

THE NYADRAN TRADITION AND THE CHANGING ROLES OF JAVANESE TRANSMIGRANT WOMEN

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Abstract: *The Nyadran tradition has become an important part of the life of the Javanese transmigrant community. Through the Nyadran tradition, Javanese transmigrant women can establish relationships, both with God, with nature as their place of residence, and with fellow human beings. By using the concept of Gender as an analytical tool, this study aims to see how the Nyadran tradition rituals are carried out by the Javanese transmigrant community, and to see how the role of women is in the Nyadran tradition rituals. In this study used a qualitative-descriptive method with unstructured interview data collection techniques. Data collection was also carried out by tracing the literature on the Nyadran tradition, both in the form of books and journal articles. The results showed that the Nyadran tradition was carried out by the Javanese transmigrant community every year, 10 days before the arrival of the month of Ramadan. This tradition is carried out by visiting the tombs or visiting the graves of the ancestors, tablilan, listening to religious lectures, and feasting or eating together. In practice, women's roles are still found in the domestic sphere. Starting from providing various types of flowers and water, bringing yasin books and mats, and preparing ubarampe or various types of cakes and rice along with side dishes. Women are also subordinated by not being given the opportunity to deliver religious lectures. Through the delivery of religious interpretations, women are also subordinated and become a form of stereotype and shows that the patriarchal culture is still strong in the Javanese transmigrant community.*

Keywords: *The Role of Women; Javanese Transmigrant; Nyadran Tradition*

Introduction

The Nyadran tradition, or Nyadran ceremony, is a rite that is carried out before the arrival of the month of Ramadan. It is implemented collectively, with broad community participation, including both men and women, which is an important factor in the ritual's implementation.¹ The collectivity demonstrated in the Nyadran tradition rite is a subject worthy of further study, particularly in relation to the Nyadran tradition ceremony series carried out by Javanese transmigrant communities and the role of Javanese transmigrant women in the Nyadran ritual.

¹Rima Liliana Puspasari and Puji Lestari, "Partisipasi Masyarakat Pada Pelestarian Upacara Tradisi Kirab Suran di Dusun Kembangarum Donokerto Kecamatan Turi Kabupaten Sleman Kota Yogyakarta," *E-Societas: Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi* 8, no. 3 (November 21, 2019), 11.

The *Nyadran* tradition has been the subject of extensive prior research. In both book and journal article form. The literature examining the *Nyadran* tradition can be classified into four categories. The first category comprises studies that discuss the *Nyadran* tradition in terms of rites.² Secondly, an examination of the philosophical tenets espoused in the *Nyadran* tradition.³ Thirdly, an investigation of the values inherent to the *Nyadran* tradition is required. The investigation will commence with an examination of the educational⁴, social⁵, and religious values inherent to the tradition,⁶ etc⁷. Fourth, studies that examine the response and dynamics of society regarding the *Nyadran* tradition.⁸

²For example, take a look at the article of Margiyono Suyitno, “Sadranan: Tradisi, Ritual, Sosial, dan Ekonomi pada Masyarakat Tumang,” *Jurnal Pendidikan Dasar dan Sosial Humaniora* 1, no. 7 (May 24, 2022), 1403-12, <https://bajangjournal.com/index.php/JPDSH/article/view/2136>. Ernawati Purwaningsih, *Kearifan lokal dalam tradisi Nyadran masyarakat sekitar Situs Liangan* (Yogyakarta: Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2016).

³Also take a look at the article of Choerul Anam, “Tradisi Sambatan dan Nyadran di Dusun Suruhan,” *Sabda: Jurnal Kajian Kebudayaan* 12, no. 1 (July 19, 2017): 77-84, <https://doi.org/10.14710/sabda.12.1.77-84>. Udin Erawanto, “Makna Simbolik Pada Piranti Tradisi Nyadran Bumi Desa Songowareng Kecamatan Bluluk Kabupaten Lamongan Sebagai Referensi Pendidikan Budaya Lokal,” *Konstruktivisme: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran* 14, no. 1 (January 18, 2022), 1-12, <https://doi.org/10.35457/konstruk.v14i1.1963>. Efrina Rizkya Wahono and Agung Wiradimadja, “Partisipasi Masyarakat dan Makna Simbolik Tradisi Nyadran di Dusun Semanding Kabupaten Blitar,” *Sejarah dan Budaya* 16, no. 1 (2022), 119-28, <http://dx.doi.org/10.17977/um020v16i12022p119-128>.

⁴Take a look at the article of Ibnu Mustopo Jati, “Nilai-nilai Kearifan Lokal Tradisi Nyadran Sebagai Sumber Belajar IPS,” *Journal Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* 14, no. 2 (November 29, 2022), 246-58, <https://doi.org/10.37304/jpips.v14i2.7728>.

⁵Take a look at the article of Nuryani Siti Darisma, I Wayan Midhio, and Triyoga Budi Prasetyo, “Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Tradisi Nyadran Sebagai Kearifan Lokal dalam Membangun Budaya Damai di Giyanti, Wonosobo,” *Jurnal Prodi Damai dan Resolusi Konflik* 4, no. 1 (April 2018), 21-44, <https://jurnalprodi.idu.ac.id/index.php/DRK/article/view/204/pdf>.

