

CHAPTER IV

THE UNIQUENESS AND THE MOTIVATION OF *NYUMBANG* TRADITION AT SUMBERSIH HAMLET

A. The Uniqueness of *Nyumbang* Tradition of *Mbersih* Society

Mbersih society is the Javanese society that most of its citizen is farmers. *Guyub* culture which has been the basic character of the Javanese is a heritage that must be preserved and maintained. But in the face of the modern era such as now, the people has been getting a transition too. On the other hand they are as the Javanese also have to maintain a culture that has been the heritage of their ancestors, especially when the culture can create and maintain a good relationship. Moreover it will be running lastly when it adjusted to the times.

In the *nyumbang* tradition (*buwuhan* in a wedding celebration) of the *Mbersih* society has been progressing, which they are as the traditional society implementing rationality to the tradition. However the *Mbersih* society is attempting to keep the highest values of Javanese culture, which is contained in the traditions. So the tradition that has been realization of harmonious society can be maintained to provide solutions to every problem that society felt in the social terms, cultural term and especially in the economic terms.

1. Organizing in *Nyumbang* Tradition By *Paguyuban Buwuh*

Nyumbang tradition held by the *Mbersih* people in the *Sumbersih* hamlet is a form of *guyub* culture which has been the characteristic of the nature of the people who live in the countryside. *Nyumbang* became a mandatory activity for the *Mbersih* when people who hold a ceremonial for celebration especially for weddings. The activity of contributes to the celebration party is preferred a lot for the *Mbersih* society and particularly for the villagers who had been profession as farmers. In *nyumbang* tradition has a strong kinship ties about mutual assistance among villagers when holding an important event or *duwé gawé*. It will be impossible to refuse when they got a wedding

invitation from their relatives. Eventhough their relatives had a different place and distant villages. *Mbersih* societies have customs when the celebration owner will invite their relatives, though they live are not adjacent to each other. Then the host will give *tonjo'an* invitation. While the invitation for the *Mbersih* society indicates that the invitation was really require them to come.¹

Mbersih community as the Javanese people, they are also considering about the issue of sense (*rasa*). Especially in the important events that are related to human life. They are also convinced that those things would surely they had experience about. They will keep all the sayings and actions to keep the feelings of others so they don't get hurt.² However, there are obstacles that always be encountered in the simple society (farmers) for instance to the economic conditions of citizen. *Mbersih* society has much consideration for attending in a wedding celebration of their relatives who live far away and also consideration giving contribution or *buwuhan*. In addition, the *Mbersih* society has strong believed on the Javanese calendar calculation or commonly called as *anut petungan Jawa*. It made them adjusts and determines a good month to hold a ceremonial celebration especially a wedding. So the people will hold a celebration in certain months and often at the same time. The people who received invitation from the celebration owner will be overwhelmed; because of they get invitation successively and surely they also have to give contribution or *buwuhan* for it.³ With the reasons of Mr. Giyanto that now has become the coordinator of one of the association of *buwuh* called *paguyuban buwuh*, he took the initiative to invite some of his close acquaintances including his brother who lived in the same hamlet to attend a celebration together.

People who joined are from family and relatives, and then neighbors from the fellow hamlets have been interested for joining. Every person who will be joining in the association should report to the chief coordinator, and then their

¹ Interview with Mr. Alfian (60 years old), 30 October 2013

² M. Hariwijaya, *Islam Kejawen*, (Yogyakarta: Gelombang Pasang, 2006), p. 275

³ Interview with Mrs. Uut (30 years old), 08 November 2013

name will be noted in the membership book.⁴ The uniqueness of this association is the organizing of celebration *buwuh* that is organized, which is meant by organized is each member may only be invited on behalf of the association *buwuh* for once only. As stated by informant Mr. Sudarsono that he had been joining with the two groups was chaired by Mr. Misdi from the central Summersih and Mr. Giyanto from the West Summersih. It because of he has planned to hold a wedding for his two sons.⁵ For the *Mbersih* society especially for people that include of the members of a group *buwuh* can arrange and plan the costs that will be incurred to hold a party and also the celebration owner can make sure the number of invitees. When there are members who could not attend the invitations and the member couldn't entrust the contributions yet, then the chief coordinator or the fellow members will be giving a loan for *buwuhan*. This is intended to the celebration owner does not have a negative prejudice later. And when the turn of people who did not attend to the wedding comes, the previous host can still find the notes of arrival of the member from the note of *buwuhan*. Even though, the fact is member entrust their *buwuhan* to other member.⁶

