

## CHAPTER III

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH LOCATION AND *NYUMBANG* TRADITION IN SUMBERSIH HAMLET

#### A. General Description of Sumbersih Hamlet

##### 1. The History of Sumbersih Hamlet

Sumbersih is one of the name of hamlet from Kedungsalam Village Donomulyo subdistrict, Malang regency. According to *Kyai Abdul Hadi*,<sup>1</sup> long ago Kedungsalam was the mountainous areas and forest areas. The hamlets in this village had been existing since the elders of this Village (Kedungsalam) deforested that area at 1830-. They were people who escape from Dutch colonizer in Mid Java (Yogyakarta). They were *Mbah Kasan Muntawi* who deforested area and now that's called as Kedungrejo Hamlet. Then *Mbah Singorejo* was the elder of Salamrejo Hamlet, and *Mbah Kyai Talib* was the elder of Ngliyep Hamlet. Whereas, for Krajan Hamlet and Sumbersih Hamlet, most of society did not know about the name of the elder their hamlet.<sup>2</sup>

According to Mr. Soedarsono the derivation name of Sumbersih Hamlet was coming from the fountain- head (water source). When the elders tried to find of water source, they found a water source that fresh and clear. So, the name of Sumbersih was coming from the clean water source. The Location where they are found the water source is in the area of RT 54 township residents. Sumbersih Hamlet is a hamlet that located at the far end of the eastern part of Kedungsalam Village. That area is the development region for agricultural crop, dry field and forest. Therefore the majority of the works of society are working as the farmer. For the

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<sup>1</sup> *Kyai Hadi* adalah tokoh agama sekaligus tokoh masyarakat yang disegani di desa kedungsalam terutama di dusun Sumbersih. Beliau merupakan keturunan dari sesepuh Dusun Sumbersih, 30 October 2013

<sup>2</sup> [Http://Kedungsalam.Blogspot.Com](http://Kedungsalam.Blogspot.Com). Retrieved on 30 October 2013

next development many residents especially women who choose to work as the women's labor. So they can help meet the needs of their life.

### 1. The Geographic of Summersih Hamlet<sup>3</sup>

Kedungsalam Village is the area that located in plateau area with coordinate between 112°17'10,90''-112° 57'00,00'' longitude east and 7°44'55,11''-8°26'35,45'' latitude south. The landmass of Kedungsalam is about 31.5 Km<sup>2</sup> or 31.500 Ha, which has third order from 10 villages in Donomulyo Subdistrict. The territory of hamlets was divided into 2 area; flatland and wave land. The location of Summersih Hamlet is in the wave land area and it has height about 350 meters above the sea level like Ngliyep Hamlet. And considerable parts of the flatland are Krajan Hamlet and Salamrejo Hamlet where is on the 400 meter above the sea level.

Geographically, Summersih Hamlet has area limits;

- a. To the north abuted on Salamrejo Hamlet
- b. To the south abuted on protected forest
- c. To the east abuted on Banjarejo Village and
- d. To the west abuted on Krajan Village

The natural condition of Summersih that is plateau and hilliness made a half of its mainland is farmland and also worked by society become dry field "*tegalan*" then they plant on that kinds of *palawija*, yams etc. Whereas, they made the low land become field to be planted rice plant, sugar cane and corn. Those plants are the main commodity of Summersih Hamlet. Besides that, they also used the mountainous and hills being civil forest and they planted on them various trees such as; teak tree, acacia tree and *sengon* tree which had certification.

### 2. The Number of Population and The Large of Region

The location of Summersih is part of Kedungsalam village that has 8 Rw and 86 Rt with 2.843 patriarch and the number of male inhabitant is

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<sup>3</sup> [Http://Kedungsalam.Blogspot.Com](http://Kedungsalam.Blogspot.Com). Retrieved on 30 Oktober 2013

5.313 and for female inhabitant is 5.225, both has total 10.568 inhabitant. Sumbersih is not the hamlet that populous, because it has been in wave land area and hilly area. So *Mbersih* societies get in trouble to break the land for their resident place. A worry of landslide when the rains come and short of water when the dry monsoon come, that are becoming consideration of society to have house there. The area Sumbersih is still hilly, so most of the access roads leading to the hamlet are still cobbled streets. It has affected to the population density, the number of inhabitants of the Sumbersih Hamlet are relatively less than the population of others Hamlet that is about 1.965 inhabitants with 543 patriarchs (KK).

