

ARTICLE

Transforming Heritage: Analyzing Cultural Capital and Value Shifts in Indonesia's *Ngunjung Buyut* Tradition

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Abstract

Social change and modernization have impacted various traditions in Indonesia, including *Ngunjung Buyut*, an ancestral homage tradition that holds significant meaning for the Indramayu community, West Java. In the context of changing times, this tradition has undergone a shift in values. This research employs a qualitative approach with a case study method conducted in Penganjang Village, Indramayu Regency. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews and participatory observation involving informants from both older and younger generations. Data analysis focuses on identifying forms of cultural capital that have emerged within the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition in the contemporary era. Findings indicate that objectified cultural capital, such as *ngarak* processions and artistic performances, has become the primary attraction for younger participants, shifting the focus away from religious activities like communal prayer. While these supporting activities have successfully increased youth engagement, this shift poses a risk to the internalization of religious values. Additionally, this transformation has created a new dynamic in social solidarity, where recreational aspects now overshadow the tradition's original spiritual significance.

Keywords: Social Change; Culture; Religious Tradition

Perubahan sosial dan modernisasi telah memengaruhi berbagai tradisi di Indonesia, termasuk Ngunjung Buyut, tradisi penghormatan leluhur yang penting bagi masyarakat Indramayu, Jawa Barat. Dalam konteks perkembangan zaman, tradisi ini mengalami pergeseran nilai. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode studi kasus di Desa Penganjang, Kabupaten Indramayu. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam dan observasi partisipatif yang melibatkan informan dari golongan tua dan muda. Analisis data berfokus pada identifikasi bentuk modal budaya yang terbentuk dalam tradisi Ngunjung Buyut di era sekarang. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa objectified cultural capital, seperti kegiatan ngarak dan pertunjukan seni, kini menjadi daya tarik utama bagi generasi muda, menggeser fokus dari kegiatan religius seperti doa bersama. Meskipun kegiatan pendukung berhasil meningkatkan partisipasi generasi muda, pergeseran ini menimbulkan risiko berkurangnya internalisasi nilai keagamaan. Selain itu, perubahan ini juga menciptakan dinamika baru dalam solidaritas sosial, di mana aspek rekreatif lebih menonjol dibandingkan dengan makna spiritual awal tradisi.

A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesian traditions embody cultural, social, and religious values that serve as collective national identity and essential *media* for social cohesion and local wisdom. However, in the era of globalization, these traditions frequently undergo transformations that impact not only their outward expressions but also the values they convey. Studying such traditions, like *Ngunjung Buyut* in Indramayu, becomes crucial to understanding how society navigates the balance between preserving ancestral values and adapting to the shifting times, ensuring that these traditions remain relevant and meaningful within a modern social context.

*Ngunjung Buyut*¹ stands as a distinctive tradition in Indramayu, uniquely combining elements of ancestral homage with expressions of social solidarity. This tradition transcends a mere pilgrimage to ancestral tombs and embodies a collective ritual that strengthens social bonds within the community, blending religious values and communal unity (Hidayat 2017). Over time, *Ngunjung Buyut* has evolved significantly, incorporating supporting activities that offer entertainment and *kesenian* such as *ngarak* (a form of carnival), *dangdut* music, and sports tournaments. These added elements distinguish *Ngunjung Buyut* from similar traditions, as it merges religious aspects with modern cultural adaptations to remain relevant in contemporary society.

Research on *Ngunjung Buyut* in Indramayu demonstrates that this tradition is pivotal in fortifying social solidarity and reinforcing the community's religious values. For instance, Nisfiyanti (2010) underscores

¹ The *Ngunjung Buyut*, or *Ngunjungan* is an ancestral homage ritual practiced in various regions across Indonesia, aimed at strengthening social bonds and preserving respect for customary practices. Core activities in this tradition include pilgrimage to ancestral graves, recitation of prayers, and the offering of gifts as symbols of gratitude and requests for protection. Additionally, traditional dance performances are often featured as part of the ritual, reinforcing communal values and serving as a unifying symbol within society. This ritual not only connects communities to their ancestors but also fosters a shared sense of responsibility and solidarity within the community.

the role of *gotong-royong* (cooperation) in enhancing social cohesion through this tradition, while Merlina (2011) emphasizes the profound religious experience facilitated by communal prayer and remembrance. Saeful (2017) also notes similar benefits in the *Nadran* tradition, which fosters a strong sense of unity among villagers. Further, Nurasih (2020) and Wulandari (2024) highlight how *Ngunjung Buyut* and *Majengan* traditions help maintain social integration through religious-based community activities.

