comparative insights from other Indonesian cultures also offer useful parallels. Siti Muawanah analyzed the Haji traditions in Gresik and revealed how socioeconomic factors influence religious ritual adherence (Muawanah and Mustolehudin 2020). Similar to Maranggap, rituals are often reinterpreted under pragmatic pressures while retaining some symbolic elements. Hawa La'ala Nabilla Fada et al., through a Derridean deconstruction of the Dawuhan tradition in Java, showed how religious reinterpretation leads to symbolic ritual meaning—paralleling shifts in Maranggap's evolving role from ancestral protection to Christian expressions of community support (Fada et al. 2024).

Harianto et al. provided a broader account of cultural transitions in North Sumatra, emphasizing how modernization and globalization erode local wisdom. He observed that once-central values are either diluted or displaced, which aligns with the observed marginalization of *Maranggap* in modern Batak life (Harianto et al. 2021).

From these studies, a clear pattern emerges: cultural shifts in ritual practices occur through a process of reinterpretation under new ideological, economic, and technological paradigms. However, while these works provide valuable insights into Batak custom and broader Indonesian traditions, none explicitly analyze *Maranggap* as a distinct ritual particularly in the context of Christianity's influence and modern socio-economic transformations.

Despite the attention given to Batak traditions, religious shifts, and modernization, a few studies have explicitly focused on *Maranggap* as a postnatal communal tradition that combines spiritual beliefs, social solidarity, and traditional medical practices. Existing literature tends to discuss broader custom transformations or general religious conversions without zooming into the micro-level changes of such an intimate and socially rooted tradition.

This research fills that gap by offering a micro-ethnographic analysis of the Maranggap tradition among the Batak Toba community. It investigates how Christianity and modernization function as forces-both challenging dual and reshaping this tradition. It also explores how collective identity, gender roles, traditional health practices, and social cohesion are reconfigured in the process. In contrast to previous studies that examine tradition in abstract or generalized terms, this study offers a grounded, practiceoriented view, revealing how Maranggap has been preserved, altered, or abandoned in everyday life, and what this means for the cultural sustainability and identity of Batak Toba society.

Furthermore, incorporating by cultural change theory and social identity theory (Sinulingga et al. 2024), the research presents a theoretical lens through which the dynamics of ritual transformation and identity negotiation can be better understood. These frameworks help analyze not just what has changed, but how and why these changes are occurring, and what implications they carry intergenerational transmission of values and knowledge in an increasingly Christian and modern Batak society.

Conceptual Framework

This study employs several theories to analyze the transformation of Maranggap tradition under the influence of Christianity and modernity. Clifford Geertz's Deep Description is used to interpret the symbolic meanings Maranggap rituals. Giddens' Structuration Theory explains the interaction between social structures and community practices. Bourdieu's Concept of Habitus offers insight into how social dispositions shape the adaptation of traditions. Tajfel's Social Identity Theory and Turner's Self-Categorization Theory help examine shifts in group identity and cohesion, while Erikson's Identity Development Theory explores the impact on individual identity across life stages. Together, these comprehensive frameworks offer a perspective on the cultural, social, and Maranggap's personal aspects of transformation.

The theory of cultural change offers a lens for understanding how traditions like Maranggap evolve or decline in response to external influences, such as Christianity and modernization. Geertz's concept of thick highlights description that cultural practices carry symbolic meanings beyond actions (Geertz physical 2021). *Maranggap*, rituals like protecting mothers and infants may be reinterpreted through Christian teachings, altering their symbolic value (Geertz 1973).

Giddens' Structuration Theory explains the dynamic relationship between social structures and individual actions (Powers and Giddens 1988; Zamora and Giddens 1985). As modernization changes health practices and community roles, *Maranggap* is adapted by individuals navigating these shifts. A similar pattern appears in the transformation of the Hajj traditions in Gresik, where socio-economic realities challenge traditional practices like *pamitan haji* or *tasyakuran*, prompting

reinterpretation (Muawanah and Mustolehudin 2020).

Bourdieu's concept of Habitusdispositions shaped by social experience clarifies how individuals maintain or modify traditions (Bourdieu 1977; Taylor 2016). In Maranggap, this explains how Batak Toba negotiates between inherited society customs and new religious or modern values. As seen in the Dawuhan tradition, changing habitus leads to flexible reinterpretation as a means of cultural survival (Bourdieu 1977; Fada et al. 2024), allowing communities to adapt without losing their identity.