Actually, it shows that principle of Javanese life (harmony) as described by Suseno, they will strive to prevent anything that possible to occur any conflicts in the social gathering of lives. And also Koentjaraningrat stated that actually all aspects of human life always depend on each other. Thus, the people as much as possible maintain and keep good relations with each other and trying to adjust with society.⁷ Thereby, *paguyuban buwuh* also has the potential to become a system of social control to avoid the violence and compulsion. The two things is the basic of process of social control that aimed at achieving a state of peace through balancing between certainty and

⁴ Interview with Mr. Giyanto the one of chief coordinator of *paguyuban buwuh*, 11 November 2013

⁵ Interview with Mr. Sudarsono, 08 November 2013

⁶ Interview with Mr. Giyanto, 11 November 2013

⁷ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan dan Mentalitas Pembangunan*, *op.cit.*, p. 62

proportionality.⁸ Thus, for the society that usually will be applying the social sanction like slanderous gossip “*rerasanan*” for people who did a bad thing or something that is regarded as the unusual deed for social control, they do not need to do that. Even they can prevent that kind of social sanction.

Even though the *Mbersih* society applied the rational principle in the *nyumbang* tradition, but they still are able to maintain the culture of *guyub*. It because of the role of their sense has been influencing in every their deeds. Thus, *paguyuban buwuh* can become the social control that can be maintaining this tradition, and also the tradition can be adjusting with the development of era without ignore the high value of Javanese people in it and the society can be able to get the stead.

2. Transparency of *Buwuhan*

One of the nature of the people, especially the East Javanese people is they always declare the use of the ratio as a measure the progress is only implicitly. But in fact they have not completely override the use of ratios.⁹ It can be seen on the Javanese attitudes that always emphasize to have the characteristic of *gemi, nastiti* dan *ngati-ati* for expenses and the earning and they applied it to the *nyumbang* tradition. Principally the existence of *nyumbang* tradition is a form of mutual assistance on the basis of love and willingly. In other words the societies give priority to the feeling for doing this tradition. When combined with the above attitude (*gemi, nastiti and ngati-ati*) which is a reflection of the rational principle, then it would make efficient and effectiveness in the social life.¹⁰

Mbersih communities also have been applying the principles of rational and economical in this tradition i.e. the principle of reciprocal to the giving of contribution (*buwuhan*). People have noted the nominal and the amount of

⁸ Soejono Soekanto, *Sosiologi Suatu Pengantar*, (Jakarta: PT RAJA Grafindo Persada, 1994), p. 226- 227

⁹ M. Darori Amin (*ed*), p. 253

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 254

contribution (*buwuhan*) along with the name and address of the invited guests. That can make the celebration owner know the contribution for adjusting the return of *buwuhan* later. It is intended by the people to appreciate and respect the person who was once giving contribution.

Generally the form of contribution from the people who joined in the *paguyuban buwuh* is the cash money that put in an envelope and then they collected in coordinator of associations (not directly provided to the celebration owner personally like people in General) first. After that, *buwuhan* envelope which has been brought by the coordinator will be collected into one and then the envelopes were differentiating between men and women. According to informants that the gathering of *buwuhan* had reason to facilitate the documentation of contributions and make it easy for the host to check the records of donations when he was invited by one of the members of the Group of *paguyuban buwuh*.¹¹

The *nyumbang* tradition that practiced by *Mbersih* society showed it had a well-organized; by implementing the transparency of the *buwuhan* from the invitee. The transparency of *buwuhan* is meant to make it easier the celebration owner to check the contribution of invitee from either group or common invitation. And when the turn to give contribution back comes, the celebration owner can be adjusting with exist in the note book. By Malinowski it is named as the reciprocity principle which is giving contribution cause an obligation to return back (*asok lan mbalekno*).

Reciprocity on this tradition is the form to respect others and needs to others, which by Niels Mulder is meant to mutual trust. If a sense of trust to others is reciprocal, so the people will trust each other. Then people will act cooperative and will not agree to use others to pursue self-interest.¹² This cooperation is built on a foundation of trust; “do a favor to return a favor”. In

¹¹ Interview with Mr. Giyanto the one of Chief Coordinator of *paguyuban buwuh*, 10 November 2013

¹² Niels Mulder, *op.cit.*, p. 64

addition, the Javanese itself has own moral to control them in the social gathering that is shame (*isin*), unwillingly (*sungkan*) and tolerant that are being morals.

