

THE TRADITION OF BUWUHAN : BETWEEN SOCIAL COHESION, ALMS, AND COMMERCIALIZATION

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Abstrak

Tradisi buwuhan telah ratusan tahun menjadi sarana kohesi sosial pada masyarakat pedesaan. Dalam hubungan sosial buwuhan dapat dikonsepsikan sebagai negosiasi ekonomi dengan menggunakan pendekatan pertukaran. Sebagai sub-budaya, buwuhan menjadi alat strategis dalam menandai tahapan kehidupan seseorang, yang digelar pada acara pesta perkawinan dan khitanan. Dalam masyarakat pedesaan pertukaran ekonomi ini terorganisir melalui pencatatan. Kesadaran akan adanya norma sosial kesalingan menuntut nilai pertukaran dibayarkan kembali minimal sepadan. Di era modern tradisi buwuhan mengalami pergeseran nilai, menjadikan tradisi buwuhan sebagai sarana untuk mengambil keuntungan pribadi, yang dibungkus dengan nilai kesetiakawanan dan kerukunan. Terutama pada masyarakat perkotaan dan masyarakat yang sedang mengalami transformasi sosial seperti masyarakat pinggiran kota. Hal ini karena modernisasi mengubah pola pandang masyarakat terhadap nilai uang. Pemaknaan ini lebih jauh menimbulkan praktik buwuhan dilaksanakan tidak dengan semestinya, dipaksakan, dimanfaatkan, dengan modus dan strategi demi keuntungan materi. Makna buwuhan menjadi subyektif, berdasarkan kepada kepentingan individual. Untuk melestarikan nilai tradisi buwuhan, harus ada rekonstruksi sosial yang mengembalikan makna tradisi ini kedalam fungsinya sebagai kohesi sosial yang dapat diterima oleh norma masyarakat modern, yang lebih rasional, realistis, interaktif, familiar, dan harmonis.

Kata kunci: Buwuhan, Kohesi Sosial, Komersialisasi, Modernisasi

Abstract

The buwuhan tradition has for hundreds of years been a means of social cohesion in rural communities. In social relations, buwuhan can be conceived of as economic negotiations using an exchange approach. As a sub-culture, buwuhan becomes a strategic tool in marking the stages of one's life, which is held at weddings and circumcisions. In rural communities this economic exchange is organized through record keeping. Awareness of social norms of negligence requires that the exchange value be paid back at a minimum. In the modern era, the buwuhan tradition experiences a value shift, making the buwuhan tradition a means of taking personal advantage, which is wrapped in the values of solidarity and harmony. Especially in urban communities and societies undergoing social transformation such as sub-urban communities. This is because modernization has changed the way people look at the value of money. This meaning has further led to the occurrence of abusive practices that have been implemented improperly, forced, exploited, with modes and strategies for material gain. To preserve the value of the buwuhan tradition, there must be a social reconstruction that returns the meaning of this tradition into its function as a social cohesion that can be accepted by the norms of modern society, which are more rational, realistic, interactive, familiar, and harmonious.

Keywords: Buwuhan, Social Cohesion, Commercialization, Modernization

Introduction

Buwuhan as a tradition of the community has come out of its social value, from social cohesion to commercialization of tradition. This occurs in every social stratum, both in rural and urban communities. Understanding buwuhan is giving donations to people who

have a wedding celebration or circumcision. Donations can be in the form of money or food items. These donations are voluntary, based on family, friendship, friendship, and colleagues.¹ Buwuhan has several names: *becekan*, *peccotan*

¹ Titik Sumarti, N. "Potret Resiprositas dalam Tradisi Nyumbang di Pedesaan Jawa di Tengah Monetisasi Desa" in *Jurnal: Masyarakat, Kebudayaan Dan Politik*, Edition 25, No. 4, 2012.