Henri Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (Morley 1982; Rose and Tajfel 1983; Tajfel 1981) explains how individual identity is shaped by group membership, influencing self-perception and social interaction. In the context of *Maranggap*, this theory helps understand how changes in cultural practices affect the Batak Toba community's collective identity (Hjarvard 2012). Similar dynamics are observed in Indonesia, where religious and national identities are integrated in schools to reduce intergroup conflict (Anto, Rahmawati, and Martiarini 2023).

John Turner's Self-Categorization Theory (Willer et al. 1989) expands this by focusing on social categorization as a dynamic process affecting solidarity and cohesion within groups, relevant to how Maranggap's transformation impacts group connections (Furnham 1988). Research organizational culture on confirms that strong group identity strengthens adherence to group norms and behaviors (Tear and Reader 2023).

In Indonesia, ongoing ethnic, religious, and national tensions highlight the role of social categorization and recategorization in cultural shifts like *Maranggap* and education efforts promoting inclusive national identity. Cultural change thus reflects the complex

identity negotiations that occur within a multicultural society.

Erikson's Identity Development Theory (Erikson 1968) identifies adolescence and early adulthood as critical for forming social identities shaped by cultural contexts. Studies show that youth express identity solidarity as a form of resistance to other social groups in digital spaces (Zhang and Ji 2023). Similarly, Batak Toba youth face identity disorientation due to the weakening of Maranggap traditions by modernization and Christian influence, leading to tension between traditional and modern worldviews (Feixa Pàmpols 2020; Fras 1968; Offer Erikson's framework 1969). helps understand individual and communal navigation of these identity crises.

Comparable Indonesian studies illustrate similar ritual transformations. Sahrul et al. shows Mandailing death rituals adapting to Islamization and modernity (Sahrul et al. 2024); Malik and Maslahah reveal negotiation in Javanese birth practices between Islam and tradition (Malik and Maslahah 2021). Muawanah and Mustolehudin demonstrate financial and social factors reshaping the Hajj rituals in East Java (Muawanah and Mustolehudin 2020), while Nurjanah describes Sundanese ritual reinterpretation under Islamic influence and education (Nurjanah et al. 2022).

Despite these insights, research on *Maranggap* remains limited, especially in integrating Social Identity, Habitus, and Structuration theories. This study uniquely examines *Maranggap*'s transformation in Batak Toba culture through an integrated theoretical lens (Bourdieu 1997; Geertz 2021; Giddens 2020; Tajfel 1981), compares it to other Indonesian ritual changes, and highlights youth identity shifts and disorientation, incorporating contemporary digital identity studies (Xie et al. 2023). This comprehensive approach deepens

understanding of cultural adaptation amid Christianization, modernization, and pluralism.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs an qualitative ethnographic approach to examine the transformation and adaptation of the Maranggap tradition in the context of its interaction with Christianity and modernization. With this approach, the researcher explores the complex meanings and dynamics of the tradition in greater depth. The data collection method involved several key techniques. Firstly, a literature study was used to understand theoretical and historical context of Maranggap. This involved collecting and analyzing relevant scholarly works, books, articles, and documents relating to Batak culture, Christianity, Toba and modernization. This literature review provided the necessary theoretical and contextual basis for the research.

Next, in-depth interviews were conducted to gain direct insights from individuals with in-depth knowledge of Maranggap and the changes that have occurred. The selected informants included senior Batak traditional leaders (I1), young traditional leaders (I2), religious leaders (I3, I4, I5 and I6), community members who are experienced in the practice of Maranggap and still preserve the culture (I7, I8), and community members who no longer maintain the Maranggap culture (I9 and I10). Semi-structured interviews were used to flexibly explore emerging topics, and the data obtained were thematically analyzed to identify relevant patterns and themes. The third method is participatory observation, which is conducted to directly observe the practice of the Maranggap tradition. Researchers attended and participated in Maranggap events to observe social interactions, rituals, and related activities. These observations were

recorded in detail, and the results were reflected upon and analyzed to understand the changes and dynamics in the practice of the tradition.

Data analysis was conducted by collecting from interviews, data observations, and literature studies, followed by coding the data to organize the information into relevant themes. Key themes were identified and interpreted in the context of theories of cultural change and social identity, providing deep insights into how Maranggap has evolved over time. This research is a descriptive qualitative study that aims to explore the changes in the Maranggap tradition and its impact on the collective identity and social cohesion of the Batak Toba community. The research was conducted over six months, from January to June 2024, in four locations within the Toba region of Humbang Batak Hasundutan, specifically in Sidikkalang, Girsang Sipangan Bolon, and Tanah Jawa.