B. Motivation Of *Mbersih* Society In The *Nyumbang* Tradition

Motivation in psychology dictionary declared as *keadaan ketegangan dalam individu yang membangkitkan, memelihara dan mengarahkan tingkah laku menuju pada suatu tujuan atau sasaran, pengertian lainnya adalah alasan yang diberikan individu bagi tingkah- lakunya baik disadari ataupun tidak disadari* (tension in the people who generate, maintain and direct behavior toward a goal or objective, understanding other people is the reason given for his behavior either consciously or unconsciously).¹³ According to George Simmel, motivation is something that drives an individual having a relation to others to meet the needs and specific goals. The concept gives meaning to a social relationship that there are some unsure for instance reward, sacrifice, and the advantages of looking at the interplay of human relationships with others.¹⁴ While in theory expectations have also explained that the actions or behavior of a person depends on the power of hopes towards the expectations of the results were deemed to satisfy the person concerned.

For *Mbersih* societ, when they practice the tradition through *paguyuban buwuh* it does not apart from their expectations that being motive for them to run it;

1. Establishing of *silaturrahmi* and guarantees get a reward

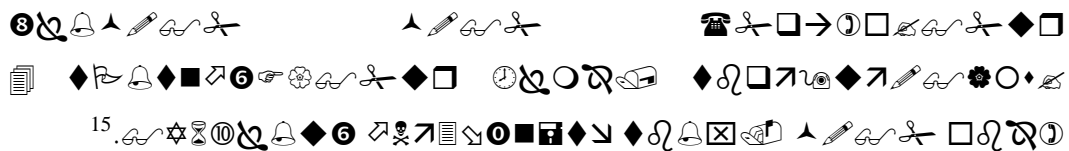
Religion has always been taught to always do a good behavior to others with helping and mutual respect for others. That created unity and

¹³ J.P. Chaplin, *Dictionary Psychology*, terj. Kartini Kartono, (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2011), p. 311

¹⁴<http://perilakuorganisasi.com/teori-pertukaran-sosial-dan-pilihan-rasional-2.html>, diakses 5 June 2014

prevent the occurrence of a conflict that could give rise to a split between individuals in the environment social. Also in the religion of Islam, it gives attention to how to establish a relationship in life to strengthen the social ties between the neighbors and family communities.

The relationship can be created by the presence of interlacing *silaturrahmi*, because silaturrahmi is a symbol of good relations that full of compassion. *Silaturrahmi* is not to fellow blood relatives or families only, but also for other people as God said;



O mankind! reverence your Guardian-Lord, who created you from a single person, created, of like nature, His mate, and from them twain scattered (Like seeds) countless men and women;- reverence Allah, through whom ye demand your mutual (rights), and (reverence) the wombs (That bore you): for Allah ever watches over you.¹⁵

Related to establish a *silaturrahmi*, God has provided a threat for anyone who breaks it. Then people will be placed in a bad place that is hell, and for anyone who kept *silaturrahmi*, Allah had promised a blessing longevity.¹⁷ Within *silaturrahmi* will involve one's relationship with wide society, which is understood objectively. It is a means to obtain prosperity due to good relations that are maintained.¹⁸

Mbersih society has majority Muslims population has been believed that the tradition has meaning to maintain good relations with other people. Besides that, God will give the people the easily ways for getting the prosperity. It can be seen from the *nyumbang* tradition which each

¹⁵ QS. An- Nisâ' 4:1

¹⁶ 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 85

¹⁷ M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al- Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian al- Qur'an*, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2002), p. 403

¹⁸ Yunahar Ilyas, *Kuliah Akhlak*, (Yogyakarta: LPPI UMY, 1999), p. 190

invited guest either neighbors or family that comes when the wedding day; they will give *buwuhan* that can support the person who hold the celebration. The contributions are accepted by the celebration owner considered as the prosperity that given by God (*Gusti Allah*) through the intermediary of fellow human. With that belief, the people will be motivated to always establish *silaturrahmi* to anyone. Besides that, it's related with the life of the principle that prioritizes rural communities in terms of harmony and then *silaturrahmi* is the right action in the world to maintain social harmony.