⁶Take a look at the article of Hamidulloh Ibdia, “Penguatan Nilai-Nilai Sufisme dalam Nyadran Sebagai Khazanah Islam Nusantara,” *Jurnal Islam Nusantara* 2, no. 2 (November 20, 2018), 148-61, <https://doi.org/10.33852/jurnalin.v2i2.92>.

⁷Take a look at the article of Moch Ginanjar Yoga Triantoro, “Kearifan Lokal Tradisi Nyadran di Desa Karangmangu Kecamatan Ngambon Kabupaten Bojonegoro,” <https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/baradba/article/view/47398/39722>, h. 1-23.

⁸For the example, take a look at the article of Siti Noer Tyas Tuti, “Tradisi Nyadran sebagai Komunikasi Ritual (Studi Kasus di Desa Sonoageng, Kabupaten Nganjuk),” *Jurnal Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi*, 2017, 1-8, <https://123dok.com/document/y92lj2jz-tradisi-nyadran-sebagai-komunikai-ritual.html>. Ravita Mega Saputri, Alil Rinenggo, and Suharno Suharno, “Eksistensi Tradisi Nyadran Sebagai Penguatan Identitas Nasional di Tengah Modernisasi,” *Civics Education and Sosial Science Journal (CESSJ)* 3, no. 2 (December 31, 2021), 99-111, <https://doi.org/10.32585/cessj.v3i2.2080>. Nurun Nisaa Baihaqi and Aty Munshihah, “Resepsi Fungsional Al-Qur’an: Ritual Pembacaan Ayat Al-Qur’an dalam Tradisi Nyadran di Dusun Tundan Bantul Yogyakarta,” *Nalar: Jurnal Peradaban dan Pemikiran Islam* 6, no. 1 (June 21, 2022), 1-14, <https://doi.org/10.23971/njppi.v6i1.3207>. Halim Ahmad and Tri Retnaningsih Soeprabowati, “Kearifan Tradisi Budaya Sebagai Sarana Pelestarian Lingkungan serta

A review of the literature reveals that the *Nyadran* tradition has already been the subject of extensive research. However, previous studies have employed disparate methodologies and addressed distinct research questions, as previously mentioned. Accordingly, this research can address the remaining gap in the literature on community dynamics in the context of the *Nyadran* tradition. This research is guided by the findings of previous studies, which revealed a gap in the literature about the role of women in the *Nyadran* tradition. This research is significant for several reasons. Primarily, the *Nyadran* tradition represents a distinctive aspect of Javanese culture that continues to be preserved in the present era. The dissemination of the Javanese community to other Indonesian regions also resulted in the dissemination of the *Nyadran* rite, which underwent modifications, adjustments to the local area, or no changes at all. In Rimbo Bujang, the *Nyadran* tradition is one that has been maintained with some modifications. Secondly, the *Nyadran* tradition is a religious tradition that serves as a venue for congregation, thereby rendering the distinction between public and domestic spaces somewhat blurred. In contrast to a house, which is typically divided into distinct spaces. Thirdly, the role of women in the tradition has typically been regarded as conventional and solely as a means of cultural preservation. Consequently, it is seldom subjected to scrutiny regarding its existence and role.

To analyze the portrait of Javanese transmigrant women in the *Nyadran* tradition, a theory based on the concept of gender, as defined by Mansour Fakih, is employed. Mansour Fakih offers a definition of gender that is informed by a distinction between gender and sex. Sex or gender is a biological or physical difference that is determined by Allah Swt. In contrast to the concept of gender, which is a social construct that encompasses a set of traits attributed to the sexes (male and female), The social construction of gender entails the attribution of specific traits to women and men. These constructed traits, such as meekness, emotionality, and motherliness, are typically associated with women, whereas traits such as strength, rationality, and power are often ascribed to men.⁹ Such discrepancies between the sexes ultimately result in a form of injustice, affecting both men and women. However, as Fakih posits, women frequently encounter gender injustice because of discrepancies in gender perspectives that emerge within societal structures. Gender injustice manifests in various forms, including marginalization, subordination, stereotyping (i.e., negative labeling), violence, and burden (i.e., double workload). The concept of gender is employed to differentiate between the socio-

Potensi Ekowisata pada Komunitas Masyarakat di Sekitar Hutan Lindung Petungkriyono (Studi Kasus Nyadran Gebyog),” *Pringgitan* 03, no. 02 (Agustus 2022): 68-81, <http://dx.doi.org/10.47256/prg.v3i2.165>.

⁹Mansour Fakih, *Analisis Gender Transformasi Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Insist Press, 2008), 8-9.

cultural aspects of men and women in the *Nyadran* tradition, thereby elucidating the injustices perpetrated against women due to their gender roles.¹⁰

Method

The research project concentrated on Rimbo Bujang Subdistrict, which was designated as an ex-transmigration area in 1975 in the province of Jambi.¹¹ It was selected for investigation as it represents the inaugural location for the resettlement of Javanese transmigrants in Tebo Regency. Furthermore, Rimbo Bujang has also proven to be a successful ex-transmigration area, exhibiting a notable advancement in economic status when compared to other regions. It can be argued that Rimbo Bujang serves as the economic center for Tebo Regency. This is corroborated by the emergence of Islamic educational institutions in Rimbo Bujang, which not only serves as an attraction for the residents of Rimbo Bujang but also for individuals across Tebo and Bungo Regencies.