Although the study has no formal hypothesis, it is expected that the results will reveal the transformations in the practice of *Maranggap* due to the influence of Christianity and modernization, the impact of these changes on the collective identity and social cohesion of the Batak Toba community, and the efforts made to maintain the values and medical knowledge of the tradition amid social change. The methods applied are expected to provide a comprehensive analysis and contribution to the understanding of cultural preservation in the digital era.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Definition, Symbols, and Values in the Maranggap Tradition

Maranggap is an essential tradition in the Batak Toba community, especially after the birth of a child or the death of a family member. It reflects the value of community togetherness and support in the face of significant events in family life.

According to interviews with informants steeped in Batak tradition, Maranggap involves neighbors and relatives spending the night in the home of a family that has just given birth. The tradition lasts seven nights, with activities designed to help families recover from childbirth and relieve boredom. The informant explained: "Maranggap is a custom or tradition passed down from the ancestors. This tradition is usually performed after the birth of a child in a Batak family" (Interview with I1, April 15, 2025).

The word *Maranggap* itself comes from the word *anggap*, which means *mamborngini*' or watch. During this period, participants will guard the house until late at night, to protect the mother and child from potential dangers that may come from the dark or evil power. "This tradition is carried out for seven consecutive nights, and on the seventh night, a *Tutup Anggap* event is held to mark or inform that the child has reached the age of seven days" (*Interview with I2, April 15, 2025*).

As stated by another informant, "The *Maranggap* tradition aims to protect the child and the mother from dark or evil power that may be sent by people with bad intentions. Batak people believe that newborn children are very weak physically and spiritually, which is why they take turns keeping watch" (*Interview with I3, April 15, 2025*).

A traditional leader from Panambean Ujung Bondar said that the *Maranggap* tradition is also applied to newly deceased family members. "In the *Maranggap* tradition for newly deceased families, every representative from every family in the community must be present every night until the burial. If someone does not attend, then the community will impose a fine in the form of rice, which is then used for food

together in the *Maranggap* activity" (*Interview with I1, April 15, 2025*).

Cultural anthropological theory suggests that traditions such as *Maranggap* play an essential role in strengthening social ties and maintaining community integrity (Geertz 1973). In addition, they also serve as a mechanism to reduce stress and provide emotional support to families undergoing significant changes (Turner 2017).

As such, *Maranggap* is not only a ritual, but also a manifestation of Batak Toba community values that emphasize solidarity, protection, and support in various aspects of life. *Maranggap* is a significant tradition in Batak Toba society, particularly following the birth of a child or the passing of a family member.

The *Maranggap* tradition, as an integral part of Batak culture, utilizes various symbols to maintain the health and safety of mothers and newborns. Some of these symbols have deep and functional meanings that are recognized by the local community.

One of the main symbols is the *marbara* used to warm the mother's body after childbirth. These *marbara* serve a dual purpose: physical and ritual. According to I3, "This process is done so that the bones and joints heal quickly and are not porous, and to maintain the mother's health and milk production." This opinion is supported by I1, who reveals, "The use of *marbara* is an old tradition that helps mothers recover quickly. We believe it is important to restore the mother's strength and health."

Other symbols include white, red, and black colored threads, which are strung into necklaces or bracelets for babies. These threads symbolize protection and good luck. According to I2, "We use these threads as protection charms for the baby. Each color has a specific meaning that protects the baby from various dangers." This is in line with I1's view that, "The baby's *Ari-ari*

(placenta) is usually planted with 1 candlenut seed, 1 kaffir lime, and seven betel leaves in a small pandan horn. The planting is done secretly to protect the baby from spirits and black magic." This planting process reflects a deep belief in spiritual protection and rituals.

The symbols in the Maranggap tradition not only serve a physical function but also possess a strong symbolic dimension, in accordance with the principles of symbolic theory anthropology. According to Geertz in his classic work The Interpretation of Cultures, cultural symbols such as embers and colorful threads serve as tools to express deep social and spiritual values (Fenn 1974; Mythili Devi 2023). Geertz explains that these symbols help individuals understand and live out complex cultural norms.

In this context, the use of *marbara* for maternal and infant health can be understood as a practice that reflects the values of health and healing in Batak society. In addition, the colorful threads and the planting of the *ari-ari* are forms of affirming cultural and spiritual identity. As outlined by Campbell in *The Power of Myth*, rituals and symbols are often used to create a sense of security and protection for individuals in society (Carter 1991; Drummond 2019; Smith 2014).

Overall, the *Maranggap* tradition utilizes these symbols to safeguard and celebrate critical aspects of new family life, demonstrating how local cultures integrate spiritual and practical elements in daily practices. The *Maranggap* tradition, as an integral part of Batak culture, utilizes various symbols to safeguard the health and safety of mothers and newborns. Some of these symbols have deep and functional meanings that are recognized by the local community.