Even with this, much of the existing research has primarily focused on traditional values and immediate benefits, without delving deeply into the evolving meanings of the tradition due to contemporary adaptations. This research gap centers on understanding the changes within *Ngunjung Buyut*, notably the addition of entertainment elements like *ngarak*² and other *kesenian*, and examining the role of youth in sustaining the tradition's relevance in the modern era. This study will explore the impact of these changes on the religious and social significance of the tradition, identifying new cultural elements that serve as cultural capital for the Indramayu community.

This research aims to investigate the factors driving the emergence of supporting activities within the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition and their impact on the Indramayu community's religious meaning and social life. Utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, this study will analyze how changes within *Ngunjung Buyut* create new, contextually relevant forms of cultural capital, both symbolic and objective. Through this study, a comprehensive understanding of how the tradition is preserved and how these changes influence social cohesion within the community is expected.

² *Ngarak* is a ceremonial procession tradition practiced in several Indonesian cultural rituals, aimed at strengthening social ties and preserving local cultural values. This procession typically features an opening dance, a tour around the village, and concludes with a dramatic or mystical performance. The *ngarak* tradition emphasizes religious, social, and moral values, which are intended to be passed down and integrated into the community's daily life.

B. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, focusing on sociological aspects. A qualitative approach is essential for exploring the intricate meanings and interpretations associated with changes in traditional and cultural values (Gold 1997; Grbich 2012). A case study methodology was selected as it provides a comprehensive framework for examining complex phenomena through the experiences of individuals directly involved in the tradition (Creswell et al. 2015). By using a case study approach, the research captures detailed insights, allowing the researcher to explore the nuances of the tradition's social dimensions and the impacts of its evolution on the community.

The case study methodology is particularly well-suited for this research as it facilitates gathering data from diverse sources – including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and literature review – enabling the researcher to construct a rich portrayal of the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition. This method allows for a nuanced exploration of participants' perspectives, behaviors, and experiences, offering a comprehensive understanding of the social phenomenon under investigation (Moleong 2017). Furthermore, it enables the researcher to examine various social dimensions of the tradition's transformation and its effects on community life.

The research was conducted over two years, from 2023 to 2024. In the first year, the researcher observed the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition in its traditional form, without additional supporting activities. In the second year, the focus shifted to observing and analyzing the tradition as it included additional modernized events. Additionally, as an active local community member, the researcher has first-hand experience with the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition across two distinct periods, providing a unique and profound perspective on the changes over time.

This study was conducted in Penganjang Village, Indramayu Regency, where *Ngunjung Buyut* is practiced annually (Umam 2015). Primary data collection involved in-depth interviews and participatory observation, while secondary data were obtained from relevant literature sources. Figure 2 illustrates the data collection techniques employed in this study.

The research involved 12 informants, including 2 community elders, 2 *juru kunci* (key keepers of the tradition), 5 general community members, and 3 religious figures. The selection of participants aimed to provide a diverse and in-depth perspective on the changes in *Ngunjung Buyut* from various viewpoints. The data validation process included transcription, data reduction, data coding, member checking, data triangulation, data analysis, and linking findings with descriptive insights.

Theoretical Framework

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is foundational to understanding how cultural practices and values structure social power and cohesion within communities. Bourdieu (1986) defines cultural capital as the accumulation of knowledge, behaviors, and skills one can leverage to gain social advantage within a particular social context. This capital exists in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (Bourdieu 1986). Embodied cultural capital encompasses long-standing dispositions or inclinations shaped through socialization, such as traditions, customs, and ways of thinking. Objectified cultural capital, conversely, refers to physical manifestations or objects associated with culture – artifacts, literature, or even spaces of cultural significance. Institutionalized capital is often tied to formal recognition of knowledge or skills, like educational qualifications, which validate and legitimize a person's status within a social hierarchy. These forms of capital facilitate or hinder an individual's ability to interact

effectively within their social field, reinforcing power dynamics and sustaining societal structures (Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977).