Table 1<sup>st</sup>. Hamlet's name and population amount

NO.	Hamlet	KK	Male	Female	Inhabitant
1.	Salamrejo	789	1.362	1.630	2.673
2.	Krajan	846	1.589	1.311	3.216
3.	Sumbersih	543	1.031	934	1.964
4.	Ngliyep	665	1.334	1.380	2.174
	Jumlah	2.843	5.316	5.225	10.568

Source; Kedungsalam Office, 2012

Table 2<sup>nd</sup>. Geographic Division of RW/RT, KK, and Hamlet's Inhabitant

No	RW/RT	KK	Male	Female	Population
1.	11/50	20	42	44	86
2.	11/51	38	74	62	136
3.	11/52	39	75	73	148
4.	11/53	40	75	64	139
5.	11a/54	42	78	69	147
6.	11a/55	44	73	79	152
7.	11a/56	30	62	57	119
8.	12/57	24	51	49	100

9.	12/58	21	42	48	90
<b>10.</b>	<b>12/59</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>156</b>
11.	12/60	41	83	68	151
12.	13/61	41	73	55	128
13.	13/62	43	74	60	134
14.	13/63	40	77	63	140
15.	13/64	36	70	69	139
	Total	543	1.031	934	1.965

Based on the field research, even though the Summersih Hamlet is located on the corner of the Eastern from the village of Kedungsalam, Summersih Hamlet has the strategic location, because it has many short cuts from the other hamlets to go the way of there. So, when *Mbersih* people want to go to the village Centre and also go to the other village, they are not too far away; about 10-15 minutes by motorcycle. The main road to the hamlet of Summersih is already damaged asphalt road and perforated and also most roads has been a rocky road since there is no repair yet.

From a number 2.843 of patriarchs, 526 is pre-prosperous family listed, 353 patriarch is prosperous family level I, 2.265 patriarch is listed as the prosperous family level II, 154 KK is listed as the prosperous family level III and 0 patriarch as the prosperous family level III plus. If the pre-prosperous family and the prosperous family level I were classified as the poor class, it can be summarized that more the 50% of the patriarch in the Kedungsalam village is the poor family.<sup>4</sup> Whereas, according to Mr. Tumirin (35 old) as the staff of political district administrative, he said that most of *Mbersih* society is poor family class.

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<sup>4</sup> [Http://Kedungsalam.Blogspot.Com](http://Kedungsalam.Blogspot.Com). Retrieved on 30 Oktober 2013

### 3. The Settlement of Population patterns and The Residential of population patterns

The settlement is the area where people stay or live. Generally, inhabitants would choose a place for living, where they will begin their daily activities; it would be easier for them to do the daily mobility. Basically, a form of human settlement pattern is accordance with the state of their environmental conditions, such as pattern it is spread / open, the linear pattern it is / longitudinal and the circular pattern.<sup>5</sup> The pattern of the settlement in the Summersih is a groups settlement and spread settlements which adjust the groove of the road. It is influenced by the number of inhabitants and environmental circumstances which has undulating ground. The houses owned by residents built in uneven terrain and behind their house are still rocky hills. Thus the distance among the houses in the average of RT are not so close because the area is separated by fields and hills.

The housing conditions of the inhabitants in the hamlet of Summersih is relatively good, it can be seen from the physical building houses in there. Following the recommended of World Health Organization (WHO) about the indications of a healthy house is a residence that has a floor area at least 10 m<sup>2</sup> per capita. Nowadays the housing conditions of people in the hamlet have been fulfilling the health standard. Actually it is not only as the recommended by the government but the society also has its own concept about the house that livable, comfortable and healthy for the occupants. Most of the form of the building roof is the pyramid form and it is called as the *limasan* house. The house for Javanese people is not only regarded as the place of take refuge the hot weather and the rain or resting place during the day and night, but the house is the place where person can live comfortably, helpful for the occupants, bring a blessings and reflects