The *Maranggap* tradition, an integral part of Batak Toba culture, embodies various essential values that reflect social

solidarity and community care. These values include togetherness, mutual aid, protection, and care, which are highly relevant in the social and cultural context of the Batak Toba community.

The first values are togetherness and mutual aid. One of the central values in the Maranggap tradition is togetherness and gotong royong (mutual cooperation). This tradition demonstrates how the Batak Toba community comes together to offer support to families who have recently welcomed a child. I1 asserted that "Maranggap reflects the value of togetherness and gotong royong in the community," showing how this practice strengthens social ties and supports community members in times of need. According to Coleman in his Social Capital theory, togetherness and mutual cooperation are crucial components of social capital that strengthen relationships between individuals and increase a community's capacity to work together. In the Maranggap context, these values are evident through the active participation of neighbors in helping new families (Boland 2024; Gibbs 1990; Wasserman 2017).

The second values are protection and addition to togetherness, care. Maranggap also emphasizes the protection and care of vulnerable mothers and babies after childbirth. This tradition involves strict guarding to ensure their health and safety. I2 added, "Close guarding is done to ensure their health and safety," indicating a deep concern for the well-being of mothers and babies during the postnatal period. This is in line with the Social Protection theory proposed by Devereux, which states that communities often have mechanisms in place to protect their most vulnerable members (Devereux and White 2010). Maranggap serves as one of such mechanisms, ensuring that the needs of mothers and babies are met with solid community support.

The third value is the *preservation of* tradition. The Maranggap tradition also plays a role in preserving traditional values amidst modernization. I3 noted that, "Maranggap is not only about rituals, but also about preserving cultural values that have existed for a long time." This shows how this tradition remains relevant in the context of social and cultural change, serving as a bridge between the past and the future. According to Geertz, in his theory of cultural systems, cultural practices such as Maranggap help maintain the continuity of traditional values despite societal changes. This demonstrates the importance of Maranggap as a means of maintaining Batak Toba cultural identity (Fenn 1974; Devi 2023).

Thus, the *Maranggap* tradition not only reflects the values of togetherness and mutual cooperation, but also functions as a mechanism for social protection and preservation of cultural values in Batak Toba society. The *Maranggap* tradition, an integral part of Batak Toba culture, embodies various essential values that reflect social solidarity and community care.

Maranggap Implementation Process in the Past

In the past, the implementation of the *Maranggap* tradition in Batak society was highly structured and colored by various rituals. After the birth of a baby, information about the birth quickly spreads throughout the village. Neighbors would soon come to welcome the baby and begin the *Maranggap* ceremony. This process involves not only celebration, but also strict rituals of protection and guarding.

According to informant I1, "From that day on, people in the village immediately start *Maranggap*. To fill the void, the men usually play cards or chess. The women take care of the kitchen work. In the evening, the guard is tight. The men are divided into

groups. They keep watch all night, looking after the mother and the baby" (*Interview with I1, April 15, 2025*). This statement shows that *Maranggap* not only involves social activities and rituals but also regulates specific gender roles in Batak society in the past.

The strict guarding that is done at night aims to protect the mother and baby from various threats, both mystical in nature and potential dangers that can come from outside. Informant I2 added, "This guarding is not only done to protect the mother and baby from the disturbance of spirits, but also from people who may have evil intentions" (Interview with I2, April 15, 2025). This reflects the Batak belief that the ritual protection of the baby and mother is crucial to ensure their safety during the critical period immediately after birth.

According to the theory of ritual function in traditional societies, rituals such as *Maranggap* play an essential role in maintaining social and spiritual balance. Geertz in *The Interpretation of Cultures* explains that rituals function as a mechanism to organize and maintain social structures as well as overcome uncertainty in life (Fenn 1974; Devi 2023). These rituals help people deal with uncertainty by providing meaning and a sense of security through traditional practices.

In addition, Bellah's book *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* also highlights that ritual practices often revolve around the protection and security of individuals and groups (Bellah 1999). The protection of mothers and babies during *Maranggap* is a concrete example of how traditional communities use rituals to address concerns related to individual wellbeing and spiritual safety.

Overall, the practice of *Maranggap* in the past demonstrates the profound influence of rituals in organizing the social and spiritual lives of Batak people. The ceremony serves not only as a celebration of

birth but also as a profound protective mechanism, reflecting the community's values and beliefs.

In the Batak tradition, protection of the baby from spirits and black magic is an essential aspect of the birth ritual. Strict guarding at night aims to protect the baby from possible supernatural disturbances and misuse of mystical powers. According to interview data with informants, this is done with various ceremonies and preventive measures.