Buwuh for the society is one of the means to establish a *silaturrahmi* that can be create a good relationship, for the presence of people that were invited to an ceremony *walimah* can be assured. So that could be making pleased and calm the feeling of the host. Pleasures of the host's feeling due to people are willing to come for celebration has the kindness to share their happiness, and calm feeling due to people that are invited can be assured of their arrival.¹⁹ Meanwhile the *buwuhan* is a form of help each other among communities. Each people has believe if they often help others, then one day they would get help of other people either of people who ever they help or not.

In the term of Java *sapa nandur ngunduh* (who is doing a good deeds, reaping the result), is person's motivation in helping others. And it applied in the *nyumbang* tradition of *Mbersih* society. Thus, *buwuhan* become a primary thing and it can be maintained by society through the *silaturrahmi* with relatives and other closest people. So the society could be having a comfort life, so they could be doing good deeds.

2. Expanding The Social Relationship and Maintaining The Kinship Relationship

¹⁹ Interview with Kyai Hadi, Mr. Boirin, Mr. Sudarsono, Mr. Hadi, and Mrs. Rusmiati

Attempt to achieve harmony in Javanese society requires them to assist their relatives even if they are in hardship.²⁰ Like the *Mbersih* people did, when their family either from the near family and far family hold a wedding celebration, they would attempt to come for helping. Therefore, when they join with *paguyuban buwuh* they can remain in a relationship of kinship with their brothers and can recognize the other communities that they do not know previously. As Mr. Mistiono says;

“ketika seseorang yang bergabung dengan *paguyuban buwuh* mendapat undangan dari keluarganya atau temannya, maka undangan tersebut akan diberitahukan kepada kepala koordinasi *paguyuban* untuk diinformasikan pada yang lainnya yang bergabung dalam *paguyuban*. Biasanya undangan dierikan 7 hari sebelum hari H. Kemudian, masing- masing orang akan berkumpul di rumah anggota lainnya yang dapat dijangkau kendaraan yang mana merupakan kendaraan yang mereka sewa. Mereka menunggu jemputan dan berangkat berombongan”.

“When the person who joined with *paguyuban buwuh* get wedding invitation from family or friend, it will be informed to the chief coordinator to be informed for others. Usually the giving of invitation to the coordinator is 7 days before the day run. Then, each member will gather in the house of other member that can be reached for vehicle that they rent and they will be waiting for vehicles that pick us up. Then, we were coming to the wedding celebration in group”.

Other informant Mrs. Rusmiati who one of the members of *paguyuban* also said that the society can know each other after they meet by join with *paguyuban*. The society relationship those are impersonal before turned to a personal relationship. It because of they feel the ties of kinship that exist like a family. Personal relationships between the *mbersih* people, especially those who join in *paguyuban buwuh* made their cooperation in *nyumbang* going well.

Beside that as the theory of motivation of David McClelland that mention about needs of affiliation, which explain that every people have a

²⁰ Thomas Wiyasa Bratawijaya, *op.cit.*, p. 82

mind to get relation with others intimately and friendly and indeed it is a needs for real of human beings as the social creature.²¹

3. Getting Prestige

The Prestige is recognition from the public of either individuals or groups such as flattery, praise; dignity etc. A festive at a wedding celebration is something that doesn't go unnoticed, because it is considered as a symbol for social status in society life. In the assessment of *Mbersih* society a festive party is a symbol that the person has relationships with many people because a lot of people knew him and it was shown from the guests who come when the person held a celebration. For the common society, and for the *Mbersih* people especially it indicates that the person has a friendly personality or *grapyak* (have high social life) with the neighbors. In the needs of hierarchy by Abraham Maslow about esteem need was explained that the one of characterized of human is self-respecting; every human have longing on fair name (repute) that is formulated on honor and award, statue and appreciation from other people.²²

For people who join in *paguyuban buwuh* they often hear such positive assumptions and flattery as told by Mr. Tumirin (35 years) when other people see the *paguyuban* attended a wedding celebration with the group, the other people thought that the *Mbersih* people is a harmonious society. This then makes other people motivated to join with *paguyuban buwuh* and because of this group *Mbersih* society can be recognized by people outside of the *Sumbersih* hamlet as *guyub* society. Besides that, when the celebration owner have many guest coming to his party, it made other people have a thought that the host is the popular person and known as the

²¹Sondang, P Siagian, *op.cit.*, p. 170

²²Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, terj. Nurul Imam, *Motivasi Dan Kepribadian I*, (Jakarta: LPPM, 1993), p. 55

good person in the social live.²³ Due to the satisfying of esteem needs not far from the importance of social solidarity in the society life. Thus, the existence of *paguyuban buwuh* is helpful for people who want start the good social relation and be recognized all at once.

