

Female Models in the Gift Giving Tradition”: Portrait of Reciprocity in Rural Java- Central Java- Indonesia.

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Abstract

"Nyumbang Tradition" (gift giving tradition) is an important reciprocity institution in the country side which have a strict job division based on the gender. The study will examine how the reciprocity institutions take place in tradition as one of the local wisdom of rural communities in Java and how women took part in this institution. This research used qualitative methods. The subjects of the research were women. The results showed differences typology of nyumbang (donate) based on the scope of the obligation, namely the village scope (mbarang gawe / big celebration) and the tapis wiring scope (a close neighbor: a small celebration / slametan). Differences in typology of nyumbang is accompanied by difference of job division based on the gender which puts the couple had a different social obligation in Nyumbang tradition. Women are involved in all the reciprocity institution that exists, while men only involved in the large nyumbang activities in it. Local wisdom appears in the form of donations given by women in the form of rice. Rice for women has a lot of social meaning and capital elements. However, the existence of rice began shifting by monetization and globalization of food.

Keywords: Nyumbang Tradition, Rural Women, Reciprocity and Social solidarity

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I. Introduction

Background of the Study

Nyumbang tradition is a social capital and Javanese terms to describe the activities of the community to give a donation (related with the goods and money) on relatives because there is a celebration or a certain moment (pregnancy, birth, circumcision, marriage, death, house construction, etc.). The term "Nyumbang" refer to the traditions of rural communities. Nyumbang (gift giving) is a social institution and a symbol of important social ties in village community, which has reciprocity function by giving and helping each other, emphasizing the dynamics of rural community interaction as social capital. Nyumbang is a social institution which points to the moral sense of togetherness in the community (Abdullah, 2001). During the ceremony of the human life circle, such as birth, circumcision, marriage and death; neighbors, relatives and friends came to help. The social burden, economic, and psychological that they bear will become lighter, while the others, those who have received a donation will give it back to those who've helped. Assistance can be given in form of manpower, money or goods of daily groceries, mainly to be used in the event. The habit of mutual help among members of the community, have led to the process of exchange in goods and power (Kutanegara, 2002).

In the past, tradition of exchanging gifts can be a stimulus to the growth of agricultural products. This occurs in rural communities Hanuabada, a barren area with very minimal crops. The tradition of exchange that exist in this area contains a rivalry with feast followed by the distribution of foodstuffs. Distribution of foodstuffs is a main stimulant for agricultural products, and if there is no such a distribution of food, the agricultural production may no longer exist (Belshaw, 1981). Along with the development of market economy, the expenditure to be borne by rural households increasingly heavy. Previously, community use agricultural products to participate in Nyumbang, but now most of them use cash (Darini, 2011).

This developments have led to the dependence of villagers on the money gets bigger and widespread. Subsistence economy lost its strength in meeting the needs of rural communities. In this case the women appears to be the most responsible part for the changes that occur, due to socio-cultural terms, women are the economic

regulator of the household. While in social transactions such *Nyumbang* tradition, women are important social actors who are taking the role (Geertz 1983; Stoller 1984; Abdullah 2001).

The presence of women in *Nyumbang* tradition in rural Java relevant to disclosure in the context to see the portrait of the dynamics of the monetization of the expanding crept into nearly all aspects of life in rural communities. Double role has become commonplace, especially those from poor households (Abdullah, 2001).

Rituals and celebrations at the village become a very expensive economic burden. This is because the cost of an expensive ritual marriage and the obligation to invite the citizens of the village, so families prefer to have son-in law from the city with more simple marriage party. Women are involved in almost every *Nyumbang* institution in the village, while men only have a small part.

Institutional changes in rural areas also affect the social institutions such as *Nyumbang*” tradition. As already noted above, the loss subsistence economy affect the income source of rural livelihoods. Departing from the background of the problem, the issue raised in this study are: (a) How are the typology and the job division based on the gender in *Nyumbang* tradition that takes place in rural Java? (B) How does the process and the system of reciprocity which takes place in *Nyumbang* tradition in the middle of the monetization dynamics and how are the presence of women in this reciprocity system?