Qualitative-descriptive methodology has been employed to elucidate the nature of symptoms, occurrences, and cultural phenomena that arise within the context of the *Nyadran* tradition.¹² Qualitative methods are not merely descriptive; they also examine the underlying causes of observed phenomena. In employing descriptive methods, researchers endeavor to document the symptoms or occurrences that form the focus of their investigation and then to describe them in detail.¹³ The data collection techniques employed in the research included participatory observations, interviews, and the collection of written sources. First, participatory observation has been conducted through direct observation of the community in question, who are the custodians of the culture in question¹⁴ and are directly involved in the process of community cultural rites. Secondly, interviews were conducted using open-ended and unstructured questions. The research participants are Javanese transmigrant women and local people of varying age ranges. Thirdly, data were collected by means of an examination of written sources. This includes books and journal articles that examine the *Nyadran* tradition. The analysis was conducted using the results of the interviews and the literature collected to ascertain the role of women in the *Nyadran* tradition.

¹⁰Fakih, 12-13.

¹¹Take a look at Yulmardi, *Transmigrasi di Provinsi Jambi* (Jawa Tengah: CV. Pena Persada, 2019), 73.

¹²A. M. Susilo Pradoko, *Paradigma Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Keilmuan Seni, Humaniora, dan Budaya* (Yogyakarta: UNY Press, 2017), 8.

¹³J. R. Raco, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Jenis, Karakteristik, dan Keunggulannya* (Jakarta: PT Grasindo & Anggota IKAPI, 2010), 53-54.

¹⁴A. M. Susilo Pradoko, *Paradigma Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Keilmuan Seni, Humaniora, Dan Budaya*, 244.

Result and Discussion

Javanese Transmigrant Community

The beginning of the arrival of Javanese transmigrants and occupying the Rimbo Bujang area was in 1975, and became the first year Tebo Regency was used as a transmigrant placement location. A total of 500 heads of families or 2,068 people were placed in UPT Unit 1 Perintis Village located in Rimbo Bujang District. This first wave of transmigrants mostly came from West Java, Central Java, and Yogyakarta. The second wave of transmigration, which occurred between 1976 and 1978, saw the continued placement of transmigrants in the aforementioned UPT Units. These included UPT Unit II (Wiroto Agung Village), UPT Unit III (Rimbo Mulyo Village), UPT Unit IV (Purwoharjo Village), UPT Unit V (Tegal Arum Village), UPT Unit VI (Tirta Kencana Village), UPT Unit VII (Sapta Mulya Village), and UPT Unit VIII (Pematang Sapat Village).¹⁵

Rimbo Bujang District is a sub-district located in Tebo Regency, Jambi. Rimbo Bujang District is geographically located between 1.18-1.35 South latitude and between 102.32-102.37 East longitude. Rimbo Bujang District has an area of 406.92 km² or 6.60% of the area of Tebo Regency. The distances that must be traveled from the capital of Rimbo Bujang District to several sub-district capitals in Bungo and Tebo Regencies are as follows: from Wirotho Agung to Muara Bungo has 32 km. Wirotho Agung to Sungai Bengkal with 148 km. Wirotho Agung to Muara Tebo has 40 km. Furthermore, from Wirotho Agung to Temiang Island has 26 km. The boundaries of Rimbo Bujang Sub-district in the North, directly bordered by Tebo Ulu Sub-district. To the East, it is directly adjacent to Rimbo Ilir Sub-district. In the south, it is directly adjacent to Bungo Regency. In the West, it is directly bordered by Rimbo Ulu District. The topography of Rimbo Bujang Sub-district is at an altitude of 50-100 m above sea level.¹⁶

In the placement area, Rimbo Bujang Subdistrict, transmigrants have been provided with houses made of boards. They are also provided with food for one family for 2 years. In addition, they were also given 5 hectares of land per family to cultivate to fulfill their daily needs. The land given by the government for free was then planted with various types of crops, especially rice, which became the main commodity of the transmigrant community at that time. In 1980, along with the end of government assistance, the Javanese transmigrant community was also introduced to rubber plants, so that later many of their agricultural lands were converted into

¹⁵Dian Purnamasari and Rusdi, "Perkembangan Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Transmigrasi Desa Perintis Di Rimbo Bujang Tahun 1975-2020," *Jurnal Kronologi* 3, no. 3 (August 19, 2021), 56, <https://doi.org/10.24036/jk.v3i3.207>.