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(Madura), often called *Kondangan*, is a tradition that has been passed down through generations and has been institutionalized for hundreds of years in society. This tradition survives with the *Nyalap-Nyaur* system². According to Somantri, this tradition is a form of cooperation and solidarity with people voluntarily. Assistance can be anything that is needed by people who have a desire.³ But in urban areas, these donations take the form of money.⁴ In the latest development, the tradition of *buwuhan* has changed its orientation, which originally meant social cohesion, social alms, now more commercialized, taking into account the profit and loss in the holding of a wedding.⁵

So far, the study of *buwuhan* or invitation is often associated with the value of local wisdom traditions to strengthen social cohesion, such as the traditional flour ceremony.⁶ In the Islamic tradition, *buwuhan* is packaged in the *walimatul nikah* tradition.⁷ *Buwuhan* is associated with the social system as a form of blessing for the bride and groom.⁸ In other words, the study focuses on the function of tradition in togetherness. There has not been a critical study that the *buwuhan* system has experienced a deviation in value, from a social cohesion system towards the commercialization of tradition.⁹ *Buwuhan*

is not a voluntary donation, but the person concerned has to pay back the contribution he received.¹⁰ This change in traditional orientation disturbs social harmony.

The *Buwuhan* Tradition as a System of Social Cohesion

Buwuhan is the same term as donations, assistance, alms, having the dimension of cooperation and harmony. Javanese people who live in the area of West Java to East Java have similar traditions with the same practices and goals. The urban Madurese in Surabaya is called *Oto-Oto*, which functions as social integration.¹¹ In the mataraman culture area (Kediri and its surroundings) it is called *Becekan*. The marriage tradition has stages that end with a party, as in the Pekalongan community.¹² This culture is called *Cilacap Nyambung*, but recorded so that later it can measure the nominal amount that must be paid back.¹³ In Sundanese likes, it is called *saweran*, which is given to the bride and groom.¹⁴

This system is hundreds of years old through inheritance. Sociologically, this tradition has the function of social cohesion, forming social harmony. At first this tradition was familiar with the community with the social system of the community. Urbanization to urban culture acculturation takes place, which is then a kind of tradition called inviting. In the rural donations made consisting of money, goods,

Masyarakat Desa (Studi Etnografi Pergeseran Nilai Tentang Sumbangan Perkawinan di Masyarakat Brongsongan, Desa Sidorejo, Kecamatan Bendoasri, Kabupaten Sukoharjo),” in *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi*, Vol. 2 No. 1 2013.

¹⁰Muyasarah, “Nilai Budaya Walimah Perkawinan (Walimatul Ursy) dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Masyarakat; Studi Kasus di Kelurahan Gondorio Ngaliyan Semarang,” in *Inferensi; Jurnal Penelitian Sosial*, 2016, p. 529.

¹¹Fatekhul Mujib, “Tradisi Oto’ Oto’; Intergasi Sosial Masyarakat Urban Madura di Surabaya,” in *Nuansa; Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial dan Kegamaan Islam*, Vol. 12 No. 1 2015.

¹²Moch. Luklil Maknun, “Tradisi Pernikahan Islam Jawa Pesisir,” in *Ibda’; Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam*, Vol. 11 No. 1 2013, pp. 119-130.

¹³Eko Yulianto, “Nilai Karakter dan Tinjauan Etnomatematika pada Budaya “Nyambungan” Masyarakat Dayeuhluhur,” in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Pendidikan Matematika Universitas Siliwangi*, 3 Desember 2016, p. 145.

¹⁴Aam Masduki, “Saweran Panganten Tuntuna Hidup Berumah Tangga di Kabupaten Bandung,” in *Patanjala: Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya*, Vol. 7 No. 3 2015.

²Wisma Nugraha dan Cristianto Rich, “Nyalap-Nyaur; Model Tatakelola Peglaran Wayang Jekdong Dalam Hajatan Tradisi Jawatimuran,” in *Jurnal Humaniora*, Vol. 24 No. 2 2012, pp. 175-186.

³Ria Andayani Somantri, “Sistem Gotong Royong Pada Masyarakat Baduy di Desa Kenekes Provinsi Banten,” in *Jurnal Patanjala: Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya*, Vol. 4 No. 1 2012.