The research method used a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research, according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) is as the site for a variety of research methodologies and practices, which have different meanings in each stage of its development. In general, both revealed the existence of two meanings. First, qualitative research is a various focus of method, includes interpretive naturalistic approach to the subject of study. This interpretive naturalistic approach is deemed appropriate to view and photograph the *Nyumbang* tradition where this tradition is a tradition that living in the community. Second, qualitative research involves the use and collection of diverse empirical material which had been previously studied. It describes the meaning and daily activities and individual lives problematic of the subject of research, such as case studies, personal experiences, life story, texts of interviews, observations, interactional and visual. It is also applied in assessing the *Nyumbang* tradition.

Reciprocity Model of *Nyumbang* Tradition

Model Typology / Anatomy Event of *Nyumbang*

Based on Koentjoroningrat (Kutanegara, 2002) generally, a *Nyumbang* tradition can be divided into two types, namely *nyumbang* relating to activities at the "joy", such as: birth, circumcision and marriage; The second is *nyumbang* at a time of the events of "sorrow", is the main ritual of death with all the implications ritual, sickness, and natural disasters. The contribution at the "joy" is called "donation", while giving the current activities of mourning called *tetlung layat* (helping in condolence). Actually, donations and *tetlung layat* substantially similar which means to contribute, which in the present, is not only power but in the form of goods and money.

Type celebration in Banyumas and Purbalingga is basically almost the same from other villages in general, namely: marriage: " *mantu*" (to marry a daughter) and " *mbesan*" (to marry a son), circumcision, childbirth, ritual pregnancy, death rituals, home improvement, etc. , The rituals surrounding life cycle is characterized by contributing activity which essentially is based on the goal of helping each other and worked together as a basic principle of reciprocity (Scott, 1981). These rituals have become social institutions that regulate and control the villagers.

The scope of regulation of this important relation to see how the institution of *Nyumbang* has binding force for its citizens to compulsory donation or not, including the types and amounts of contributions to be provided, and has an obligation to donate in the scope of the village and in the scope of the *tapis wiring*. *Nyumbang* in village scope are *mbarang gawe* in marriage (either *mantu* and *mbesan*) and circumcision. Those are obligation that binds all the villagers, men and women, including children, to come donate. Instead *nyumbang* activities in the scope of the *tapis wiring* are *slametan* and *tahlilan* are institutions that bind only female residents of nearby neighbors who donate.

Social obligation to *Nyumbang* quite a lot of variety, which are at least thirteen (13) sub-activities that must be contributed by the villagers, and mostly dominated by type of activity *nyumbang slametan*, either in the events of joy and sorrow. In the city, *slametan* activities (salvation) and *tahlilan* (ritual prayer event-related deaths) are still prevalent but not implicate the obligation to donate for neighbors. It show how *slametan* tradition is still strong run at rural communities in Java as Geertz thesis. Geertz (1960) associate *slametan* with the Javanese religion that combines elements of Java - cultural included in Javanese or called syncretism that is commonly owned by the village farmers, as a group *abangan*. The majority of *Abangan* are farmers, which, although nominally is Islam, but they are tied in Java animism and ancestral traditions (adherents of syncretism). As said by Yusmato, Banyumas culture is influenced by the Javanese, Sundanese, Islam, Hindu-Buddhist, Western, and so on (Marwah, 2012).

Men only accounted for something considered "large" (*mbarang gawe*) in the scope of village types / manifold limited (four types of activity); while women have a duty contributed to donate all kinds of activities, both in the village scope such as *mbarang gawe* (four types of activities) and in the *tapis wiring* that has various types (nine types of activities). Not all activities in the *tapis wiring* scope such as *tahlilan* and *slametan* has the same power to bind women to be accounted for, such as seven days *tahlilan*, for example. This is because the event is still close to the day of death. There are also women who do not contribute directly to the death because it considers a series of donations the event of death for women is long, ranging from *pas sebrege* (coinciding with the time of death), seven days, forty days, a hundred days, one year, two years, up to one thousand days. This is mainly done when at *pas sebrege* they have no money, then they will donate at next *tahlilan*. Mrs. Sum (37 years) from Linggasari village said that "*Lah wong taksih kathah ikih, kan dumugi sewu dinten* (translated as: "There are still a lot of time up to a thousand a day"). This means that women have an obligation to donate more diverse.