In the context of *Ngunjung Buyut*, Bourdieu's theory provides a framework to analyze how tradition, as a form of embodied cultural capital, reflects and reinforces the community's shared values and collective identity. The ritualistic aspects of *Ngunjung Buyut*, including pilgrimage, communal prayers, and symbolic offerings, contribute to embodied cultural capital by instilling cultural knowledge and shared practices that reinforce social cohesion. As the tradition adapts to modern influences, such as incorporating *ngarak* and popular cultural elements, it generates new forms of objectified cultural capital. These changes allow the tradition to remain relevant in contemporary society, attracting younger generations and bridging intergenerational gaps within the community (Bourdieu 1990). This study utilizes Bourdieu's framework to explore how these forms of cultural capital interact to sustain the tradition's role as a vital social practice while examining the subtle shifts in social power and community identity accompanying these transformations.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. *The Ngunjung Buyut Tradition in Penganjang Village, Indramayu Regency*

The *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition has been an integral part of life for the people of Penganjang Village, Indramayu Regency, since ancient times. According to Purnama (2004), the term *ngunjung* originates from *kunjung* or "visit," implying that the community makes visits to sacred *petilasan* sites (Azizah 2020). This tradition is held as an expression of gratitude to *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa* for the blessings and well-being inherited by the descendants of their ancestors. Yunadin (2019) echoes this sentiment, viewing *Ngunjung*

Buyut as a customary celebration and ancestral cultural heritage observed annually as an act of thankfulness to Allah SWT.

This tradition occurs at ancestral *petilasan* sites, such as graves and other historical locations (Hidayat 2017; Merlina 2011). Graves and ancestral sites in the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition serve as ritual symbols (Merlina 2011), aligning with Ghazali's (2011) assertion that societal traditions hold a central symbol, often tied to a specific location.

"The *ngunjung buyut* tradition takes place at Mbah Buyut's resting place, either at his grave or *petilasan*" (Interview with *ustaz* Singgih 2024).

The Penganjang community practices *Ngunjung Buyut* at the graves of Ki Jaka Tarub, Jaka Muhammad, and the *petilasan* of Sumur Widadari. Figure 4 illustrates the three *mbah buyut* of Penganjang Village: Ki Jaka Tarub, Ki Jaka Muhammad, and Kanjeng Ratu Nyi Mas Dewi Nawang Wulan, regarded as the village's founding figures and protectors.

The community believes that their ancestors, or *kaluhur-nya*, have a closer connection to *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*. Thus, *Ngunjung Buyut* is seen as a way to honor these ancestors who have significantly influenced their lives. This sentiment is reflected in statements from villagers regarding the background of *Ngunjung Buyut*:

"*Ngunjung buyut* is an ancient village tradition that must be preserved so that the benefits it contains remain accessible to the community" (Interview with Rasyid 2024).
"*Ngunjung Buyut* is much like a tradition to express gratitude and thankfulness for the roles played by the *mbah buyut* or *kabuyutan*" (Interview with Syidiq 2024).

The people regard *Ngunjung Buyut* as a custom passed down for generations and must be preserved for future generations. This tradition is highly important due to its positive values, which relate closely to daily life (Azizah 2020). According to Sulaiman (2014), a tradition is worth

preserving when it contains meaningful lessons relevant to human life over time, signifying that continued practices carry applicable wisdom.

One prominent value of this tradition is respect for ancestors, who are believed to have significantly contributed to the community's prosperity (Merlina 2011; Nalan 2020; Sopia 2022). The Penganjang community believes that the roles of Ki Jaka Tarub, Jaka Muhammad, and Kanjeng Ratu Nyi Mas Dewi Nawang Wulan are integral to their existence:

“Without the *buyut*, there would be no us; without the *buyut*, we might not live safely”
(No *buyut*, no us; without them, we might not live in peace).

This illustrates the Penganjang community's firm conviction that their ancestors have played a significant role in their current lives. Therefore, the community feels a duty to carry out the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition every year as an act of reverence and gratitude for their ancestors (Himmawan 2024).