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<sup>5</sup><http://haristepanus.wordpress.com/2011/05/02/pola-kegiatan-ekonomi-penduduk-penggunaan-lahan-dan-pola-permukiman/>. Retrieved on 30 Oktober 2013

for the owners, especially to the employment status. Then there is no surprised to see the houses of societies that already have a permanent walled and nice building. It can be seen from the second highest job that preferred by the society (women) as he migrant worker. Work as the migrant worker still the primary choice for increase the economy of family. Profession as farmers felt by the community has not been enough to satisfy the necessities of life are not cheap

#### 4. The System of Religion

The Javanese people differentiate between *santri* and *kejawen* or *abangan*. The majority of the community Mbersih converted to Islam (*santri*) but most of them belong to the second category, namely Islam *kejawen*. People believe to the teachings of Islam but they have not been obedient to run along Islamic religious tenets. They usually mention *Gusti Allah* for the God and the Prophet Muhammad as *Kanjeng Nabi*.<sup>6</sup> The villagers who converted to Christianity is no more than 10 people. Previously, those Christians are the native people who went to other region or city to look for a job and after returning home they have changed the religion from Islam to Christianity.<sup>7</sup> While the number of the adherents of the Islamic religion is 1.963 people from the number of Muslims is 1963 from the total number of Muslim society i.e. 10.441. Then, the second largest religion is Catholic religion which amounted to 98 people and they are spread at other hamlets except Sumbersih Hamlet.

In religious life, people try to maintain the harmony and the tolerance among fellow the villagers who have different beliefs. Respect and appreciate each other are the foundation to be able to create an atmosphere of the relation among villagers get in harmony and peace. Religious activity that is carried out by the villagers either Muslims or Christians at

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<sup>6</sup> Koentjaraningrat dkk, *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Djambantan, 2002), p. 347

<sup>7</sup> Wawancara dengan bapak Boirin (57 years old) as *Kepetengan* (Deputy Village Chief) of Sumbersih Hamlet, 31 October 2013

the two places like the places of worship and their house. Muslims often commemorate their religious events like the birth of Prophet Muhammad SAW with reading *barjanji* at the mosque. Whereas, the other religious activities like reciting *tahlil* and *yasiin* are often carried out by people at their house alternately from house to house. While the Christian people do a little worship service (like praying) in their houses and they also do worship services every Sunday at church.

##### 5. The System of Kinship

The overall populations in the Sumbersih Hamlet are Javanese. The Javanese kinship system is based on the principle of bilateral descendants; principles that consider the kinship relations, either from male or female descendants. *Mbersih* society who married with the people outside of their village was so many enough. When the person who married is the last child in the family (*ragil*) then the partner should come and settle down in the last child's house. For the original pairs of Sumbersih Hamlet would decide to look for their own place to live either surrounding the hamlet or outside of the village even outside of their region.

The mentioning of close relative and a distant relative in the kinship of *Mbersih* people is determined by the consanguinity and the relationship of *silaturrahmi*. The close relatives who still have a blood relationship such as siblings and parents are not allowed to have a marriage relationship. People think that is the thing called *tabu* it's because of they still have a blood relationship. While the marriage happened with a distant relative is allowed because of the relationship of brotherhood that apart from the father's family or mother's family as in one generation or called as the distant family is the family that have a blood ties are no longer clearly visible.

The kinship of *Mbersih* society's family is not seem from the blood relationship only, but involves other relationships that lead to the mention

of siblings or extended family. Another term that is well known in The Javanese kinship other than the blood relatives is a family-law (*perbesanan*) that occurred cause of the marriage relationship. Family ties in Javanese society in Summersih have the tight social ties. The Javanese family has an important role in the society to build up the strength of the economic, the political and even the religious. The kinship groups that applies in *Mbersih* society is the relative that called *sanak sadulur*.<sup>8</sup> Usually if there are relatives who hold a celebration then they will come to help, especially in wedding celebration

#### 6. The System of Education

The education system has fulfilled with the nine-year of compulsory education in Summersih Hamlet. Most of the people just send their children to the junior high school level. While for the graduates from the college there were only 10 people. Many high school graduates who had not completed their school and they prefer to look for a job. Usually the main factor behind a person to continue for getting higher education is the problem of the economic conditions, including the cost of education required is not cheap. Then issue the willingness of a child to continue their education also. Moreover the access to the senior high school and the college are still in other places that far from their homes.