Nyumbang Model Tapis Wiring and Sodality

Nyumbang activities in the scope of the *tapis wiring* show close neighbors obligation to help each other. *Nyumbang* institutions in rural areas, close neighbor has more liabilities than citizens in general. Some residents in Banyumas provides *tapis wiring* term for the neighbors in the closest environment. It is for example to describe a household who held a small celebration by simply sending *selamatan* food or invite close neighbors in the neighborhood filter wiring.

Banyumas *Nyumbang* tradition in rural areas, a lot of obligations that must be done as close neighbors, namely to contribute to the activities in the scope *slametan* and *tahlilan* *tapis wiring*; while for *mbarang gawe* activities in the scope of the institution has an obligation to donate their villages with higher standard of the villagers in general. Differentiation donations, namely related to the type / shape, and size of the contribution is determined by two factors, namely gender and kinship. A common pattern is men donate money, while women accounted for foodstuffs; whereas the size of money or food depending on ties of kinship that exist, namely the common citizens (outside the *tapis wiring*), close neighbors in the scope of the filter wiring, as well as the relative / close relatives.

For men there is no common standard about the size of donations because it will not through megari control as the women do. While for women (outside the *tapis wiring*) there is general measure of donations (especially for *mbarang gawe*), which is 2 to 2.5 kg of rice. This donation pattern lasts long enough and in force today when the donation celebration has undergone several changes shape. Variations on food donations (non-rice) applied to women in the *tapis wiring* as close neighbors because they have the obligation to contribute more. Contributing non-rice foods socially has a high social value, although economically, the price difference is not far adrift with rice. Donations of non-rice is generally in the form of *lawuh medang* (supplementary food drink either in the form of cookies or wet cake) and also other basic foodstuffs, such as eggs, noodles, vegetables, cooking oil.

By gender, thus, a lot of obligations imposed on women in the scope of the filter wiring in maintaining social bonds of neighborhood in the village. For rural women through *Nyumbang* tradition, they able to shows social ties to each other, as conceived by Mauss (1992). The term of this *tapis wiring* is a kind of social organization that is rooted in the scope below the village by Tjondronegoro (1984) called the sodality, the unity of the smallest people of the village who do not have family relationships and viable. In reality filter wiring or sodality is a means that are driven and move a lot of women. Many of the activities in the scope of the filter wiring that is considered unimportant by men and men only considered appropriate to engage in affairs that are great to donate (*mbarang gawe*).

Mbarang Gawe Model : Mantu (Nampa) and Mbesan (Mbuang Modal)

Marriage is understood as important part of person's and family's lives. Therefore, the greatest celebration is *mantu* (to marry a daughter) and *mbesan* (to marry a son). Javanese believe that *mantu* means "dieman – eman metu" (everything in care and love should be removed) either related to release children, money, energy and time for the release ceremony of the children. It can be a big celebration for *mantu* and *mbesan* because this kind of celebration can last for days. It can last for two nights and three days to receive the guests and it is not include *slametan* "opening" and "closing". The main even of *slametan* is pray for safety.

There are some terms for this opening event. In Linggasari village in Banyumas, it is called as "*slametan mbukak*" or "*mbukak lawang*", while in some village in Purbalingga it is called as *tahlil kubur*. *Slametan* ritual generally consist of two series of events, they are *bersih kubur* and *tahlil kubur*. *Bersih kubur* is cleaning the ancestral grave and sending prayer for the deceased family. *Tahlil kubur* is kind of "*slametan*" to pray the ancestral who had died, and asking for blessing because they will have an intent. *Slametan* will be filled with recitation. They usually read *Surah Yasin* in Quran by inviting men from the closest neighborhood.

In general, the views from the guest's perspective as a contributor in the village, the size a celebration not affecting the amount of donation issued by the villagers, because it already exists *umume* prevailing factor. However, when seen from the number of guests who attend, the celebration size also take participate. This is because a big celebration also invited guests outside the community quite a lot. Guests who come not simply relatives and neighbors or the entire village, even the guests who come to co-workers, fellow trade in the market, even people of the neighboring villages whom the host itself is not necessarily familiar with the guests. All this is possible because of the culture *cawelan*. *Cawelan* implies *nyawel*, or invite others (neighbors) to come to a celebration at his or her relatives in another village. Someone who knew people who has an intent, attend and invite other people. Usually they are attend in groups with a hire car of rural transport. Although they come in groups, they give individual donations and it is in the form of rice. The participants of *cawelan* mostly are women (married women), not men (married men).