⁴Edy Suyanto, “Etika Moral Perempuan Desa Dalam Tradisi Nyumbang di Tengah Monetisasi,” in *Jurnal Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat Universitas Jendral Soedirman Purwokerto*, Vol. 7 No. 1 2017.

⁵Mundzar Fahman, *Menggugat Tradisi Resepsi Prnikahan dan Buwuhan*, (Bojonegoro: Nuntera, 2019), p. 19.

⁶Dendy Ramadhan, “Relevansi Kearifan Lokal Tepung Tawar dalam Pembelajaran Agama Islam (Studi Pada Masyarakat Melayu Pontianak),” in *Tarbiyah: Jurnal Ilmu Kependidikan*, Vol. 8 No. 1 2019.

⁷Safroedin, “Akulturasi Islam Jawa dalam Tradisi Nyumbang Mantu (Studi Kasus Masyarakat Wates Semarang dengan Pendekatan Antropologi Dakwah),” in *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah*, Vol. 37 No. 1 2017.

⁸Jejen, “Tradisi Pemberian Mahar Pada Masyarakat Batak Karo Sumatra Utara Prespektif Hukum Islam,” in *Jurnal Al Hukama: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law*, Vol. 6 No. 1 2016, pp. 215-251.

⁹Nuraeni Dewi Masithoh, “Pergeseran Resiprositas

or food needed in the celebration. In cities, donations take the form of money. In urban society the form of donations is developing, previously in the form of goods that are packaged in the form of gifts or gifts. With the passage of rational pragmatic attitudes, the donations are given in the form of money.

This study took place in the Kediri region because it was considered to be able to represent the character, conditions, and other regional situations in Java. Achievement in Kediri as the richest city no. 3 throughout Indonesia, has diverse demographic bonuses: social, economic, cultural and religious. This *buwuhan* tradition exists in every region and tribe in Java, in its form and practice. *Buwuhan* besides having a social meaning, the tradition of *buwuhan* in the era of globalization has transformed and shifted meaning and orientation to economic benefits.

This study is descriptive qualitative,¹⁵ with a Critical approach. Data and information are based on observations¹⁶ and interviews¹⁷ with informants determined by snowball sampling techniques. A total of 12 people, men, and women, consisting of 4 people from rural areas, 4 people from rural areas, and 4 people from urban areas, with the intent and purpose of maintaining the validity of data that can describe the concepts, thoughts, and community responses based on the social-cultural background of the *buwuhan* tradition.

The observation technique is done by the Participant technique, to see the phenomenon and practice of *buwuhan* in the field, both in rural, peripheral, and urban areas. Researchers act as guests, so they can see and feel togetherness in the practice of *buwuhan*. The interview technique is carried out in a structured manner. All informants get the same questions, to get their explanations, responses, and thoughts about the *buwuhan* tradition. Free interviews are conducted to

¹⁵ Moelong Lexi, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2008), hlm 221.

¹⁶ Black James, *Metode dan Masalah Penelitian Sosial*, (Jakarta: Refika Aditama, 1999), hlm 287.

¹⁷ Koenjtaraningrat, *Metode- Metode Penelitian Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1994), hlm 129.

leverage data that cannot be conducted using structured interviewing techniques. The analysis technique is done descriptively, with an Inductive pattern that presents micro-data based on the type of data, becomes a macro and qualitative picture, and is analyzed critically then becomes a conclusion.

Alms in Islam and the Practice of the *Buwuhan* tradition

Alms in Islam is *sadaqah*, which is to spend wealth to others in need, willingly without expecting anything in return, except for the pleasure of Allah. *Sadaqah* is often in the form of money and is charged to everyone, without exception, whether valuable or not.¹⁸ In Islamic Philanthropy, alms is a pious practice of payment of a type of *zakat*, endowments, *infāq*.¹⁹ *Sadaqah* does not have to go through a particular moment, at any time Muslims can pay alms directly or indirectly to people who are considered entitled to receive it. Indonesian Islamic society has great potential for Philanthropy. ²⁰ Alms as a religious order listed in the Koran An-Nur verse 32.²¹