Informant I1 explained, "The baby's ari-ari is usually planted secretly to protect the baby from spirits and black magic" (Interview with I1, April 15, 2025). This ritual reflects the belief that particular objects have the power to ward off negative energy. This practice is in line with the view that symbolic and material actions have an influence in regulating spiritual balance and protecting individuals from invisible dangers.

In addition to planting the placenta, clothes with the mother's blood were also destroyed as a preventive measure. This aims to prevent the misuse of blood, which is considered to have magical powers. Informant I2 added, "The cloth with the mother's blood is destroyed because it is believed that it can be used by those with evil intentions for black magic purposes" (Interview with I2, April 15, 2025).

The role of the *baso* in the labour process is also crucial. The *baso*, a woman with traditional skills, has in-depth knowledge of rituals and practices that serve to protect both mother and baby. As I1 and I2 stated, "The *baso* also has some knowledge that most people do not have, for example, she can tell fortunes or determine good days." The *baso*'s knowledge and skills reflect a belief in spiritual and magical powers to protect individuals from invisible threats.

According to cultural diversity theory, traditional rituals and practices such as these serve not only to protect individuals from supernatural threats but also play a crucial role in strengthening a community's social bonds and cultural identity. For example, according to Geertz, religious and magical practices in traditional societies often have broader social functions, including community unification and the reinforcement of cultural values (Geertz 1973). Thus, the protection of infants from spirits and black magic in the Batak tradition is a manifestation of a deep-seated belief in spiritual and magical powers that are believed to shield individuals from unseen dangers and reinforce the social and cultural fabric of the community.

Transformation of Maranggap Tradition in the Modern Era

The *Maranggap* tradition, a Batak cultural practice that plays an essential role in supporting new families, has undergone significant changes in the modern era. This change has been influenced by factors such as the influence of Christianity and advances in healthcare.

According to an interview with Raja Parhata in Ujung Bondar Panambean, Tanah Jawa, Simalungun Regency (I1), the *Maranggap* tradition is currently declining. He stated, "Nowadays, people already believe in Jesus and medical treatment compared to the old traditions" (*Interview with I1, April 15, 2025*). This indicates a shift in values from traditional practices towards religious beliefs and modern medical services.

Similar information was also provided by another informant, a Batak clan in the same area (I2), who said, "The *Maranggap* tradition used to be important to protect mothers and babies from evil spirits, but now people trust more in the power of God and health facilities" (*Interview with I2*, April 15, 2025). This statement reflects the community's evolving belief in the spiritual protection offered by Maranggap, alongside growing religious faith and advancements in medicine.

This change has also been fueled by advances in health services. According to I3, a medical worker at the local hospital, "Health facilities such as hospitals and clinics guarantee health and safety more than traditional methods" (Interview with I3, April 15, 2025). Medical advances have reduced people's reliance on traditional methods that were previously considered essential.

Alternatively, Batak communities today prefer to celebrate the birth of a child in ways that are more appropriate to the modern context. As expressed by I4, a local church leader, "Batak people prefer to carry out the tradition of thanksgiving by inviting pastors and congregations as well as Batak communities or associations" (Interview with I4, April 15, 2025). This approach demonstrates adaptation to social and religious change, while maintaining cultural elements in a form that is more suitable for current religious practices.

Changes in traditions, such as *Maranggap*, can be understood through theories of acculturation and modernization. Wright, in *Theories of Modernization* explains that modernization can change traditional social and cultural structures through technological, economic, and religious influences (Jäger 2024). In this context, the adoption of Christianity and medical advances were the main factors in *Maranggap*'s transformation.

Clifford Geertz, in *The Interpretation* of *Cultures*, also emphasizes that changes in belief systems and cultural practices are often caused by the interaction between traditional values and external factors such as religion and technology. The transformation of *Maranggap* reflects the Batak culture's adjustment to the demands

of modern times while still maintaining essential elements of their cultural heritage (Fenn 1974; Devi 2023).

Analysis of Changes in the 'Maranggap' Tradition under the Influence of Christianity and Modernization

The Maranggap tradition in the Batak Toba community has undergone significant transformations due to the dual influences of Christianity and modernization. These changes reflect broader cultural and religious shifts within the society. According to Clifford Geertz, cultural practices function as "symbolic systems" that convey meaning within specific social contexts (Fenn 1974; Devi 2023). In this light, the integration of Christian and modern elements into Maranggap is not merely a change in form but a rearticulation of meaning in line with evolving social and spiritual values.