Based on the economic calculation of the villagers, *mbarang gawe mantu* is considered "loss" if the compared with a celebration of circumcision, because the expense is greater than income. In celebration of *mantu*, there are a lot of expense such as rent a wedding dress, dressing fees, consent fees, decorations, bridal chamber, and also to send and so on. Nevertheless in the calculation of citizens, *mantu* (the bride) is still more profitable than *mbesan* (the groom). In other words, *mbarang gawe mbesan* have heavier burden, both in terms of who conduct the celebration and from the people who donate, especially it if the marriage occurred in one village or neighboring villages that are still close. Those who conduct *mbarang gawe mbesan*, beside they must conduct *mbarang gawe* at their own house, they must also provide *peningset* fees and also finances to transport the guests who will be invited to a celebration of the bride's house. Moreover, if the bride's house is far and have to rent a vehicle. If not so, they are considered as '*ora duwe tonggo ora duwe dulur*' (do not have any neighbors nor family). Therefore, in the public discourse of the village, *mbesan* like *mbuang modal* (spend the capital), while *mantu* is *nampa* (receiving). While the parties who donate, they also have to donate twice, that is, to those who have *mantu* and *mbesan*. This is especially if the family who have *mbesan* and *mantu* are close neighbor, then that means they able to get more value to the contribution.

Although *mbesan* essentially a series of events drove the deliver groom to the bride's family, while for immigrants in Banyumasan region, *mbesan* here considered only media "*mencari sanga*" or seeking capital to the 'transfer of deliverables' in the family bride. This is because *mbesan* celebration event held before the marriage ceremony at the bride's house.

While in some other parts of Java, *mbarang gawe mbesan* is unusual, but they usually have "*ngunduh-mantu*". The difference is that in the event *ngunduh mantu* is held after the celebration on the bride's place, while *mbesan* event held before the celebration. In addition, in the event *ngunduh-mantu*, the parents / families of the bride and groom there were all sitting together in the aisle. In *ngunduh mantu* ceremony, the introducing event of woman's family by the man's family and relatives more visible than in *mbesan*.

Circumcision: Profit and Kipingan

Circumcision for the majority of rural communities can be termed *ngislamaken* (circumcise). Other terms of the circumcision was *supitan* and *khitanan*. Circumcision was implemented as *mbarang gawe mantu* and *mbesan* general, which *slametan mbukak lawang* ritual, the ritual of receiving guests and donations, closing slametan / tumpengan. As is generally *mbarang gawe mantu* and *mbesan*, a few days before the big day, there are usually held openings event, namely *slametan* for men and get parcel brought home. The celebration last for approximately three days, starting from setting *Tratag* until dispersal (finished). Men usually set *tratak* (tent), make *pawon*, while women cook. In addition there is acting in part *glidhig* (eastern Java: *sinoman*), that is, people are asked to help a celebration. There is also *megari* part, those in charge of receiving donations of goods and organize the distribution of souvenirs are appropriate amount of donations given. In addition there is also *guni (tunggu geni)* is in charge of the kitchen, waiting for the fire.

The guests' donate against *mbarang gawe* is also the same. The donations are rice, money, and more frequently goods in the form of snacks (*lawuh wedang*). Which men required to donate (money around Rp. 10,000), women (2 kg rice, or *lawuh wedang*), and close friends (money around Rp. 5000.00). The size of the donation is determined by neighborhood ties and kinship rather than a person's socioeconomic status factors. *Nyumbang* to *mantu*, *mbesan* and circumcision is *nyumbang mbarang gawe* which implicate each member of the household has a social obligation to donate their own with a different form of donations. This is appropriate with a view in social exchange theory that social transaction is like an economic transaction (Poloma, 2000).