From the village government ever build tutoring agencies and training courses as a solution to these problems, but these institutions are not able to get last a long time and finally it folded. So with the education that is not optimal yet made them to be a workforce in foreign countries such as Hong Kong, Korean, Arabic and Taiwan. Even they are already married or have just passed from the elementary school and junior high school

#### 7. The Livelihood and The Economic Society

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<sup>8</sup> *Sanak sadulur* is kinship group that consists of one line from ancestors to descendants for the third degree. they are the people who live in a village that consists of cousins, uncles and aunts from both the father's brother-in-law or sister-in-law of the mother and also close relatives wife. see...Koentjaraningrat dkk,*Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, p. 341



Today, the education and livelihood have influence. People realized the importance of education then they were looking for the type of profession that adjusts with their ability or their education. Generally, the majority of people *Mbersih* people work as farmers and secondly as woman labor. The economic life in rural society is still low relatively. When looked at the income per month in every per farmers household at least under 1.000.000 rupiahs, this does not include the additional income in other sectors of the garden, for example, trade, work side / odd jobs and the little income must be divided for the living cost such as children's education, household expenditure, and accounted for celebration. The allocation of all income would have to be really carefully to divide for the needs. The farmer's wife has a role here as the processor of household finances. The farmer's wife must be very clever to minimize expenses and set aside the money for saving money.

The majority of agricultural land is owned by the *Mbersih* people. The land is not the land charter, although there are some people who lease their land for other (peasants) with the principles for the production sharing. However, the majority of landholders choose to manage it themselves, and when the harvest come, the landholders will ask for the helps to other people or near neighbors that have same profession to help in the harvesting and it is with the landholders to do the same thing. Granting wages have also been applied in the mutual assistance system. The second largest of livelihood after the farmer is women's labor over the sea. Mostly, the lifestyles of the women's labor tend to be more modern. Based on the results of observation when doing a research, it is proved by most residents already have walled house and parabolic antenna at the home or the luxury goods for the standard of the rural society. Moreover, the using of mobile phones has also been evident by society.<sup>9</sup> The Ownership of secondary goods and luxury goods became an important thing to raise the

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Mr. Tumirin as the administrative staff of Kedungsalam Village, 04 November 2013

assessment of a family's social toward the views of other people. And also the reasons of *Mbersih* society to have a sense of not wanting to be considered as the people left behind or people who are retarded by the other community.

To help the economy of the community, the parties of village donated the tree seedlings obtained from Kedungsalam village of non-governmental organizations. Those tree seeds are like teak trees, Acacia trees and *sengon* trees with cultivate the forest as a manifestation of the development of the village. The forest is mounts that cater for people to use. A bigger economic sector sustained by agriculture. It shows that the majority of the population is as farmer. As the common knowledge, the family's farmer in the Indonesia have an average economy is still relatively low.

#### 8. The System of society's Organization

The organizations that exist in the Summersih Hamlet have relation to society's social life such as youth, religious and artistic. The organization of the arts in this hamlet is martial arts, *jaranan*, *terbang jidor* and *campursari* (orchestra). The art group will be invited to fill in an entertainment of wedding celebration.<sup>10</sup> Youth organization is like a mosque teenager is more emphasized in the activities of a social and religious service that is working to clean up the environment a mosque and communal work to help people clean up the environment. Usually, *jama'ah tahlil* and *diba'* every month of Muharram (suro) will get around from one mosque to another mosque to hold a *tahlil* and *diba'* recitation. They have been joining with the *jama'ah tahlil* and *diba'* from another village and also *Mbersih* people are formed an independent group of health funds that is supported by the official village. This group is an empowerment group for community that comes from a poor family.

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<sup>10</sup> Interview with Mr. Tumirin, 04 November 2013

The organization or community group in this village is as the institution of the society's activities and also as a means to establish the *silaturrahmi* ties. Through these organizations, *Mbersih* community formed a new kinship networks with form a social relationships among fellow the villagers and from other villages.

#### 9. The Facilities and The Infrastructure of The Village

Facilities and infrastructure is the things that can support for the development a village. The facilities that each village especially for *Sumbersih* Hamlet has is public facilities like communication facilities, health facilities (clinics), education facilities (schools), religious facilities (place of worship), transportation facilities, economic facilities (traditional market) etc. While the public infrastructure related to the general requirements like a public space for socio-economic activities of the community and other supporting activities.