¹⁶Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Tebo, *Kecamatan Tebo Ulu Dalam Angka 2022* (Tebo: BPS Kabupaten Tebo, 2022), 3.

rubber plantations. The economic fulfillment of the transmigrant community's families then depended on the rubber harvest.¹⁷

As is the case with most transmigrant communities, those of Javanese origin possess a worldview that is firmly anchored in the past. As stated by Koentjaraningrat, Javanese individuals residing outside the island of Java have been observed to retain their original cultural traditions. This is evidenced by the language used and the continued observance of Javanese traditions.¹⁸ The Javanese people have long recognized the existence of a powerful external force, even before the advent of the religions that are currently in development. Upon the advent of religion, the Javanese people readily embraced this new concept of a powerful external force. They consider all religions to be equally valid, as evidenced by their assertion that “*sedaya agami niku sae*” (all religions are the same).¹⁹

Additionally, Javanese culture espouses the concept of spiritual entities that are believed to inhabit the bodies of living humans. The spirits in question can be classified as either beneficial or harmful to humans. Consequently, they endeavor to subjugate these entities through the performance of diverse rites and ceremonies. As Ichsan and Hanafiah have observed in their writings, Javanese people understand that respecting and maintaining a harmonious relationship with ancestors and subtle beings requires the performance of rituals that utilize symbols, rituals, or ceremonies accompanied by offerings.²⁰

In addition, Javanese people also believe in the existence of gods. This is evident in their belief in the ruler of the South Sea who they call Nyai Roro Kidul or Queen of the South Coast.²¹ This is believed by the Javanese community in general and the people of the South Coast in particular. In addition, the rituals performed by the Javanese community also aim to form social solidarity. In the implementation of rituals or traditional ceremonies carried out by them, to foster a collective work ethic. This is described in the expression “*gotong royong nyambut gawe*”. The ritual

¹⁷Kartini, Interview, Sunday 3 April 2022. Take a look at Krismonita Sandi, Irhas Fansuri Mursal, and Fatonah, “Dinamika Masyarakat Transmigrasi Rimbo Ilir Kabupaten Tebo Tahun 1978-2016,” *Jurnal Siginjai* 1, no. 1 (June 2021), 56, <https://doi.org/10.22437/js.v1i1.11884>.

¹⁸Koentjaraningrat, *Kebudayaan Jawa* (Jakarta: PN Balai Pustaka, 1984), 29.

¹⁹Fitorio Leksono and Pandu Purwandaru, “Peran Design Thinking Dalam Penyebaran Islam,” in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Desain Sosial*, 2019, 82, https://p2m.upj.ac.id/userfiles/files/Peran%20Design%20Thinking%20Dalam%20Penyebaran%20Islam%20Walisanga%20Berdakwah%20Dengan%20Empati_compressed.pdf.

²⁰Yazida Ichsan and Yusuf Hanafiah, “Mistisisme Dan Transendensi Sosio-Kultural Islam Di Masyarakat Pesisir Pantai Parangkusumo Yogyakarta,” *Fikri: Jurnal Kajian Agama, Sosial Dan Budaya* 5, no. 1 (June 16, 2020), 24, <https://doi.org/10.25217/jf.v5i1.856>.

²¹Take a look at Muhammad Sholikhin, *Kanjeng Ratu Kidul dalam perspektif Islam Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Narasi, 2009), 11-16.

involves many people, and one person acts as the leader. The community elders usually act as ritual leaders.²²

Nyadran Tradition: The Integration of Islam with Javanese Culture

The *Nyadran* tradition²³ represents a unique synthesis of Islamic and Javanese cultural influences. The process of integration within the *Nyadran* tradition manifests as a form of cultural acculturation during the Hindu era in Java. This is characterized by the influence of Islam as a religion that was introduced to the region by immigrants from Arab lands. The term “integration” is derived from the Latin “*integratio*,” which signifies the act of merging or combining.²⁴ The term “integration” is also understood as a unification, thereby creating a sense of wholeness or unity.²⁵ In the context of Islam and culture, integration is an effort to combine Islamic and cultural elements, which in this article is Javanese culture.²⁶

During Hindu times, *Nyadran* was called *Sbraddha*. The ritual is performed as a form of respect to the ancestral spirits and gratitude for the abundance of water and nature. The manifestation of faith in the form of *Sbraddha* rituals is to pray and get closer to ancestral spirits and nature.²⁷ Therefore, the people of the Hindu period were very concerned about the time, day, and date of death of ancestors. Those who are still alive are required to make offerings in the form of cakes, drinks, or the favorite of the deceased. The offerings are then placed neatly on a table accompanied by various types of flowers, equipped with lighting.²⁸

When Islam arrived in Java in the 13th century, many Hindu traditions were then acculturated with Islamic teachings. This acculturation was even stronger when Walisanga preached Islam in Java involving Javanese culture as a medium for

²²Purwadi, *Upacara Tradisional Jawa: Menggali Untaian Kearifan Lokal* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), V.

²³The definition of *Nyadran* etymologically comes from *Sanskrit*, i.e. *Sraddha* which means belief. In Arabic, derived from *shadrin* means chest, it departs from the implementation of *Nyadran* before the month of Ramadan and people are advised to *ndada* or self-introspection by purifying themselves, both physically and mentally. In Javanese, it is taken from the word *sadrin* which means Ruwah Sya’ban. In terminology, *Nyadran* is a ritual in the form of respect for the spirits of ancestors and praying for congratulations, take a look at Ibda, “Penguatan Nilai-Nilai Sufisme dalam Nyadran Sebagai Khazanah Islam Nusantara,” 151.