As Anthony Giddens suggests, social and cultural structures are dynamic and continually reshaped by interaction and external pressures (Giddens 2020). In the case of *Maranggap*, modern influences, including the increased role of formal education, access to technology, changing family structures, and the integration of Christian beliefs, have all contributed to shifts in the ritual. For example, practices such as night prayers and communal thanksgiving now align more closely with Christian norms, while some traditional rituals rooted in animism have diminished or disappeared altogether.

This process of transformation can also be seen through Mary Douglas's lens of cultural negotiation (Latour 1988). Rather than complete abandonment of tradition, the community selectively adapts some aspects while retaining the ceremonial core. This negotiation reveals a desire to preserve cultural identity while ensuring the relevance of *Maranggap* in contemporary life. While Christianity has provided new spiritual content, modernization has introduced changes in the setting, pacing, and structure of the rituals making them shorter, more formal, and often more communal.

Thus, the interplay between modernization and Christianity in reshaping *Maranggap* illustrates how traditional practices evolve in response to complex social currents. It is a testament to cultural resilience, as the Batak Toba community continues to reinterpret their rituals in ways that bridge the past with the present.

Christianity, in particular, has brought about distinctive changes in the religious and symbolic dimensions of the *Maranggap* tradition. Historically, *Maranggap* ceremonies were rooted in animistic and ancestral beliefs, involving symbolic acts of protection and spiritual offerings. With the widespread adoption of Protestantism and Catholicism, many of these components have been restructured to align with Christian teachings and practices.

A clear example of this shift is the inclusion of Christian prayers, Bible readings, and worship songs within the ritual. As informant I7 explained, "We started to incorporate Christian prayers in the Maranggap ceremony to reflect our new beliefs. At night, when the mother and baby are going to bed, we collectively do night prayers for God to bless and keep the mother and baby" (Interview with I7, April 16, 2025). This transformation indicates a significant reorientation from traditional spiritual guardianship Christian to monotheism and divine providence.

This shift echoes the argument of Robert Hefner, who notes that in many parts of Indonesia, Christianity has not simply replaced local beliefs but has reframed them within a new cosmology, integrating them into a Christian moral order (Hefner 1993). In this context, the ritual retains its communal and familial significance but is infused with a Christian theological framework.

leadership, terms of the In Maranggap ceremony has also experienced institutional changes. Previously led by traditional figures or ritual specialists, the ceremony is now often officiated by church elders or pastors, shifting the source of ritual authority from cultural to religious institutions. This reflects a broader reconfiguration of religious legitimacy within the Batak Toba society. As Joel Robbins argues, the Christianization of indigenous rituals often entails a transfer of authority from traditional ritual experts to church-based figures, altering the social structure of spiritual mediation (Robbins 2004).

Food practices within *Maranggap* have also been affected. Dishes associated with Christian liturgy and fellowship—such as bread and wine symbolizing the Holy Communion, or meals commonly served during church events—are sometimes used in place of traditional Batak dishes like *saksang* and *panggang*. This substitution is not merely practical, but also symbolic, underscoring the incorporation of Christian values into the ritual's fabric.

These changes embody what Mary Douglas calls a cultural negotiation between tradition and innovation. The Batak Toba community does not discard *Maranggap*, but instead reinterprets it, embedding Christian values into its structure while preserving its communal and familial functions (Latour 1988). This process also aligns with Peter Berger's view that religious conversion often leads to a "worldview transformation," in which prior symbols are re-signified within a new sacred canopy (Goode 1968).

As a result, *Maranggap* serves as both a continuity of cultural heritage and a reflection of contemporary Christian

identity in Batak society. The tradition becomes a site of synthesis—where ancestral legacy and Christian morality coexist—enabling the community to express spiritual devotion while maintaining cultural rootedness.

Modernization has had a significant impact on the *Maranggap* tradition in Batak Toba society, affecting its practices and values. These adjustments reflect changes in lifestyle and the demands of modern times, which are manifested in various aspects of the practice of this tradition.

Observations show that some rituals in *Maranggap* undergo modifications to reflect the practical needs and limitations of modern times. Traditional food ingredients are often replaced with more sensible alternatives, such as ready meals or modern market products. These changes reflect the Batak Toba community's adaptation to changes in consumption patterns and accessibility brought about by globalization and technological developments (Bourdieu 1977).

Technology has played a role in modernizing the execution of the *Maranggap* event. The use of mobile phones and communication apps for event coordination has replaced traditional, slower communication methods. Manuel Castells argues that information and communication technologies change social and cultural structures, enabling the integration of modern elements in traditional cultural practices (Castells 2022; Stark and Castells 1997).

The system of rice fines, imposed if family representatives are absent on ceremonial nights, demonstrates a practical adjustment to the limitations of the modern economy. The rice fines are used as a communal meal, emphasizing the importance of community solidarity while reflecting adaptation to social and economic change (Crassweller 1985).