The most important facilities for the community are communication facilities. It because of the higher and the rapid development of technology become the demand for. Therefore, despite the most of society are the farmers, they have known and they have mobile phone. Society relies on communication by their mobile phones self. The education and worship facilities are good enough, because every *tahlil* activities or *pengajian* are often carried out at the small mosques and at the each home of villagers interchangeably.

From the explanation above, it can be known that though the *Sumbersih* hamlet is included of the rural areas where is in the most tip of the *Kedungslam* village, but people's lives are not so pitiful. The society maintains facilities and infrastructure that they have and also the tradition that they preserve to be able to support in the fulfillment of their needs.

### **B. *Nyumbang* Tradition of *Mbersih* Society in Wedding Party**

#### 1. the Involved People in Wedding Party

When the people held a ceremonial party (wedding party), they will get success when they got helping from people who has personal relationship and interpersonal relationship either from their family or other people (neighbor and closed people). The involvement of those people with the host<sup>11</sup> is not about the matter of their service and their energy only, but their involvement is more aimed to the social and economic relationship. *Nyumbang* does not meant as the realization for giving non-goods only, but it involves goods also.

The people who are involved in a ceremonial party could be categorized under mentioned below;

a) Family

Family is the main thing in the holding of ceremonial party (wedding party). Moreover it is related to life cycle of human beings. Family in the Javanese society's term consist of primary family which is the people live under one roof like parents, sibling and family connection or people who join in the under one roof.<sup>12</sup>

Those people that are explained above will give a help to the host in preparation for necessity that would be need in holding a wedding party. Then, there is also any *besan* family who would come to the ceremonial party, but they did not have complicity too much.<sup>13</sup> It because of most of them (*besan*) lived in other village and far distance. They would be coming and fitted with the invitation of wedding date. Usually they would give largesse "*buwuhan*"; a kind of money that was put into an envelope from the guest male and guest female.<sup>14</sup>

b) Neighbor

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<sup>11</sup> Host in this writing will be used by writer to mention the people who is holding a ceremonial party

<sup>12</sup> Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Antropologi II*, (Jakarta: IKAPI, 1998), p. 107

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Mr. Alfian (60 years old), 08 November 2013

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Mr. Girin (57 years old), 06 November 2013

Neighbor is the nearest people after the primary family or sibling family. In the society's life an individual could not quit of neighborhood life. It because of the neighbor is the nearest people who can be asked their help quickly. Even the societies have pin their trusty to the neighbor much the same when they have pin their trusty to them family's self. And *Mbersih* societs are very enthusiast give a help to people around them, especially when the one of their neighbor has a wedding party. They are also involved in activity of giving largesse; non-goods nor the goods. According to Mr. Hadi (50 old) as interviewee, he says:

Waktu saya dulu melangsungkan pernikahan anak saya yang bungsu, saya hanya mematok undangan sekitar 300 tamu undangan. Itu sudah termasuk keluarga dari pihak istri saya, keluarga pihak saya, teman dekat dari anak saya dan warga Sumbersih yang kami kenal dan pernah *ketumpangan*. Tapi ketika sudah selesai acara dan melihat daftar tamu yang dating, jumlahnya melebihi dari tamu undangan. Mereka ada yang dari Sumbersih Selatan, Sumbersih Tengah yang kami tidak merasa memberikan undangan kepada mereka.

When I held the wedding party for my youngest daughter, I just targeted 300 invitees. It was involved my family, my family's wife, the nearest people from my daughter and *Mbersih* society who we know them and also every people who ever invited us to their wedding party (*ketumpangan*). But, the day after we look at the invitee's roster many invitees came and more than the targeted. But we do not know them and when we check their address, they are coming from South Sumbersih, Middle Sumbersih and we do not give them an invitation. Actually, I and my family are surprised and feel so amazing too. It because of we feel helped with their coming.

And according to other informant; Mrs. Pit (57 old) she says;

Orang- orang yang saya minta bantuan untuk *rewang* adalah tetangga yang masih se Rt, saya langsung mendatangi ke rumahnya. Ketika mereka dating untuk *rewang*, mereka biasanya sambil membawa beras 3 Kg dan mie atau gula 1 Kg. Tapi ada juga tetangga yang beda Rt datang untuk *rewang*. Mereka itu biasanya diajak oleh tetangga yang saya mintai bantuan tadi untuk datang.