The Penganjang community's social and religious commitment to *Ngunjung Buyut* is evident in their earnestness in performing the tradition. Various motivations drive the observance of this tradition, including expressing gratitude, honoring ancestral contributions, seeking guidance in times of hardship, preserving cultural heritage, and connecting more deeply with *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*. A restriction within *Ngunjung Buyut*, however, prohibits the act of requesting wealth, which goes against the teachings of the *kabuyutan*. One informant explained:

“If you want to be rich, ask God, because the *kabuyutan* are also servants of God”
(*Yen pengen sugih, jaluk'e ning gusti Allah, sebab kabuyutan pada bae umat'e Gusti Allah*).

The community regards *Ngunjung Buyut* as a customary ritual rooted in religious belief and ancestral reverence. The ritual itself refers to ceremonies associated with belief systems, characterized by unique

practices (Nurasih, 2020). Here, the religious and spiritual meanings embedded within *Ngunjung Buyut* are seen as providing benefits to individuals in their daily lives.

“The *ngunjung buyut* tradition imparts understanding about the beliefs that exist in this village” (Interview with *ustaz* Nanto 2024). “The presence of the *ngunjung buyut* tradition reflects the community’s faith, as they believe that the village’s *mbah buyut* provides protection and sustenance” (Interview with Mukhtir as *juru kunci* 2024).

Ngunjung Buyut is a religious act rooted in reverence for ancestral spirits. For instance, villagers intending to leave the area, whether traveling out of town or abroad, often visit *mbah buyut*’s grave to seek permission, protection, and blessings. This act is a form of ritual observance (Mariasusai 1973; Tufailah 2016). The primary aims of these activities are to commemorate, emulate, and respect the teachings and actions of the *mbah buyut* (Yunadin 2019). Communal *dzikir* and prayer sessions also serve as a means for parents to educate their children on community norms and values, thus fostering the religious and spiritual aspects of *Ngunjung Buyut*, which the community believes enhances their well-being. They perceive the religious and spiritual values within *Ngunjung Buyut* as something intrinsically tied to *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*. Fadillah et al. (2023) similarly argue that spirituality grounded in belief in *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa* fosters wisdom in societal behavior. Thus, *Ngunjung Buyut* reminds for the community to remain grateful and cognizant of God’s blessings.

In conclusion, the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition holds profound meaning for the people of Penganjang Village. Beyond expressing gratitude to God and revering ancestors, this tradition reinforces communal beliefs and spiritual values. The values embedded within this tradition are viewed as essential for daily life, particularly in sustaining social relationships and deepening one’s connection with *God*.

2. *The Ngarak Activity in the Ngunjung Buyut Tradition: A Catalyst for Community Participation*

The *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition was initially recognized as a ritual steeped in religious and spiritual significance (Goa 2017). This ritual centers on communal prayer and *dzikir* (remembrance of God), regarded as both an act of worship to *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa* and a tribute to ancestors or *kabuyutan*, thus instilling a sense of sacredness in the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition. Traditionally, this ritual is considered sacred because it reflects profound religious values, with the community collectively praying for safety, protection, and blessings (Himmawan 2024). Research findings support this view:

“You can’t just carry out the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition carelessly, because it is a sacred practice.” (Interview with Jalil as *juru kunci* 2024).

“The *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition is truly sacred, as it involves prayers at the grave of *mbah buyut*.” (Interview with *ustaz* Dahlan 2024).

The dedication of the Penganjang village community in Indramayu Regency is reflected in their commitment to performing communal prayers and *dzikir* together, invoking blessings for their ancestors’ peace in the afterlife and acceptance into Allah’s care. According to informants, the sacredness of this tradition stems from the perceived benefits it brings to community life, such as safety, protection, guidance, and blessings for livelihood. Consequently, the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition is intrinsically tied to the community's religious and spiritual values (Azizah 2020).

In this context, *Ngunjung Buyut* encompasses dual meanings: religion and culture. While distinct, these two elements are often intertwined within the tradition. Communal prayer and *dzikir* are conducted according to Islamic teachings, including the recitation of phrases such as *Subhanallah*, *Alhamdulillah*, *Allahu Akbar*, *Astagfirullah*, *Lailahaila*, and *sholawat nabi* (Himmawan 2024). The act of communal prayer also aligns with Islamic practices. According to the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, religion is

understood as a set of teachings that govern faith and worship of *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*. At the same time, culture generally denotes the product of human creativity, intention, and work (Maksum 2023).