²⁴Amin Abdullah, dkk., *Implementasi Pendekatan integratif-Interkonektif Dalam Kajian Pendidikan Islam*, ed. H. Maragustam (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2014), 97.

²⁵Hamdan Adib, “Potret Integrasi Islam dan Budaya Nusantara di Era Walisongo,” *Risalah: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Islam* 7, no. 2 (September 30, 2021), 242, https://doi.org/10.31943/jurnal_risalah.v7i2.179.

²⁶Abdullah, dkk., *Implementasi Pendekatan integratif-Interkonektif Dalam Kajian Pendidikan Islam*, 66.

²⁷Purwaningsih, *Kearifan lokal dalam tradisi Nyadran masyarakat sekitar Situs Liangan*, 33.

²⁸Imam Subqi, Sutrisno, dan Reza Ahmadiansah, *Islam dan Budaya Jawa* (Solo: Penerbit Tarjih, 2018), 152.

proselytizing.²⁹ Some of the traditions that developed in the community were maintained, including the *Nyadran* tradition which was then harmonized and filled with the values of Islamic teachings.³⁰ The reality of the *Nyadran* tradition as a religious ritual tradition preserved from ancient times until now, shows that the *Nyadran* tradition is inherent in Javanese.³¹

In practice, *Nyadran* as a tradition of the Javanese community, is carried out for certain moments, such as welcoming the month of Ramadan (or in the Javanese calendar called *Ruwah*), *Merti Dusun*³², and *Sedekah Bumi*³³ (Earth Alms). Furthermore, over time, *Nyadran* is carried out not only limited to these activities. This tradition is increasingly developing with different meanings than before.

Hamidulloh Ibda said that for those who are far from their hometowns, when they return home, they carry out *Nyadran* practices associated with alms, such as giving charity to the poor, building places of worship, restoring cupolas, and tomb fences. These activities are a form of repayment for the sacrifices of ancestors who have educated and delivered them to become successful individuals, so that when migrants do *Nyadran* by giving alms, it is a manifestation of respect and appreciation for ancestors.³⁴ This shows that *Nyadran* is implemented and interpreted differently by the Javanese community. The difference arises based on the area or region where the Javanese carry out the *Nyadran* tradition. Therefore, the discussion of the *Nyadran* tradition referred to in this paper, is the *Nyadran* tradition rite in the month of Sya'ban or in the Javanese calendar, which is called *Ruwah*, to welcome the month of Ramadan, as understood by the Javanese transmigrant community.

²⁹Adib, "Potret Integrasi Islam dan Budaya Nusantara di Era Walisongo," 245. Sunan Kalijaga, for example, preached using puppets (*wayang*). Sunan Kalijaga created new characters in shadow puppetry known as Punakawan, including Semar, Gareng, Petruk, and Bagong, each with Islamic characters as lessons for the community. Semar or *Shimar* means nail, as a Muslim's faith is expected to be firmly planted like a nail. Gareng or *Qarin* means friend, as a Muslim always tries to find as many friends as possible who are then invited in goodness. The next character Petruk or *Fatruk* means leave, as a Muslim must leave the worship or worship of something other than Allah Swt. The last character is Bagong or *Baghaa* which means rebel. The attitude of rebellion here is expected in a Muslim when he sees injustice, for more detail can take a look at Naufaldi Alif, Laily Mafthukhatul, and Majidatun Ahmala, "Akulturasi Budaya Jawa dan Islam Melalui Dakwah Sunan Kalijaga," *Al'adalah* 23, no. 2 (October 11, 2020), 158-59, <https://doi.org/10.35719/aladalah.v23i2.32>.

³⁰Anam, "Tradisi Sambatan dan Nyadran di Dusun Suruhan," 81.

³¹Triantoro, "Kearifan Lokal Tradisi Nyadran di Desa Karangmangu Kecamatan Ngambon Kabupaten Bojonegoro," 14.

³²Umi Hanifah, "Transformasi Sosial Masyarakat Samin Di Bojonegoro (Analisis Perubahan Sosial Dalam Pembagian Kerja Dan Solidaritas Sosial Emile Durkheim)," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 13, no. 1 (December 4, 2019), 41-71, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2019.131-02>.

³³Suci Prasasti, "Konseling Indigenous: Menggali Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Tradisi Sedekah Bumi Dalam Budaya Jawa," *Cendekia: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pembelajaran* 14, no. 2 (October 31, 2020), 110-23, <https://doi.org/10.30957/cendekia.v14i2.626>.

³⁴Ibda, "Penguatan Nilai-Nilai Sufisme dalam Nyadran Sebagai Khazanah Islam Nusantara," 158.