In Javanese culture acculturation occurs with Islam. *Buwuhan* is interpreted as alms because it contributes, but there are economic transactions. The tradition of *buwuhan*, always hoping for a return from someone who is given alms. There is a process of negotiating the interaction of exchange and debt-pay. *Buwuhan* is considered as a manifestation of mutual assistance with the dimension of helping, harmony, togetherness, and sociologically supporting social integration. In every area and tribe in Java, there are *buwuhan* traditions, with different terms and practices. *Saweran*

¹⁸ Saadiyah Binti Syekh Bahmid, "Sedekah Dalam Pandangan Al Qur'an", *Rausyan Fikr*, Vol. 10 No. 2 2014, hlm 193-216.

¹⁹ Abdurrohman Kasi, "Filantropi Islam Untuk Pemberdayaan Umat (Model Pemberdayaan ZISWAF di BMT se Kabupaten Demak)", *Jurnal Iqtishadia*, Vol. 9 No. 2 2016, hlm 227-245.

²⁰ Azyumardi Azra, "Negara dan Filantropi Islam," *Republika Online*, 20-4, 2014.

²¹ Fifi Noviaturohmah, "Pengumpulan dan Pendayagunaan Zakat Infak Sadaqoh," in *ZISWAF: Jurnal Zakat dan Wakaf*, Vol. 2 No. 2 2016, pp. 279-295.

is a marriage tradition in Bandung that still exists.²² In rural communities, *buwuhan* is organized openly recorded, the amount and nominal amount of money and goods donated, as a guideline for later return when needed. In the Urban community, *buwuhan* is not organized and is not openly recorded, because donations are directly put in the box provided.

Commercialization of the Marriage Party

The wedding party is held following one's social status. The higher one's social status, the more festive the marriage party is held.²³ The marriage procession in the middle-upper class is transforming, according to the demands of modernization. Symbols of the capitalization of the tradition burst forth, like engagement in a luxury hotel at the invitation of socialites. Photo pre-wedding becomes an important procession and as a symbol of modernization and a symbol of identity.²⁴ Weddings are often carried out by forcing themselves beyond economic capacity, only to fulfill the demands of prestige, by way of debt.²⁵

The economic tradition of *buwuhan* has the value of social reciprocity, that is, exchange transactions. Family relationships, friendships, colleagues, become a reference to determine the invitation. *Buwuhan* in the era of globalization transformed meaning, which previously meant slametan, thanksgiving, social cohesion, has shifted into a means of seeking profit.²⁶ The mechanism of giving gifts or *buwuhan* to traditional society functions to form and maintain fellowship. But modern

²²Aam Masduki, "Saweran Panganten Tuntuna Hidup Berumah Tangga di Kabupaten Bandung," in *Patanjala: Jurnal Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya*, Vol. 7 No. 3, 2015.

²³Siti Suhada, "Adat Perkawinan Suku Bugis di Kota Jambi; Studi tentang Perubahan Sosial," in *Jurnal Titian; Jurnal Ilmu Humaniora*, Vol. 3 No. 1 2019, pp. 124-133.

²⁴Anantawikrama Tungga Atmajda, "Bisnis Foto Prewedding; Komersialisasi Ritual Perkawinan Pada Masyarakat Bali," in *Jurnal Kajian Bali: Journal of Bali Studies*, Vol. 9 No. 2 2019, pp. 339-358.

²⁵Yunandar Rahmadi, "Pendapat Ulama' Kota Pontianak tentang Hukum Menyelenggarakan Walimatul Ursy dengan Cara Berhutang (Studi Kelurahan Saigon Kecamatan Pontianak Timur)," in *Jurnal Gloria Yuris*, Vol. 6 No. 1, 2017.

²⁶Maulana Irfan, "Metamorfosis Gotong Royong dalam Pandangan Konstruksi Sosial," in *Prosiding Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat*, Vol. 4 No. 1, 2017.

Javanese society has turned the mechanism into a means to an end.²⁷ Social monetization is a way of looking at the value of money, changing institutions and organizations, including the tradition of giving.²⁸ Influencing the moral ethics of society the impact of globalization on the cooperation system changes the pattern of social interaction.