Slametan Kehamilan Mitoni and Tilik Bayi : Women's Affairs

In Javanese tradition (and also other tribes there anyway), pregnancy ritual consist of *ngupati* and *mitoni* pregnancy. *Ngupati* implies *papat* or four that mean *slametan* (celebration) of four month gestational age, while *mitoni* implies *pitu* or seven words that mean *slametan* for seven months gestation. In addition there is also a Javanese term *mitoni* else that *tingkeban*. However, in practice the daily life, not many the villagers who

carry out *slametan ngupati*. *Mitoni* celebration is generally performed for the first child. This celebration is held to show gratitude and asked for safety gestational in 7 months gestational age. For the second child and so on, also held a ceremony *mitoni* but not like to the first. *Slametan mitoni* not including *mbarang gawe* such as *mantu*, *mbesan* and circumcision. However, this activity also implies a *Nyumbang* tradition to donate for women even though only a limited number of tapis wiring scope neighbors. The purpose of *Nyumbang* is to help *slametan tumpengan* that conducted by inviting only men. As a consequence of donate is there is *angsul-angsul* or parcel back. This event held without invite too many people to pray. In *mitoni*, neighbors or relatives come with a variety of goods, the women usually carry rice 2 - 2.5 kg. For close relatives or neighbors they *Umpang-Umpang* such sugar, noodles or eggs, and other foods. While the men came in the afternoon / evening, to pray together, and then forwarded to eat foods that are available. These men came with no obligation to donate anything other than accounted for prayer. When they return, they were given parcel contain rice and side dishes. In this *slametan* event, *Mr. Kayim* (Islamic Leader) who led the prayer was given money called *penetep* and *ambeng* (rice cone). Beside, head of the village also got a shipment rice cone in *mitoni* tradition. Uniquely, (at least in the village Linggadari), when the banquet of salvation, there is a belief the men must eat quickly. So in the future, the baby will born quickly.

In the event *mitoni*, when mothers brought *gawan* (goods), then later on when the return, they are also given souvenirs in the form of food or other snacks. If that the women who give donate (*nyumbang*) are not given a souvenir, the host feel burden and worry about them (who donate) *nggrundel* (complaining and backbiting). Although donate in *mitoni* do not have strong power to binding, neighbors who are not able to come to the house that have event, usually burdened with shame (*rasa ra kepenak*), so often they are forced to not meet in the village for a certain period of time.

To organize a *mitoni* celebration, it can spend money 1 million until 2 million rupiahs, but the results of donations they generally received was about 2 *dacin* rice (worth approximately Rp 800,000.00 in mid-2010). Rice donation can be sold again, while the contribution of other non-rice foods used for supper, to fill *angsul angsul* (souvenir) and give for the *Rewang*. In *mitoni*, the host often have to ask for help to a neighbor woman, especially for cooking. *Rewang* should be asked. If they are not requested, they will be ashamed, "I am afraid they thought me looking for a free meal". *Rewang* usually gets a "money soap" (approximately Rp. 20.000,00 / day), rice, and food from *slametan*, depending on economic viability of the host.

Two months after the event of *nyumbang* in *mitoni*, then later *nyumbang* continued to *Tilik Bayi* (congratulatory visit baby) or in another term *Muyi* (visit new born baby) that have been born. As *mitoni slametan* ceremony, ceremonies of birth is also often carried out by local villagers. In the past, most of the women *nyumbang* in *slametan puput puser* (ie the loss of the umbilical cord) and *slametan* in giving name. The host of celebration makes *slametan* and red white porridge. At this time *slametan bayi* generally conducted when *kekahan* or *aqiqah* for those who can afford. It is the event slaughter two goats for a boy and one goat for a baby girl as guidance in Islam. People who *Tilik Bayi* (visit newborns) usually bring a gift in the form of goods (soap, baby equipment, and so forth.), food (noodles, sugar, tea), or money at least Rp 30,000.00. *Nyumbang Tilik Bayi* called *nyangking*. *Nyangking* is the greatest expenses compared with another donate that have done by women. "Anyway, if *nyangking* spend money at least Rp 50,000.00" and get souvenir when they return. But this is only for close relatives or neighbors.