4. Relieve The Economic Burden

The considerations and the calculation of economic is necessary, because of *Mbersih* society assume that what they had been given and they spend to donate is the income derived from hard work. And from these hard works should be rewarded with commensurate returns. Moreover to hold party or celebration is also needed the capital. Considering the cost of necessities for life is currently very high. When the host will hold a celebration, the host was not only inviting but also entertains guests with dishes of snacks and meals.

Thus, through the *paguyuban* either from the invitee and the celebration owner, they will get the relief within the cost issue. Giving invitations that applied by *paguyuban buwuh* has helped to reduce the cost the wedding. And with the arrival of the invited guests either general invitations or invitations from *paguyuban buwuh* which they definitely give a contribution, it has helped the economy of people who held a celebration. With many invited guests who attended to the wedding, it means that the contributions that will be received are many "many guests then many of people who contribute". Like in the *paguyuban buwuh* that invitee can be guaranteed their presence. Thereby, the contribution that celebration owner got can be assured, so with the amount contribution received, it can be returning the capital or expenses incurred for celebration (there is money left over from the expenses incurred). That means a celebration that has been held get successful.

²³ Interview with Mr. Boirin, 04 Nopember 2014

Based on three variable of expectancy theory by Victor Vroom, the society's motivation when decide to establish and join in *paguyuban buwuh* due to some following explanation;

1. The expectancy; individual expect to the current consequences from his action. From this side, *Mbersih* society who join in *paguyuban buwuh* have expectation that practice *nyumbang* through *paguyuban* can reduce their economic burden. It shows from the way they come to the celebration by rent vehicle and they come in a group (together). The expense is cheaper when they bear together than they went alone.
2. Valence; definitely result from individual's action has a power to motivate individual or people (valence). For an individual the certain action has certain value. For *mbersih* society, they have some goal that indeed want to them reach for instance when they invite people they no need to give invitation appropriate with the amount people and enough an invitation. Actually this made them more economize on the expense and definitely the certainty the guests coming are in the large number. Refer to the economic principle that emphasize on efficiency and effectiveness. Even, the noticing of contribution is actually has two values above. Other result with *nyumbang* collectively is viewed has a value like known as the friendly person, the certainty about get the large result of contribution (*buwuhan*) and difficulty to get transportation can be handled. Indeed they are being consideration's people to practice *nyumbang* through *paguyuban* and it has value itself, it can be called as "tractive power".
3. instrumentality; perception of individual about current effort would drive to current action and individual's action until current level is depended of them expect result. Here, the position *paguyuban* as the instrument of expectation of people to realize their willing. Some instrument that is exists like vehicle that become transportation to make ease the journey to strive the far location. The existing of group can be tool to realize social solidarity. When the social solidarity had been gotten, so other goal can be

reached easily then the point purpose to get happiness also can be having for. As Tolstoy said that the own happiness can be reached when the happiness in the society life get first.²⁴

C. The Relevancy of *Nyumbang* Tradition of *Mbersih* Society in This Current era

1. Social Relevancy

Nyumbang Tradition a cultural heritage which is still maintained by the Java community until now. Along with the times the practice of *nyumbang* has grown and change. Even, some researcher had been researched that the value in *nyumbnag* tradition for instance solidarity, willingness and harmony is going to be capitalist. But after knowing the motives of the people in the *nyumbang* practice through the *paguyuban*, in fact it shows that although there was a shifting in the tradition, it does not mean a change in the values contained in the tradition.

Practice of *nyumbang* through the community precisely shows and reflects that rural communities are in transition as *Mbersih* community indirectly has maintained a culture of mutual assistance and consultation to foster social solidarity in public life. It also shows that mutual assistance and consultation in the development today not belong to a particular group or organization related to any professional associations only,²⁵ but also on the lives of rural communities with wielding a tradition which is manifested in the activities organized by similarity in needs and circumstances.