Informant (I1), added a practical dimension to the customization of *Maranggap*. According to I1, rice fines serve not only as a mechanism to ensure attendance but also as a symbol of solidarity and commitment to tradition, despite changes in the economic and social context.

Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory explains how social structures and individuals influence each other. Bourdieu argues that habitus is the result of the relationship between social structures and individuals that can change along with social and cultural changes (Bourdieu 2018). In this case, modernization brought changes to the practice of *Maranggap*, which was adapted to the practical demands and limitations of modern times (Huang 2019).

Manuel Castells explains how information and communication technologies are changing the way societies interact and organize (Castells 2022). Technology allows for more efficient coordination of *Maranggap* events, reflecting the integration of modern tools into traditional cultural practices.

The practice of *marbara*-using embers to warm the bodies of postnatal mothers- has a scientific basis supporting its health benefits. Research by Ventriglia shows that heat therapy can reduce pain and inflammation, supporting traditional claims about the benefits of *marbara* (Ventriglia et al. 2023).

The *Maranggap* tradition also involves the use of medicinal plants, such as betel leaves, turmeric, and ginger, to treat mothers and babies. Studies show that these plants have antiseptic, anti-inflammatory, and immune system-boosting properties (Menon et al. 2021; Salehi et al. 2019; Sanjana Seth, Kashmeera Agarwal, and Abdul Rahman 2022) Traditional medical knowledge is now often combined with modern medical practices, increasing

effectiveness and relevance in a contemporary context.

Modernization has thus brought about changes in the way Maranggap is performed, reflecting adjustments to the needs and demands of modern times. Practical and technological adjustments demonstrate how traditions can adapt while maintaining the core of cultural practices that are important to the collective identity of the Batak Toba community. The medical values in this tradition also remain relevant, serving as a valuable source of knowledge that benefits public health in a modern context. The opinions of informants, such as Informant 1, contribute to the understanding of how these adjustments are made to maintain the essence of the tradition while facing social and economic changes.

What elements of 'Maranggap' have been retained, modified, or abandoned in contemporary Batak culture?

In contemporary *Maranggap* practices, retained elements include the presence of the community to support bereaved families and the performance of rituals to honor the deceased. These rituals are still performed with the primary purpose of showing social solidarity and memorializing the deceased. This reflects core aspects of traditional practices that remain relevant in modern social contexts.

Clifford Geertz, in his theory of 'thick description,' points out the importance of understanding how cultural meanings and practices adapt to social change while maintaining key elements (Geertz 2021). In the context of *Maranggap*, although certain elements may have changed, community presence and rituals of respect remain central to the practice, demonstrating continuity in the cultural core.

Victor Turner's social identity theory also supports this understanding by explaining how cultural practices serve to maintain group identity while adapting to change (Turner 2017). In this case, traditional elements such as rituals of honor serve to maintain the collective identity of the Batak Toba community.

Some elements of Maranggap have been modified to reflect social changes and practical needs. For example, the replacement of traditional musical instruments with modern ones and the incorporation of elements demonstrates Christian how cultural practices evolve to accommodate current religious and societal contexts. One clear example of a Christian element is the inclusion of prayer services or worship led by a pastor, often accompanied by Bible readings and the singing of hymns. These Christian practices are integrated into the event to replace or complement older ritual elements, demonstrating how the tradition evolves while maintaining its communal values.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus states that cultural practices often undergo adjustments to reflect the social dispositions and practical needs of society (Bourdieu 1977). Modifications in the practice of Maranggap, such as the replacement of traditional musical instruments and the incorporation of Christian elements, represent a form of adaptation that meets the needs of contemporary society while preserving the essence of tradition. For instance, prayer services led by a pastor, the reading of Bible verses, and the singing of Christian hymns are now commonly integrated into the Maranggap ritual. These elements reflect the community's current religious orientation and demonstrate how tradition can coexist with new spiritual values.

James C. Scott, in his theory of resistance and adjustment, also suggests that communities often change their practices to adapt to new conditions without losing the core of the culture (Bailey 1987;

Mailleux Sant'Ana 2007). The adjustments in *Maranggap* demonstrate how the Batak Toba community is adapting to modern elements while preserving its traditional values.

There are some aspects of *Maranggap* that have been abandoned, such as certain practices that may be considered no longer relevant or practical in the current social context. This suggests a process of cultural selection where elements deemed no longer appropriate to contemporary conditions are sidelined.