The people who I ask for giving helps "*rewang*" are my neighbors that stay around the neighborhood (RT), and I ask them immediately with go to their house. They come to help "*rewang*" while they are bringing three kilograms of rice and one pack of noodles or one kilograms of

sugar. Beside them, there is also come the people from the next neighborhood.

That is indicating that relationship in the society's life actuate them to take care each other and always took a hand in every activities that related to society's interest. So they can try to know each other closely. Especially for people who knew each other, it also can make their relation become closer.

c) Member of *Paguyuban Buwuh* Community

This community is association some of people that have a same understanding in the running of *nyumbang* tradition. When one of the members has a wedding party, so other members must be coming in the wedding party and if there is member that has interest that cannot be delayed, the member has to entrust the largesse "*buwuhan*" to the coordinator of *paguyuban*. It because of they depart for invitor's house come in large group and usually they ride off car or truck that they rent for.

They are going to receptive the other invitation from the member's family too. So they do not receptive invitation from the member only, but the invitation that out of member also.<sup>15</sup> The kinship relation among *Mbersih* society, especially for the *paguyuban buwuh* community society is not restricted in the hamlet area where they live only, but also they applied to other society in the different countryside.

As Mr. Tumirin said that *paguyuban buwuh* community before like nowadays is just consist of *Mbersih* people and it was formed spontaneously. As Mr. Giyanto said who has become one of the coordinator *paguyuban buwuh* and he is as the former of *paguyuban buwuh* initially. He received an invitation from his relative who lived in other village and need a vehicle to go there because the distance is too far

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with Mr. Mistiono (32 years old) he is one the member of *paguyuban buwuh* community, 06 November 2013

enough. He initiated to invite his family connection who lived in Sumbersih to come together at his brother's wedding party, so the rent expense of vehicle can be bear together. Then, this way was spread from mouth to mouth and made some of people came to Mr. Giyanto to ask him so they could be joined with Mr. Giyanto's group. They are the people who got the invitation from their relative that lived distance from their village and surely they need a vehicle.

Then that people tried to invite their other family to join with them and even they suggested to their far relative to invite their own family when that people would hold the wedding party. Usually, that people would invite their family who has children and they would be getting married in the short future. They will deliberate (*rembugan*) with their brother that their arrival will bring the people who are included from *paguyuban buwuh*. The party owner's has not been denying the arrival of group "*paguyuban buwuh*" for all this time. Instead, when the one of member's family knew about this group, he/she would invite the group when he/she held of wedding party. According to the informant Mrs. Winarsih when invite the group she can invite many people without spread many invitations, she just give one invitation to be given to coordinator then the coordinator who inform to other members.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. the Form of Wedding Invitation and the Type of Wedding Invitation

The invitation is the most important part in an event, especially for a wedding celebration. Various types and forms of written invitation at this time began to vary depending on the price; the form of invitation is affecting to the price of the invitation. In the hamlet of Sumbersih the invitation specifies the position of a person and also the economic condition of the host. But the *Mbersih* communities also do not impose to spread invitations with impressive luxury. The most important for the

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<sup>16</sup> Interview with Mr. Tumirin (35 years old) who is one of the *Paguyuban Buwuhan* members, 07 November 2013

person who has the intention is to spread the invitation and the arrival of guests. And also people who are invited will not consider the invitation form to decide come into a wedding party or would not come there.<sup>17</sup> The form of invitation that is spread by people who have a wedding celebration there are 3 forms namely a written invitation (invitation letter), *tonjo'an* invitation<sup>18</sup> and verbal invitation (*Ulem- Ulem*)<sup>19</sup>.