The *Nyadran* procession carried out by Javanese transmigrant communities is routinely carried out every year in the month of *Rumab* according to the Javanese Calendar or the month of Sha'ban in the Hijriyah Calendar, 10 days before the arrival of the fasting month (Ramadan). The procession begins with a pilgrimage to the graves of ancestors or family graves.³⁵ During the pilgrimage, in addition to cleaning the graves of ancestors, *tablilan* (reading tahlil and usually accompanied by reading Surah Yasin) and sowing flowers on the graves.

Javanese transmigrants do not bring *ubarampe* in the form of market snacks, *ingkung ayam*, *tempeh*, *tofu*, rice, and vegetables placed in a *takir*³⁶, as the Javanese do in Nganjuk³⁷, Semarang³⁸, Lamongan³⁹, and so on. Slightly different, *ubarampe* is brought when the event is held in a *langgar* or mushola, which is still part of the *Nyadran* ritual series.

If in some areas on the island of Java there is a communal meal or *kenduri* when making a grave pilgrimage, so that the *ubarampe* is brought during the pilgrimage, it is different from *Nyadran* which is carried out by Javanese

³⁵Grave pilgrimage is basically a tradition that comes from Islamic teachings. The grave pilgrimage departs from the community's understanding of the Prophet's hadith which allows its people to perform grave pilgrimage. The permissibility of performing grave pilgrimage aims to make Muslims always remember the end of their lives. The suggestion to perform grave pilgrimage begins with a prohibition to do so. The prohibition was imposed at the beginning of the spread of Islam so that the early Islamic community would not be trapped in the cult of the graves they visited. In its later development, grave pilgrimage was allowed with the consideration that Muslims already had strong faith, so that things that were feared before could be avoided, for more Avina Amalia Mustaghfiroh, "Living Hadis Dalam Tradisi Ziarah dan Bersih Kubur di Desa Majapura, Purbalingga," *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses* 3, no. 1 (June 28, 2020), 49, <https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v3i1.2197>. Especially in Indonesia, grave pilgrimage is not only visiting the graves of family or relatives, this practice has developed to visit the graves of pious people or saints, such as the grave of Sunan Kalijaga, the grave of Prince Sukowati in Sragen, and the grave of Sheikh Yusuf Al-Makassary in Gowa, Mukhlis Latif and Muh. Ilham Usman, "Fenomena Ziarah Makam Wali dalam Masyarakat Mandar," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora* 19, no. 2 (2021): 249, <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v19i2.4975>.

³⁶Bandiyah, Interview, Friday 4 November 2022. Widatik added that *takir* is not always used, it is tentative. Usually *takir* is used if the person who acts as a preacher is a person who has broad privileges, both in Rimbo Bujang Sub-district and other sub-districts in Tebo Regency, Widatik, Interview, Tuesday 8 November 2022.

³⁷Jefri Dadang Triyoso and Yohan Susilo, "Makna dan Fungsi Tradisi Upacara Nyadran di Dusun Ngadiboyo, Desa Ngadiboyo, Kecamatan Rejoso, Kabupaten Nganjuk (Tintingan Folklor)," *Baradha: Jurnal Pengembangan Bahasa, Sastra, dan Budaya Jawa* 18, no. 2 (2021), 1-24, <https://doi.org/10.26740/job.v17n2.p675-698>.

³⁸Abdullah Yusof and Kastolani, "Relasi Islam dan Budaya Lokal: Studi Tentang Tradisi Nyadran di Desa Sumogawe Kecamatan Getasan Kabupaten Semarang," *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 4, no. 1 (August 4, 2016), 53-74, <https://doi.org/10.21274/kontem.2016.4.1.53-74>.

³⁹Yessy Soniatin, "Makna dan Fungsi Budaya Tradisi Nyadran dalam Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Dusun Sawen, Desa Sendangrejo, Kecamatan Nagimbang, Kabupaten Lamongan," *Humanis: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora* 13, no. 2 (July 31, 2021), 193-99, <https://doi.org/10.52166/humanis.v13i2.2486>.

transmigrants. After a pilgrimage to the grave, *Nyadran* is continued the next day, no longer a pilgrimage, but gathering in the *langgar* for *tablilan* and listening to religious lectures. This is followed by a feast. At this moment, *ubarampe* is present as a complement to the *Nyadran* tradition.⁴⁰ *Ubarampe* itself is not mandatory during the event at the *langgar*, people are only required to bring cakes and rice along with side dishes.⁴¹ *Kenduri* is the closing ceremony of the *Nyadran* tradition carried out by the Javanese transmigrant community.

The *Nyadran* in Rimbo Bujang is simpler than the original in Java. In the series of events, it is carried out in two places, the tomb and the mushola. This is because the tomb complex is not too large and cannot accommodate the people who come. The next activity is carried out in the *langgar* or mushola because it can accommodate the people who come and coupled with a religious lecture event which is rarely found in Java when the *Nyadran* tradition is carried out.⁴²

The Role of Javanese Transmigrant Women in Nyadran Tradition

The concept of gender in society is defined by the assignment of roles to men and women, which are shaped by cultural ideas that delineate distinct roles in both public and domestic spheres. The growth and mobility of the population, coupled with the rapid development of the industrial world, provides a fertile ground for social change and fosters interaction between the two.