Koentjaraningrat (2009) posits that religious beliefs arise from a personal inner resonance or spiritual emotion that fosters belief in a greater power. The Penganjang community believes that their *mbah buyut* (ancestral spirits) possess significant strength in safeguarding and guiding the community. Informants described the *mbah buyut* as divinely chosen figures entrusted by Allah SWT to establish the settlement. This aligns with Durkheim's view, cited in Mayasari (2023), that something is considered sacred not due to inherent qualities but rather because of the belief held by those who revere it. This community's religious life is thus reflected in their veneration of specific places, objects, and other sacred symbols (Maksum 2023).

However, over time, modernization and globalization have brought significant changes to the structure and meaning of this tradition. Research findings indicate that the primary focus of the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, once centered on communal prayer and *dzikir*, has begun to shift. While these core activities continue, the number of younger participants has noticeably declined. Younger generations are increasingly drawn to the entertainment aspects now incorporated into *Ngunjung Buyut*, such as *ngarak*, a cultural carnival featuring performances like *singa depok*, *berokan*, theater, and *dangdut* music. Table 1 outlines the differences in the practice of the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition between past and present.

Table 1.
Differences in the Ngunjung Buyut Tradition:
Past and Present

<i>Ngunjung Buyut Tradition</i> Past	<i>Ngunjung Buyut Tradition</i> Present
Communal <i>dzikir</i>	Communal <i>dzikir</i>
Communal prayer	Communal prayer
Food offerings	Food offerings
Religious sermons	Religious sermons
(-)	<i>Ngarak</i> (cultural procession)
(-)	<i>Wayang Kulit</i> performances
(-)	Traditional theater (<i>sandiwara</i>)
(-)	<i>Dangdut</i> music performances
(-)	Football tournament

Research findings confirm shifts within the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, highlighting that:

“Indeed, there has been a change in the implementation of the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, with the addition of *ngarak* activities and other celebratory events” (Interview with Sanusi 2024). “The changes are evident in the inclusion of *ngarak* activities; such events were not part of the tradition in the past” (Interview with Khidir as community elder 2024).

According to informants, the *ngarak* procession is a community-organized cultural carnival intentionally introduced to enliven the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition. This aspect of *ngarak*, or carnival, is seen as a significant factor in why younger generations are less engaged in the religious components of the tradition. Observations during the 2023 *Ngunjung Buyut* celebrations showed that attendance was low when the

tradition focused solely on communal prayer and *dzikir* and primarily involved older participants.

“People seem more enthusiastic and interested in participating in the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition” (Interview with Syidiq 2024).
“The goal remains unchanged – to ensure that the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition continues across generations” (Interview with Saeful 2024).

These additional activities not only enhance the celebratory nature of the tradition but also drive a shift in its social dynamics, as the focus transitions from spiritual significance to entertainment. Findings reveal that *ngarak* has effectively captivated the younger generation, who now engage more with cultural performances than with the religious practices, which some find unappealing. As a community elder remarked:

“The *ngarak* procession makes the younger community members more inclined to participate in the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition” (Interview with Khidir 2024).

The shift in focus from religious to entertainment activities within the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition impacts not only community participation but also the transmission of religious values into everyday life. Historically, the tradition facilitated the internalization of cultural values through communal prayer and *dzikir*. This made *Ngunjung Buyut* a significant medium for instilling religious values within the community (Faizah 2018). In contrast, contemporary internalization is influenced more by cultural values rooted in modern society, as represented through *ngarak* and various artistic performances.

Community elders indicate that the addition of supporting activities has increased youth interest and involvement in *Ngunjung Buyut*. As noted by one elder,

“The *ngarak* procession makes young people more interested in participating in *Ngunjung Buyut*” (Interview with Khidir 2024).

While younger individuals tend to abstain from communal prayer, these supplementary activities provide them with an alternative means of engaging in the tradition. Consequently, *Ngunjung Buyut*, which once served primarily to reinforce religious identity, now incorporates supporting activities that provide a platform for youth engagement, helping preserve the tradition.

Despite the erosion of religious values, supporting activities like *ngarak* contribute positively to the continuity of *Ngunjung Buyut* in modern times, enhancing social solidarity within the Penganjang community. Sociologically, these activities create a valuable gathering space for socialization and bonding. Younger generations have gained opportunities to express creativity through art and cultural performances, ensuring the tradition's preservation in the modern era.