Condolence / Nglayat and Death Tahlilan : 'Wong Mati kan Mung Sepisan'

In Banyumas, donations to the death similar with *nyumbang* in the *mbarang gawe* where women give rice from 2.0 to 2.5 kg, and men donate money. However, according to the admission of the citizens, rice donated in condolence is better than *sumbang* rice (joy event). Sometimes also *diumpang-umpangi* (added) *lawuh medang*. In *mbarang gawe*, there is no donation box, then in *tetlung layat* provided a donation box of money possessed by the *Rukun Warga* (RW). Sometimes, men who participate in *solat jenazah* (pray for the death bodies) are given money around Rp. 5,000.00, but often the money is returned to the donation box. Most people assume (villagers) the more people who *sholat* and pray to the death bodies, the better for the presence of the bodies in the grave and in the Hereafter later. Therefore, people often ask for the help of the clerics who have a lot of students (*santri*) to move his students to come to the the death bodies' family house to participate *sholat jenazah*.

In contrast to donate for condolence in rural Banyumas, donate in Mangunegara Purbalingga is smaller. As known *nyumbang mbarang gawe* in Purbalingga is 2 to 2.5 kg of rice plus *Umpang-Umpang* (food). However, in *nyumbang nglayat*, women only donate rice without *Umpang-Umpang*, while for men is only donate two thousand - three thousand rupiah in average.

Generally, post-event of death ritual continued in the event *tahlilan* for seven days, and continues to 40th days (*matangpuluh*), 100th days (*nyatus*), 1st year (*mendhak siji*), 2nd years (*mendhak Pindo*), 1000th days (*nyewu*). During *tahlilan* the host must serve the neighbors (male) who participated in *tahlil*. For death *slametan / tahlilan* usually invite residents of the neighborhood, who came approximately 25 people, for those who do not

come, the host will deliver parcel. The parcel usually contain *matengan* (already cooked), rice and side dishes (villages in Banyumas); while in Purbalingga already using *mentahan* (groceries). *Mentahan* parcel are the impacts of Sundanese tradition, due to eastern Java still use rice with all the side dishes are typical. Sometimes in *slametan*, there is envelope filled with money inside the parcel. Then, only women who donate in *slametan*, men only accounted for time at the day of the death. Any donations even for *slametan* deaths should be replied either directly or indirectly (short-term is gift as an expression of gratitude and a long-term is replying to contribute at least with the same value). *Slametan* for 40th days to 1000th days will get souvenirs / gifts as donate refund. According to residents in *slametan* / banquet '*modale kudu akeh*' (the capital should be plenty). This is due to long series of ceremonies *slametan*. Donate income more limited, but many expenditures spend as has been shown by the description about *mitoni slametan* case above. Generally people give special attention (*nyumbang*) to *slametan nyewu* because it is the last ritual of *slametan*. People often debt (both the host and who donate *slametan*) for *slametan*. Sometimes, one *slametan* has not been completed, the next *slametan* had caught up. Although *slametan* regarded as an economic burden, but if not implemented, it's social burden is higher because it will become a rumors among residents.

Nyumbang Tradition Model in form of Sambatan Rangken and others

Sambatan is derived from the word *Sambat* which is means asking for help, while *sambatan* means helping each other (for work) or may be called *gotong royong* (Tohari 2007). *Sambatan rangken* are the neighbors mutual cooperation for the house construction generally carried out when neighbors make the foundation of the house or install a frame (sawhorses), so it is called *rangken*, and not for the entire home building. When installing this framework, the women of the nearest neighbors and relatives come to *nyumbang*. The contribution given is more than in a celebration / other salvation. Besides rice, usually also *dumpang* (added) with vegetables, *lawuh wedang* or coffee, tea or sugar. Neighbors who came generally rotating 2-3 people. When guests came home, donated items was left, and restored the next day with the souvenirs in the form of snacks. As for men, in *Sambatan* they only contribute their energy.

Sambatan system is substantially less binding force, because only close neighbors and relatives who donate and get involved in mutual cooperation. Although only a limited neighbors and relatives who donate to help provide material for the house construction, but for the donors and donated should provide additional expenditure beyond the construction process itself. Some classical writings of Javanese culture, many argued that the rural communities of Java live in harmony and full of helping activities. Emphasis on good terms with the neighbors that must be nurtured first, signify that the role and function of the neighbors is very important for rural communities. Those kind of good relations even beat a good relationship with relatives who are live far away. As a reflection of their good relationship, they expressed with various kinds of mutual cooperation and help (Kutanegara, 2002).