The role of women is undergoing a significant transformation in tandem with global economic development, which offers a promising avenue for enhancing the standard of living for women. These shifts are set to give rise to social changes that will manifest in the form of cultural acculturation and assimilation.⁴³

The social changes that occur currently establish new norms that encourage women to become involved in the public sphere. As women become more prevalent in public roles, traditional norms will evolve to align with contemporary expectations. The universalist perspective on the dichotomy between men and women, which posits a dichotomy rooted in both nature and culture, as well as differences in domestic and public roles, has been rejected. This, in turn, allows for the proposition that the dichotomy of men and women is relative or variable.⁴⁴

The *Nyadran* tradition is dependent on the active involvement of both men and women at every stage of its implementation. This is a crucial aspect of the tradition's cultural preservation and survival in the face of modernization. The involvement of women in the context of tradition represents a form of participation,

⁴⁰Widatik, Interview, Tuesday 8 November 2022.

⁴¹Jihan, Interview, 1 September, 2023.

⁴²Peppy Angraini, Interview, Agustus 2023.

⁴³Abdul Jalil and St Aminah, "Gender dalam Perspektif Budaya dan Bahasa," *Al-Maiyyah: Media Transformasi Gender dalam Paradigma Sosial Keagamaan* 11, no. 2 (December 31, 2018), 295, <https://ejournal.iainpare.ac.id/index.php/almaiyah/article/view/659>.

⁴⁴Jalil and Aminah, 295-96.

both material and immaterial, in the implementation of a tradition. This is particularly relevant given that traditions are also born from women as part of society.⁴⁵

In the *Nyadran* tradition, women's participation still causes injustice from the gender roles played. Women are still heavily involved in the domestic sphere, which can be seen starting from the pilgrimage procession as part of the *Nyadran* tradition. They act as providers of equipment when cleaning the grave, they bring several books of *Yasin* and *tablil*, mats as a place to sit, teapots containing water and various types of flowers that will be poured and sprinkled on the grave at the end of the grave pilgrimage procession.⁴⁶

In addition, it can also be seen that during *tablilan* and religious lectures, they make *ubarampe* consisting of market snacks, *ayam ingkung*, *tempe*, tofu, rice, crackers and vegetables placed in a *takir*. When preparing the *ubarampe*, the women usually do it collectively.⁴⁷ If the *ubarampe* is not available, women prepare various types of cakes and rice along with side dishes at their respective homes.

This role has shown that the presence of women in the *Nyadran* tradition is not perceived as a "source of slander" or a "source of chaos"⁴⁸ either for men or for the wider community, but on the contrary the presence of women is always perceived by others as tenderness, warmth, patience and understanding. In the end, this leads to men who seem to be very dependent on women. If based on the concept that developed in Javanese culture, the mother is a symbol of morality whose spirit lives in her husband and children. Her extraordinary power of femininity becomes a support, a protector and a source of inspiration for her husband and children.⁴⁹ This then becomes the glorification of the domestic role played by women in the *Nyadran* tradition.

Even during religious lectures, women experience subordination. In the *Nyadran* tradition, the one who acts as a religious preacher is usually the *ustadz*, a man. Whereas nowadays, it is no longer difficult to find women who have the

⁴⁵Wahono and Wiradimadja, "Partisipasi Masyarakat dan Makna Simbolik Tradisi Nyadran di Dusun Semanding Kabupaten Blitar," 123.

⁴⁶Widatik, Interview, Tuesday 8 November 2022.

⁴⁷Septia Dwi Adi Pratama and Octo Dendy Andriyanto, "Kearifan Lokal Tradisi Kuningan Sapi di Desa Pakis Baru Kecamatan Nawangan Kabupaten Pacitan," *JOB (Jurnal Online Baradba)* 20, no. 4 (November 1, 2021), 11, <https://doi.org/10.26740/job.v17n4.p1608-1631>.

⁴⁸The view that women are the source of fitnah and chaos is a form of stereotyping against women that is often justified with the support of religious texts. One of the hadiths narrated by Bukhari and Muslim, which means "I will not leave after me a fitnah that will harm men more than women," is often used as an argument to limit women's movements and activities outside the home, take a look at Husein Muhammad, *Islam Agama Ramah Perempuan* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2021), 215-16.

⁴⁹Inawati, "Peran Perempuan dalam Mempertahankan Kebudayaan Jawa dan Kearifan Lokal," 197.

capacity to deliver religious lectures or preach.⁵⁰ This is closely related to Javanese society which is very thick with patriarchal culture, as stated by Salma Rabbaniyah and Shafa Salsabila.⁵¹ Patriarchal culture always places women as second-class citizens (second sex), thus giving birth to the view of women as beings who do not have adequate intellectual capacity, morals, science, and so on. In the end, women are alienated from themselves and their social life.⁵² This subordination of women is also supported by fellow women themselves. There is still an assumption that if women become preachers in front of male worshipers, it is considered “less beautiful or less appropriate”.⁵³

The assumption about the inappropriateness of women as preachers at joint events is also supported by narratives when delivering religious lectures in the *Nyadran* tradition which are still gender biased. This is done by quoting the interpretation of the Qur`anic verse surah an-Nisa verse, 34, which means the following:⁵⁴

The men are the leaders of the women, because Allah has preferred some of them (men) over others (women), and because they (men) have provided from their wealth.