However, it is crucial to note, , that the solidarity fostered through entertainment-based activities differs from that cultivated through religious practices. Religious-based solidarity carries a deep spiritual element and serves as a spiritual bond among community members (Hanifah 2019). Conversely, social solidarity emerging from supporting activities is more social and recreational, reflecting a shift from spiritual to more secular values.

The shift in values within the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition is influenced by modernization, globalization, and urbanization, which have altered how society perceives traditions and their underlying values (Suparjo 2018). Advancements in technology and information access further accelerate this change, allowing particularly younger generations to explore and adopt globally oriented, entertainment-focused culture over spiritual values. An informant's statement echoes this:

“The changes happen because today's society is more knowledgeable”
(Interview with Baskoro, 18 July 2024).

This indicates an awareness that these value shifts are closely tied to the times, with youth increasingly embracing modern values that prioritize entertainment and creativity. Globalization has impacted the social structure and the symbolic meaning of traditions, with older symbols once regarded as sacred now less resonant with youth. Suparjo (2018) explains that modernization often diminishes the significance of traditional symbols, replacing them with ones more relevant to current social realities.

The shift in values within *Ngunjung Buyut* reflects a broader societal transformation, where contemporary cultural values increasingly supplant the religious and spiritual elements that once defined the tradition. While this evolution helps maintain the tradition's relevance in modern times, it also alters the internalization of values within *Ngunjung Buyut*. This transition from spiritual to entertainment-focused meaning presents a challenge for the Penganjang community, as they strive to preserve the essence of *Ngunjung Buyut*, aiming for it to remain a medium for passing down noble values to future generations.

3. *Analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's Cultural Capital in the Ngunjung Buyut Tradition in the Contemporary Era*

The *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition has undergone notable shifts in its practice, leading to a gradual transformation of its embedded values. Nonetheless, the tradition benefits the community, especially in providing a new space for active youth participation. Findings reveal that the elder and younger generations jointly prepare for the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, although each group assumes distinct roles and responsibilities.

The elder group predominantly focuses on the tradition's core activities, including communal *dzikir* and prayer. In contrast, the youth organize supplementary activities, such as *ngarak*, *wayang kulit*, *sandiwara*, *dangdut* performances, and football tournaments. Observations indicate

that elders and youth frequently collaborate in preparing *Ngunjung Buyut*, despite their differing roles. For instance, younger participants assist the elders in arranging materials for *dzikir* and prayer sessions, while the elders offer guidance on *ngarak* preparations. The knowledge and experience of the elders serve as a foundation for the youth, whose creativity shapes the *ngarak* procession, reflecting current social developments.

To understand the shifts in values within the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital provides a relevant framework. Cultural capital encompasses the resources one possesses, whether in the form of skills, knowledge, or symbols used in social interactions (Bourdieu 1986). Cultural capital is ingrained in an individual's social order, including educational systems, language, values, and everyday activities (Prayitno 2017).

Cultural capital manifests in three forms: *embodied cultural capital*, *objectified cultural capital*, and *institutionalized cultural capital* (Fatmawati 2020). *Embodied cultural capital* refers to the skills, habits, knowledge, and ways of thinking acquired through socialization (Bourdieu 1984). *Objectified cultural capital* includes physical objects related to local culture and the arts (Bourdieu 1984). Finally, *institutionalized cultural capital* involves official recognition of specific skills or ownership by institutions (Bourdieu 1984).

The changes in the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition in Indramayu can be analyzed using Bourdieu's cultural capital theory, how social and cultural shifts induce transformations in embedded values. Relevant forms of cultural capital for this analysis are embodied and objectified cultural capital, both of which reveal the dynamics of shifting values in the community, particularly with the introduction of supporting activities into the predominantly religious *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition.

Initially, *embodied cultural capital* in the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition manifested through deeply ingrained religious and spiritual values central to the tradition. Activities such as communal prayer, *dzikir*, and food

offerings signified a spiritual connection between the community, their honored ancestors, and *Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*. These practices also served as a means for elders to pass down religious values to younger generations. For instance, elders instill religious values through direct participation in the tradition's core activities, specifically communal prayer and *dzikir*.