The *Buwuhan* Tradition and its Meaning in Society

This data is obtained from observation techniques. Based on observations and experiences in the field, the *buwuhan* tradition is polarized in three models, with different phenomena and realities, both rural, periphery, and urban. The polarization is as follows: First, the traditional pattern, which is a pattern that has been adopted by all rural communities which further emphasizes simplicity and familiarity. Organized at home, with traditional food and drink offerings. This phenomenon exists in the rural community. From invitations to party supplies, and the interior is all simple. Receiving guests starts at 10:00 noon until 21.00 WIB. Guests are free to determine their presence, received with friendly and personal. The male guest is accepted by the husband, and the female guest is accepted by the wife. Before sitting down and enjoying a meal, guests hand over donations, both money and goods, to the Registrar, to find out the amount and nominal amount of money or goods donated. Cake and beverage dishes are available at the guest table. A meal can be in the form of a simple buffet or served in the form of a dish. Guests are given the blessing of a donation. Donating money is blessed with snack cakes, donating items is given a set of rice and side dishes. Each donation has a value and appreciation. The majority of guests invited were from the lower classes, mostly from neighboring villages. Second, the pattern of Islamic tradition, or the

²⁷Peter Verhezem, "From a Culture of Gifts to a Culture of Exchange (of gifts): An Indonesian Perspective on Bribery," in *Antropologi Indonesia*, 2014.

²⁸Soetji Lestari, "Potret Resiprositas dalam Tradisi Nyumbang di Pedesaan Jawa di Tengah," in *Journal UNAIR*, Vol. 25 No. 4 2012, pp. 271-281.

pattern of invitation, that is, all guests must follow the entire marriage procession; from a marriage contract, meeting *manten*, *tausiyah*, to *suave*. The phenomenon of Islamic *tardisi* among Santri, often referred to as *walimatul urusy* and the pattern of imbalance among non-santris. Both patterns have the same substance, which is concerned with the solemn procession of tradition. This pattern exists in sub-urban communities, the majority of events held at home.

The character of the room layout shows equality, with good interior and aisle. With treats of *musical kasidah*, or pop *keroncong*. The schedule of events has been determined by the host. Reception is only a formality. Banquets and drinks are arranged in a buffet. This pattern emphasizes more on the procession of traditional traditions. Major contributions are in the form of money in sealed envelopes and boxes. Guests affix names and addresses in the guest book, as a sign of attendance. Guests present from the middle and lower groups. Guests are given souvenir trinkets or snack cakes. Third, Modern Patterns, this phenomenon exists in urban communities. With the fact, social status influences the luxury of the party event. Characterized by the venue at the hotel or conference hall, the beauty of the interior, the luxury of the aisle, the sophistication of audio-visual and camera technology, various culinary delights at the buffet, the glamor of the committee uniforms, classy music treats. The form of the show is a standing party. Guests must be present at the specified time. The duration of the event is between 2 to 3 hours. Guest relations with the host are only formalities. Donations of money in a sealed envelope and put in the box provided. Each guest will go home after finishing eating a banquet and given a souvenir. This form further emphasizes the host's social status. And guests who were present also showed the existence of the host.

Based on the findings of observations and interviews, there are three phenomena in the field of the organization of *buwuhan tardisi*.

First, the traditional pattern, which is the pattern adopted by all rural communities, which further emphasizes simplicity and familiarity. Second, the pattern of Islamic tradition, or the pattern of invitation, that is, all guests must follow the entire procession of *adat*; from the marriage contract, *temu manten*, *sungkeman*, *tausiyah*, to hospitality. The phenomenon of Islamic *tardisi* among santris, and the pattern of inhibition among non-santris. Both patterns have the same substance, which is concerned with the solemn procession of customary marriage. Third, modern patterns, i.e. a combination of luxury and modernity: organizing events, places, interiors, exteriors, technology, and banquets. This pattern exists in urban communities, by highlighting social status. Each phenomenon has its socio-economic-cultural character.