Based on the above invitation there are 3 forms of wedding invitations that are used by *Mbersih* people, especially for members of *paguyuban buwuh*. There are 3 categories of invited guests or people who would come to the celebration, as the result of an interview with Mr. Giyanto;

a) Common Invitation

General invitation is an invitation given by the owner of the wedding celebration to those who are considered to have a family relationship and the people who are known as the close relatives and distant relatives, co-workers, village officials and community leaders. Generally, the invitation that is given is writing invitation or letter invitation, but there is also use a *tonjo'an*. There are also any people who help it called "*perewang*". Usually the men who helped in the celebration of marriage are to help spread the invitations. for the distant relatives, the host will give the

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Mrs. Yayuk (39 years old) 30 October 2013

<sup>18</sup> *Tonjo'an* invitation is an invitation that intangible food which consists of rice and a side dish. They could have a variety of such as noodles, the chicken or the egg, *sambal goreng tempe* or fried potatoes etc. The food is placed in a container made of bamboo called *besekek*. Then on the cover of *besekek* was written the name and the date of celebration of the wedding's invitor. This invitation is more forcefull than a written invitation. So the invited guests who get a written invitation and *tonjo'an* had to come and could not be represented by other people. Usually the people that get this invitation were a close family, near neighbors around the hamlet, village officials and community leaders who get it for 2 weeks before the day's run. Interview with Mr. Alfian (59 years old), 08 November 2013

<sup>19</sup> *Ulem-ulem* is an invitation that extends by the invitor or the host to invitees mainly for parents, neighbors and relatives nearby verbally. *ulem-ulem* is also called direct visits. The purpose of this invitation is as the requesting of the host to the people above to attend and give helps in the preparing of celebration event. Interview with Mr. Alfian (59 years old), 08 Nopember 2013



money for the cost of vehicle fuel (gasoline) about Rp. 15.000, - Rp. 20.000, -

b) Group Invitation

Group invitation is a special invitation given to *buwuh* group. There is no difference in the appearance and form of the invitation between the groups and the common invitation. The invitations are given is written invitation. The number of invitations giving is not adjusts with the number of members. The invitation that is given to the coordinator of community is an invitation only. Then the coordinator of community has the responsibility to notify the invitation to the members.

Besides a written invitation there is also *tonjo'an* invitation that is given to the group invitation like given to common invitation. Usually the host who used both invitation written invitation and *tonjo'an* invitation to be given to members of the group is classified as a person who is able in the economical side. The invitation will be placed in the coordinator's house then the coordinator will inform to other members

c) *Rewang* Invitation

*Rewang* invitation which is the form of invitation that addressed by the host to the people who are requested their assistance such as help for Cooking a meal of weddings, making cookies, making a drink and others. Generally, the *rewang* invitation was an invitation that aimed to people from *sughtersih* Hamlet or neighbor. The form of an invitation that is given to the people was an oral invitation "*ulem-ulem*". Usually people who get this invitation is people who has expertise in cooking, they are called as *kepatah*. They will be assisted by the near neighbors and they are consisted of men and women. The bustle of cooking, grind the spice, preparing vegetables, make snacks, washing utensils and etc. was treated by them.

For *rewang* invitation (men) they usually help for cooki rice, cookin utensils, washing the dishes, glassware, making the drinks and other things that requires a lot of energy. Actually, they are also assisted by other people like the neighbor or family of the host.<sup>20</sup> Especially for the *kepatah* they will be given a reward by the host after they complete their work. There is no agreement on the nominal between host and *kepatah*.

Usually the near women neighbors who came to help, they will give their help since 4 days before the day of the wedding party was held. They come with bring the bags that contains of staples such as rice, noodles, sugar etc. as a *buwuhan*. For the people who become *kepatah* especially for women, they also give a *buwuhan* as other invited guests.

### 3. The form of Contribution Received during a Wedding

The granting of an invitation by the host is not becoming a measure for the people who are invited to give *buwuhan*. Giving a *buwuhan* is more determined by social status, gender and age of their status. As Mrs Fitri says (51 years old):

Jika yang diundang adalah ibu- ibu, umumnya mereka membawa akan membawa 3 Kg beras dan 2 Kg gula. Terkadang ada juga yang menambahkan dengan 1 pack mie. Akan tetapi akhir- akhir ini banyak orang menyumbang dengan uang. Biasanya, para tamu yang menyumbang dengan uang adalah tokoh- tokoh masyarakat seperti lurah, kamitua, tamu pria dan lain- lain. Ada juga yang berupa kado, biasanya dari teman kedua mempelai.

If the invited guests are the ladies, generally they are bringing 3 kilograms of rice and 2 kilograms of sugar. Sometimes there are adding to with 1 packet of noodles that they put in the bag. But lately, many people have contributed with money. Usually, the guests who gave *buwuhan* with money are the socialites like *lurah*, *kamitua*, male guests etc. There is also a gift-giving usually given by friends of my children, the young people.