However, this religiously-oriented *embodied cultural capital* has shifted over time, especially among the youth. Observations from the 2023 *Ngunjung Buyut* indicate that younger generations no longer view communal prayer and *dzikir* as the tradition's focal points. Instead, they perceive these as formal components of *Ngunjung Buyut* that must be performed. As one informant noted:

“With the *ngarak* event, community members, particularly the youth, are more likely to watch it rather than join the prayer and *dzikir* sessions” (Interview with Khidir 2024).

This shift indicates that younger generations no longer internalize traditional values through core activities but rather through supplementary events. Bourdieu posits that cultural capital can lose relevance when social contexts evolve, making it less applicable (Bourdieu 1984). In this instance, the relevance of religious values has diminished as young people increasingly prioritize contemporary cultural values.

The shift from religious focus to modern cultural values underscores the dominance of *objectified cultural capital*, referring to cultural assets in the form of physical or material objects that individuals and groups can possess. In the context of this tradition, supporting activities like *ngarak*, *wayang kulit*, *sandiwara*, *dangdut* music, and football tournaments represent new forms of cultural capital that are visually accessible and enjoyable for the community. These cultural objects now hold symbolic value that surpasses the significance of religious activities.

Youth are particularly drawn to the *objectified cultural capital* represented in artistic performances and cultural carnivals. These forms of entertainment have become a focal point for them within the *Ngunjung*

Buyut tradition. This transition from spirituality to enjoyment reflects a societal shift towards more secular values, where supporting activities are seen as more relevant in an increasingly modern social context. Findings highlight this trend:

“Preserving the tradition nowadays may well require enjoyable activities like *ngarak*, *sandiwara*, *wayang*, *dangdut*, or football tournaments” (Interview with Syidiq 2024).

This values shift illustrates how *objectified cultural capital* can play a crucial role in attracting social interest. The *ngarak* and other performances now represent new cultural values within the community. Here, *objectified cultural capital* serves as an object of enjoyment and a medium for transmitting cultural heritage to the younger generation. The shift from *embodied cultural capital* to *objectified cultural capital* reveals a change in how the Indramayu community perceives and practices the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition. The elder generation, rooted in religious values, sees this as a dilution of meaning, while the youth view it as an adaptation to contemporary times.

Bourdieu asserts that cultural capital reflects individual or group identity and functions as a means to preserve or assert social positioning (Bourdieu 1986). Within the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, younger individuals use *objectified cultural capital* as supporting activities to assert their position in a progressively modern social structure. Despite the shifts in practice, the tradition remains preserved in new forms, providing a fresh platform for cultural transmission.

The evolution of cultural capital within this tradition also signifies a shift in symbolic power within the community. Bourdieu argues that cultural capital often maintains the dominance of certain classes or groups (Bourdieu 1984). In this context, younger individuals, who are more drawn to the entertainment aspects, now hold a dominant role in shaping the tradition's future, while the elders are gradually losing influence over the

preservation of religious values they cherish. The shift in *Ngunjung Buyut* from religious values to contemporary cultural ones vividly illustrates how cultural capital evolves with time and societal change. Once focused on religious values, embodied cultural capital is now supplanted by *objectified cultural capital* in the form of supplemental activities that engage younger generations. Although these changes alter the tradition's meaning and community participation, the new values remain vital to the ongoing relevance and sustainability of *Ngunjung Buyut* in the present era.

D. CONCLUSION

This study reveals significant shifts in the *Ngunjung Buyut* tradition, indicating a transition from primarily religious values to contemporary cultural expressions. While older generations continue to uphold the tradition's spiritual essence through communal prayer and *dzikir*, younger participants are more engaged with supportive activities like *ngarak*, *wayang kulit*, and other cultural performances. This shift reflects broader social changes in which youth prioritize modern entertainment over traditional religious practices, transforming *objectified cultural capital* into a new focal point for the tradition. However, while this evolution enhances youth involvement, it simultaneously risks diluting the original religious values that have long been central to *Ngunjung Buyut*.

A limitation of this study is its focus on a single community, which may only partially capture variations in similar traditions across different regions. Future research should consider a comparative approach, examining how modernization affects other traditional ceremonies and whether similar cultural shifts occur. Additionally, further studies could explore strategies to balance traditional and contemporary values, ensuring that cultural practices like *Ngunjung Buyut* retain their spiritual significance while adapting to modern contexts.

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