Arjun Appadurai, in his cultural flow theory of globalization, argues that globalization and modernization can lead to some aspects of local culture being abandoned due to more dominant outside influences (Evrard 2017; de Zoysa and Appadurai 1998). In this case, the abandonment of ritual elements in the *Maranggap* may be attributed to changes in the wider community's priorities and values.

The findings regarding the retained, modified, and abandoned elements of Maranggap reflect the complex dynamics of cultural adaptation. The practice of Maranggap demonstrates how the Batak Toba community is able to maintain its core traditions while adapting to the demands of changing times. It reflects a process in which traditional aspects are retained to preserve cultural identity. while modifications made are meet contemporary social and practical needs.

How have these changes affected the cultural identity and social cohesion of the Batak community?

Changes in the practice of *Maranggap* affect the cultural identity and social cohesion of the Batak Toba community in complex ways. Although some traditional elements have been modified or abandoned, the collective

identity has been maintained. Findings from interviews and observations indicate that these changes have strengthened social cohesion in new ways, such as by incorporating Christian elements that foster solidarity through communal prayer and community activities. The system of rice fines in the *Maranggap* practice for deceased family members also serves as a mechanism that strengthens community solidarity and participation, with the penalties being used as a communal meal.

Changes in the practice Maranggap have had a significant impact on the cultural identity and social cohesion of the Batak Toba community. Tajfel's social identity theory suggests that group identity is formed from the relationship between individuals and their groups, and changes in cultural practices can affect the way groups perceive themselves and their interactions with other groups (Rose and Tajfel 1983). In this context, the incorporation of Christian elements into the practice of Maranggap enables the Batak Toba community to integrate new values while preserving the core of their traditions, illustrating a process of adaptation that allows groups to maintain their identity in the face of social and religious change.

Turner explains that although groups undergo change, their social structure is maintained through a process of adaptation that preserves key elements of cultural identity (Willer et al. 1989). In this case, although some traditional elements such as musical instruments and animist ritualssuch as offerings to ancestral spirits (manjouba) and the chanting of ancestral invocations—have been modified abandoned, the practice of Maranggap still serves as a platform to strengthen social solidarity. These changes reflect the shift from indigenous belief systems toward a more Christian-oriented cultural expression, while the communal essence of the tradition remains intact.

According to Erikson, changes in cultural practices can affect individual and collective identity (Erikson 1968; Feixa Pàmpols 2020; Fras 1968). The process of adaptation enables communities to preserve the essence of their identity while responding to social change. In the Batak Toba context, such adaptations reflect the community's resilience and ability to uphold shared values amid modernization, without losing their cultural core.

In addition, the rice fines imposed for non-attendance at *Maranggap* rituals demonstrate the critical function of social mechanisms in strengthening community participation. This fine serves not only as a sanction, but also as a tool to maintain solidarity and ensure the active presence of every community member in supporting the bereaved family. This system helps maintain social engagement and provides an opportunity for community members to participate in traditional practices in a way that is relevant to modern needs.

Thus, despite changes in the practice of *Maranggap*, the Batak Toba community shows resilience and flexibility in maintaining their collective identity. The adjustment to Christian elements and modernization demonstrates that the community can maintain social cohesion while adapting to social and religious changes, striking a balance between tradition and modernity.

CONCLUSION

This research aims to explore the changes and sustainability of the Maranggap tradition in the face of influence from Christianity and modernization. From the study's results, it can be concluded that although the Maranggap tradition has undergone significant changes due to the introduction of Christianity and the process modernization, core values such togetherness, mutual cooperation, and the protection of mothers and babies have been maintained. These changes reflect the dynamic adaptation of Batak Toba culture, where new elements are integrated without losing the original meaning of the tradition. This research also found that changes in the practice of *Maranggap* affect not only the collective identity but also the social cohesion of the Batak Toba community. The integration of Christian elements in this tradition demonstrates cultural flexibility and how the Batak Toba community accommodates changing beliefs in their traditional practices. Nonetheless, the younger generation has a more critical view and tends to favor modern ways of practicing the tradition, which shows the challenges in maintaining authenticity and traditional values.

To ensure the sustainability of the Maranggap tradition, several steps can be taken. Firstly, improving education about the symbolic meanings and values of the Maranggap tradition through education programs in schools and communities. Second, documenting the practices and values of the Maranggap tradition in the form of writings, videos, and other digital media for dissemination to the younger generation. Thirdly, engaging religious and traditional leaders in tradition preservation efforts to ensure harmonious integration between new elements and traditional practices. Finally, securing financial and technical support from the government and non-governmental organizations cultural preservation programs. Further research is needed to understand the longterm impact of these changes on the cultural identity and social cohesion of the Batak Toba community, as well as to explore ways of maintaining practical developing the *Maranggap* tradition in the modern era.

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