The verse is often used as an argument for the subordination of women. Many then argue that women should be followers and not be in the same position as men, including among women themselves. The view that men are superior beings and women are inferior, because men’s intellect and physique are superior to women’s intellect and physique. Male superiority is nature (God’s creation) and fitrah. As a result, the notion that it is inappropriate for women to be preachers persists. On the other hand, the gratuitous quoting of the verse can also be said to be a form of negative labeling of women, which if done and conveyed continuously will give birth to misogynistic forms against women.

Etymologically, the term *perempuan* (woman) comes from the word “*empu*” which means “sovereign”, “saint”, or “mother”.⁵⁵ In addition, “*empu*” also means “master”, which indirectly means that women have a high and equal value, departing

⁵⁰ In Rimbo Bujang there is a *pesantren* led by women, it is Pondok Pesantren Nurul Huda. In fact, in that city, it is rare for a *pesantren* to be led directly by a woman or *nyai*. Some *nyai* from other *pesantren* even have expertise not only in Islamic religious sciences but also other general sciences. They even pursue education up to the master’s and doctoral levels.

⁵¹ Salma Rabbaniyah and Shafa Salsabila, “Patriarki Dalam Budaya Jawa; Membangun Perilaku Pembungkaman Diri Pada Perempuan Korban Seksual Dalam Kampus,” *Community: Pengawas Dinamika Sosial* 8, no. 1 (May 31, 2022), 120, <https://doi.org/10.35308/jcpds.v8i1.4586>.

⁵² Husein Muhammad, “Gagasan Tafsir Feminis,” *Jurnal Islam Indonesia* 6, no. 02 (2016), 1.

⁵³ Widatik, Interview.

⁵⁴ Muhammad, *Islam Agama Ramah Perempuan*, 122-123. Lihat juga Machasin, “Ulama Perempuan Dalam Sejarah Islam,” in *Islam Dalam Goresan Pena Budaya*, by Machasin, dkk. (Yogyakarta: DIVA Press, 2019), 12-13.

⁵⁵ Marianne Katoppo, *Tersentuh dan Bebas: Teologi Seorang Perempuan Asia*, trans. Pericles Katoppo (Jakarta: Aksara Karunia, 2007), 15-16.

from the word master, which is a person in power, head, upstream, or a big person.⁵⁶ According to Sulaiman and Homzah, as cited by Saputra, Ramadhani, and Sinabutar, the concept of women is also related to the word *ampu* and safety guardian. This definition shows that women are tough and independent and have a big role in the socio-cultural life of the community.⁵⁷ In practice, the position of women is sometimes hidden, because public areas are still dominated by men.⁵⁸ Although women are increasingly appearing in public and occupying positions that are usually occupied by men, there are even women who occupy higher positions than men. Unfortunately, such a reality is still considered invalid in the name of religion. This is because there is still a growing assumption that women's superiority is against religion.⁵⁹

Conclusion

The *Nyadran* tradition of the Javanese transmigrant community has differences with that carried out in Java. The changes that occur include first, the place of implementation which is carried out in two places, these are the tomb and the *langgar* or mushola. Second, *ubarampe* is brought when the event is held in the *langgar* or mushola and its presence is not mandatory, it can be exchanged for cakes and rice and side dishes. Third, in addition to *kenduri* and religious lectures are also held in the *langgar* or mushola. Then in questioning the role of women, tradition as a rite passed down from generation to generation always involves men and women as part of the community. The involvement of both should be seen as an equality of gender relations. In the reality of the *Nyadran* tradition in Rimbo Bujang, women still experience injustice from the gender roles they play. Women are subordinated by occupying the domestic arena, and the absence of women as religious preachers. This is also supported by the interpretation of gender-biased religious texts delivered, so that in the *Nyadran* tradition women are subordinated not only by men but by women themselves.

⁵⁶Pitri Indriyani, Eka Yusuf, and Muhammad Ramdhani, "Konstruksi Makna Perempuan Pergerakan," *Wacana: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Komunikasi* 19, no. 2 (December 31, 2020), 241, <https://doi.org/10.32509/v19i2.1105>.

⁵⁷Putra Pratama Saputra, Tiara Ramadhani, and Michael Jefri Sinabutar, "Peran Perempuan dalam Tradisi Sedekah Gunung di Desa Pelangas, Kecamatan Simpang Teritip, Kabupaten Bangka Barat," *Paradigma: Jurnal Kajian Budaya* 11, no. 3 (December 31, 2021), 310, <https://doi.org/10.17510/paradigma.v11i3.426>.

⁵⁸Rodiyah, "Peranan Perempuan dalam Melestarikan Berbagai Tradisi Lokal," *Tsaqofah dan Tarikh: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Sejarah Islam* 3, no. 1 (June 13, 2018), 67, <https://doi.org/10.29300/tjksi.v3i1.1554>.

⁵⁹ Muhammad, *Islam Agama Ramah Perempuan*, 122.

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