All donations above are given by people at the time of the day of the wedding party was held. Except for the donations Staples were usually

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<sup>20</sup> Interview with Mrs. Fitri (57 years old), 10 November 2013

giving before the day of holding a celebration party. There are some people who are on duty to receive a staple donation. For the gifts and envelopes donation are given to the people who has a job to write the donations (*buwuhan*) from the guest and also the name and address of the guest. For the people who donate the staples, they should write down the names and the addresses in their bags. So, when they took the bags, it cannot be exchanged with a bag from the other guests. Because the contents of the bag will be replaced with food or it called as *songgong*.<sup>21</sup>

### **C. the Factors That Influence the Amount of Donation in the Wedding Celebration**

The community in its social environment has a certain appraisal when they appraise in the social interaction, especially in the relations with neighbors and the community. Maintaining a good relationship to remain in harmony sometimes has a little conflict or major conflict that can be happened in the community too. But generally the people who live in the countryside and they lived communally, they can reduce and minimize them. In the community relationships there is a certain valuation that indicates the existence of such a person; communities assess and perceive to a person as a negative person if that person tends to be closed and have a bad attitude (have no manner), so the society look at that person as the human who does not have virtuous. *Mbersih* society is the society who is very selective in their society interaction.

The social gathering that is not accordance with what's expected by society, will affect to the social activity of communities like for donation activities for the wedding celebration. So, the people who are closed and

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<sup>21</sup> *Songgongan* is a gift returns that given to the invited guests when they will go home. The Gift shape is adapted with the donation. If the guests give money, they will be given a snack in small bags or boxes snack. While the contribution is Staples, they will get in their bag a stuffed; rice and side dishes wrapped in banana leaf or leaves of teak.

people who did not get along with other people, they will be a consideration for other people to determine the amount of donation (*Buwuhan*) that will be given. The kind of that relationship is one of the many factors that influence a person's perceive and a person's interaction in the society's life. The relationships that exist in society such as relation with neighbors, relatives and other people also affect to a person who will give a *buwuhan*. Among these factors there are some other factors that affect the amount of donations a person to donate in celebration, which according to the results of interviews with some of the informants.<sup>22</sup> Those are several factors that affect to the donation; The Factor of Kinship Relation.

In the *Mbersih* society the kinship is having effects on the amount and value of donations they give. If their kinship relationship is getting closer and they get a good relationship then, so the value and the quantity of the goods that they give (*buwuhan*) are also bigger. Although their relatives lived in different areas and the distance is too far, for example in another town or another village.

a) The Factor of Social Relationship

Social relationship is relationship that relates to a person or a family relationship with their communities. The openness of individual in the social gathering, tolerance and solidarity of an individual had become own assessment for the community to consider for giving their granting (*buwuhan*) to the host. The better relationship within the community, then a person will put the confidence in the people by giving them a greater granting (*buwuhan*).

b) The Factor of Economic

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<sup>22</sup> Interview With some informants; Mr. Tumirin (35 years old), Mr. Alfian (59 years old), Mrs. Sumisti (57 years old), Mrs. Winarsih (30 years old). 10 November 2013

The economic conditions give effect to standard of people's contribution directly, either from the economic conditions of the people who will contribute or economic conditions of the people who have a celebration. The economic condition of the people who will contribute are also becomes a consideration for themselves to set aside some of their earnings. Despite, it is for contributed in the wedding celebration only. Because they have many fulfillments of needs that must be met, most of people will considerate to reduce the value of contribution.

Generally, for the people already have a standard for the nominal money and for the value of goods to be donated. For nominal money twenty thousand rupiahs to twenty five thousand rupiahs (the nominal can be increased if there is a special relationship like a close relative and a family). While for the donations staples consist of 3 kilograms of rice and 1 kg of sugar or 1 packet of noodles. Whereas, the people who are members of the community *buwuh*, they will contribute their money for donation of wedding. They usually contribute money about thirty thousand rupiahs. The standard of contribution that is given by society to the host, especially for the people who joined with the group *buwuh* is still adjusted to the economy ability of people. There is no special agreement that is given by the coordinator to determine the amount of contribution. Moreover, the staples contribution by people who joined in the group is found rarely, they think it is not more practically than using the cash money.