In addition, the presence of the community in their relationships also can increase social interaction being familiar, previously known simply know and be able to know very well. It because of the common will and

²⁴ HAMKA, *op.cit.*, p. 40

²⁵ Lister Berutu, *Gotong- Royong, Musyawarah dan Mufakat* Sebagai Penunjang Kerukunan Berbangsa dan Bernegara, paper for Dialog of Culture. Thursday, 21 September 2000

understandings are existing among people and it can be happened in the *paguyuban*.²⁶

2. Economic Relevancy

The existence of the *paguyuban buwuh* makes people motivated to behave responsibly. as a rural farming community with economic hardship conditions, responsible attitude in crisis as indicated by Koentjaraningrat that actually irresponsible attitude is a state of a person in an incapable and an irresponsible attitude especially those relating to financial affairs or economic transactions.²⁷

Previously described that giving and must giving back is an important thing in the *nyumbang* tradition. It evidenced by the recording of *buwuhan* from the guests. However, with the difficult economic situation and sometime make people forced or even not doing what they have supposed to do like not coming to the party and not giving *buwuhan*. Therefore, the existence of an organized *paguyuban buwuh* and other people who join as well and also the exist of chief coordinator who is also in charge of arranging for someone who is in a difficult economic situation can be helped, make other individuals affected and motivated to not escape responsibility. *Nyumbang* in the present era is not only talk about a willingness to give but also the return of the same value which is not to be worth less and more also, then about people who is going to get *buwuhan* close relative or not, actually it has also become a problem itself in providing *buwuhan*, which all of those will also affect social relationships.

Therefore, to avoid the things that can affect negative in social relations, the economic measures such as recording *buwuhan* applied openly and clearly. So the recording was not intended for the calculation of negative oriented. Instead people have applied the principle of rational

²⁶ Soejono Soekanto, *op.cit* ., p. 146

²⁷ Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Mentalitas, op.cit.*, p. 52

that combined with the emphasis of feeling which by the Java community is preferred in every action. And the combination of rational principles and the feeling has been realizing the effectiveness and efficiency in each action.

3. Religious Relevancy

Javanese relationship to God is quiet. Awareness of the Divine is more a sort of background that made explicit only when there are special reasons and they more focus to social action on everyday life. It because of for the Javanese people the whole nature is numinous, so that they do not have a reason to separate the religious side on the overall attitudes and actions. Although they rarely religious act explicitly but it is not difficult for them to maintain a religious dimension.²⁸

So anyone who realizes that eventually he was always and entirely up to the divine, they will find the right attitude in itself. Suseno mentioned the one of the right attitude is the attitude of nobility which this attitude is considered as the main character of the Javanese. Nobility also mean having the right feeling of how to behave towards others, what can be and what cannot be said and done.²⁹ So, fellow human beings by the Javanese are not considered as objects used to satisfy her needs as intended by Rāghib al- Iṣfahāni.³⁰

In the *nyumbang* tradition, the community does not necessarily take its own course. Although the condition is not sufficient, when someone is getting an invitation celebration then he/she would still come to give *buwuhan* despite she/he have to owe to closest person. Actually this is

²⁸ Suseno, *op.cit.*, p. 142

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 144

³⁰ during the human beings life would need for existence of other people. Thus, in the social gathering, there is prohibited to victimize other people for self- interest, but there is disposed to mutual assistance and no hurt each other. By the writer of the book, it has a meaning that human is not as the personal interest transition, but human is as the partner to realize moral action and religious action. Amril, M, *loc.cit*

done to keep the feeling of hosts that have been invited. For this reason the existence of this *paguyuban buwuh* can help each other in that case. So that person does not feel the burden of his/ her own. Like mentioned before that the chief coordinator of the *paguyuban* will help or as an intermediary when there is someone who cannot come or are in difficult financial circumstances to give *buwuhan* and then person who owe will restore it according to what was agreed later. So between individuals trying to understand each other and understand the needs and also interests of each other by using feelings and beliefs to act appropriately.

Besides that, *nyumbang* in religion perspective about how people make happy other people with give a gift. By giving gifts each other that will foster a sense of mutual love and respect, and can eliminate the pain. In a hadith narrated by Anas r.a. the Prophet extend to give each other a gifts because the gift can eliminate resentment.³¹

³¹ Hendi Suhendi, *Fiqh Muamalah*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2010), p. 218- 219