The holding of the *buwuhan* tradition with the traditional pattern is still strong in the rural community. This pattern is characterized by simplicity and familiarity. Every guest is treated personally and intimately. The people of the city of Pongkor carry out the *buwuhan* tradition with Islamic tradition patterns for the santri group and the pattern for the non-santri communities. In the marginal group there has been an acculturation of Islamic culture in modernization and the santri group, and acculturation of Javanese culture and modernization. This pattern is more concerned with *adat* processions. The social relationship between the host and guests is a formality. The form of donations is not recorded. The modern pattern adopted by the people of the City, by displaying luxury and modernity. Social status is a marker of the implementation of the event. The higher the social status the more glamorous the appearance of the place, interior and technology used.

The meaning of the *buwuhan* tradition occurs between groups. First, traditional teachings, which require people to obey. This meaning is shared by many rural communities. Second, the meaning of harmony in friendship has a strong moral-ethical value. Third, the

meaning of parental obligation, to reward children in the household gate.

The first meaning as the teachings of tradition is a teaching that is inherited for social cohesion. *Buwuhan* is a form of suggestion to strengthen the unity rope in people's lives. When there are community members who celebrate the event, then together with other citizens, they are involved, both directly and indirectly. Direct involvement in the form of helping all the work carried out. Indirectly involved in the form of attending by bringing donations, both goods, and money. Second, the meaning of harmony in friendship is a meaning that has moral values - ethics makes friendship as the basis for attitude and behavior. When friends or friends invite, then it is obligatory to attend. This meaning is often misused in the form of commercialization of tradition, the use of tradition for personal gain. Third, the meaning of parents' obligation to hold this *buwuhan* tradition forces parents to exert all their abilities to hold the event. The consequences for certain social segments often force themselves beyond their abilities, the consequences are experiencing economic difficulties.

The *Buwuhan* in Islamic Tradition

Based on observational and interview data, the tradition of *buwuhan* in marriage in Islam is called *walimatul ursyi*. The program can also be interpreted as a form of family thanksgiving for the implementation of the marriage contract. On the outskirts of the city more oriented to the pattern of Islamic tradition. The *buwuhan* in the Islamic tradition has the following facts, first: *Buwuhan*, elaborated as Alms, giving without expecting anything in return. When we come to a wedding with *buwuhan*, it means that we do not expect any kindness in return, except for Allah's blessing. Second, *buwuhan* was elaborated as a form of *ukhuwah* or price of friendship. Friendship is not enough to share stories, but there is also sharing material. Third, *buwuhan* means giving a blessing. The

spiritual value of prayer is elaborated with material value.

Sub-urban communities experience cultural transformation, from traditional culture to modern culture. In organizing, weddings use more Islamic tradition patterns, the result of acculturation of Islamic culture with modernization. All guests are invited to witness the marriage ceremony, *sungkeman*, bridal submission of the family, *tausiyah* is a manifestation of the teachings of Islam, listed in the Qur'an An-Nur: 32: *walimatul ursy* is a form of thanksgiving for the marriage by inviting neighbors as witnesses and knowledge that there has been a marriage in his family. This tradition prioritizes events according to Islamic teachings. The interaction between the host and guests is formal, because of the ethical demands of the customary procession. The value of *ukhuwah* lies in the involvement of guests in attending and following the traditional procession. The facts of *buwuhan* in the tradition are biased meaning of the value of *walimatul ursy*, thanksgiving, and *ukhuwah*. Because the presence of guests morally traditions is required to bring donations, both money and goods.

Commercialization of the *Buwuhan* tradition

The data shows the fact that there are many invitations with limited food supplies. Food spots are small, there is a long queue of people at the buffet. This situation creates inconvenience and guests who go home before enjoying the meal. This phenomenon is mostly in rural and urban society. Luxury displayed is often not following appreciation for guests. The results of the interview confirm the observation data, that similar phenomena often occur at parties held in buildings or hotels, involving community groups in the periphery and urban communities. Facts of the commercialization of tradition with the following pattern: first, the use of traditions, with the mode of frequent holding of *buwuhan*. Second, the mode to return capital that has been donated to others. Third, the use of moments for profit.

The influence of modernization and industrialization which gave birth to materialism changed the way of society's view of matter and friendship. Social relations are always utilized in economic interests. Social cohesion undergoes a reconstruction of meaning into social realities that are valued by the material. The values of ethical-moral-social norms that form the basis for behavioral guidelines have been placed in the privacy space. Urban or peripheral communities use material as a social status standard. Commercialization of *buwuhan* with a variety of strategies and polarization is flowing at one point, namely profits. First, the use of tradition as a media to legalize material ambitions. Local traditions essentially only prioritize girls' wedding parties. If a party is held for a boy's wedding, it will lead to subjective judgments. Second, the mode pattern to return the value of what was ever given to someone else. The form is *buwuhan* held in the context of grandchildren's birthday and circumcision. Third, looking for profit, holding a *buwuhan* event by inviting as many people, both known and unknown. This pattern often has chaos, because the readiness of welcoming guests is not optimal, as is. For example limiting the amount of food consumption, by providing limited food spots. Long queues around food spots become uncomfortable. Many guests leave the event before enjoying the dish. Interior modernization is often just a wrap of the subjective mode.

Conclusion

Based on the observation of the *buwuhan* tradition and its implementation, this research found out three patterns. First, the traditional pattern, which is adopted by most rural communities that accentuates traditional values, familiarity, and simplicity. In this pattern the value of social cohesion is still very strong. Second, the pattern of Islamic tradition in the circles of *santris* and *kondangan* in non-*santri*, which prioritizes the procession of marriage traditions. Third, the modern

pattern, which combines modernization and luxury, both in place, interior, technology and entertainment.

The meaning of *buwuhan* is polarized in three meanings. First, the meaning of traditional teachings. This meaning demands that everyone adhere to tradition, this pattern is still full of social cohesion values and social norms. Second, the meaning of harmony and friendship, which is based on the ethical-moral value of community involvement. Third, the meaning of parental obligations, with all of their abilities are mobilized to carry out the tradition of *buwuhan*. This often deviates from the value of tradition.

Buwuhan in Islamic tradition has been elaborated from the initial concepts and understanding. The original meaning of the marital tradition in Islam is *walimatul ursy* in the form of thanksgiving, which is to provide information while at the same time strengthening the *silaturrahmi* rope. The patterns of meaning of the *buwuhan* are refracted into several forms. First, *buwuhan* is form of alms contributes to the host. Second, *buwuhan* is elaborated as *ukhuwah*, attending a wedding invitation is a form of strengthening friendship, accompanied by donations of *buwuhan*. Third, *buwuhan* is another form of giving blessing to the bride and groom. This spiritual value is manifested in the form of donations.

Commercialization of the tradition can be identified from the patterns of its implementation. First, the utilization of tradition often holds similar events to celebrate the wedding of their children. Local traditions only prioritize girls' wedding celebrations. Second, the mode to return capital that has been donated to others. Holding *buwuhan* events for unusual events, such as birthday celebrations, weddings, or grandchildren circumcision. Third, in the recent times the event is conducted by inviting people as many as possible. In practice, it limits the number of food consumption spots and meals. This pattern often causes chaos, because the guest

queue extends to the spots, resulting in many guests returning home before enjoying a meal. All of these patterns give rise to subjective judgments from the community.

This paper provides a cultural critique that the source of social cohesion and the richness of the tradition of rural Javanese society has experienced a reduction of meaning oriented towards the interests of individual material gains, which tend to disrupt the social order and harmony. In modern society, this tradition must be reconstructed in its meaning and its implementation, so that it is under the social norms of a rational, realistic, entertained, familiar, and harmonious modern society. Modern society must continue to be built with the value of social cohesion, so as not to be separated from the root of normativity in people's lives. Modernization must be interpreted as a means of social transformation in building human resources towards creative thinking patterns, understanding integrative problems, and acting appropriately, such as the Industry 4.0 paradigm that strengthens mental, not material, revolutions.[]

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