Another type of *Nyumbang* is *Tilik* (visit) the sick people, as the tradition which mostly done by the public, both in urban and rural. Visiting sick people has also opened a parcel business. According to the residents in the Datar village, they usually come in group to visit the sick, and donate also in groups. To visit the rich people, they usually give parcel contain fruits or other foods; while to visit poor people, they just give money.

Differentiation Model and Social Structure in the Nyumbang Tradition

There is different obligation to *nyumbang* between men and women. Social differences or inequality on a certain scale become the basis of social stratification. The differences in gender and age are the oldest and universal basic. Values and norms agreed together become social life media and the chain that connects social transactions. Both make social exchange becomes possible, and regulate the process of social integration and differentiation in a complex social structure and reorganization exist within it.

This gender difference will determine the scope of the obligation to *nyumbang* and the kind of donations; where men only contributed money to the big celebration (*mbarang gawe*) in the village scope; while women accounted for in all spheres of both village (for *mbarang gawe*) and *tapis wiring* (for a celebration *slametan* / *tahlilan*) scope with food donations. In other words, gender differentiation will determine the differentiation donations. While, the amount of the contribution is determined by the existing social structure within each gender.

Although in the theory, the main priority in giving is value of sincerity, but in practice the value of merit become main priority. This is especially true when people had to contribute to the rich / afford man, it will lead a question "how much it should be?". Discriminatory thoughts that often arises is: "Just a little donation to the poor people is enough", while as for the donation to the rich people is "Is this appropriate?". Calculate the amount of contributions will appear when your close relative held the celebration.

In contrast, celebration organized by "gentry" family who work in the town or have many relationships in cities generally use two systems. The first system was a few days before the D - day is invitation for the

villagers, while on the D - day exclusively for guests from the city with a very different event system. On the D – day, the event is more festive filled with a variety of entertainment and more special banquet. It is also, as revealed in Kutanegara research (2002) that in weddings and circumcisions, a group of the rich people or the "gentry" in village often put the communities around just as a spectator. It aimed to show their social status.

Job Division based on the Gender Model in Nyumbang Tradition

Job division based on the gender s obviously seen at *Nyumbang* tradition in Banyumas rural areas. This is due to *Nyumbang* tradition is not represent households, but individual with the main differentiator is gender. Patterns of job division which generally applied is men donate money and women donate foodstuffs, as has been revealed by Saptari and Hezner (1997)

The differences between men and women in giving donation, not only about the types of donations, but also the intensity of the time. Therefore, although certain celebrations have "season" of good months or days (ie to *mbarang gawe mantu, mbesan* and circumcison), but certain events (*Tilik Bayi / Muyi, ngupati / mitoni, takziah kematian, slametan / tahlilan, and rangken*) will always be exist even the donate intensity is not as much as on "good months". The months that are considered as good month and usually as the peak season are *Syawal* and *Besar*, including *Ruwah* and *Rejeb* month. This is understandable, because in peak season celebration, a citizen may have to be invited 2-3 times a day and even more.

Women in general are involved in all kinds of activities to *Nyumbang* the village, while men only participate in small part of the activities in the scope of village institutions. While affairs / activities that involve neighbors and close relatives is regarded as the responsibility of women. As for *slametan* activities women role as supporter (*nyumbang, Rewang, cooking and managing*), while the male as the "main actors" perform the ritual prayers and obtain privileges, such as banquets, parcel to take-away, and envelope containing money. This is occur because for the village community, *slametan* is an important activity which aims to neutralize the difficulties in the crises of life, to restore and create the conditions *slamet* (safe) (Wolf 1985) and in the view of the village of prayers in *slametan* is a noble task of men.

Time Dimensions of Nyumbang: Between Pawitan and Dorang

Time for *Nyumbang* (generally only applies to women contributor) is divided into three types namely: *Pawitan, umume* and *dorang*. *Pawitan* is *nyumbang* given before the celebration held. *Pawitan* in Banyumas language means capital. Donations to *Pawitan* usually based on the direct requests from those who had celebration. *Nembung* or *ngarani* (mentioning the item that requested) is not a taboo because it occur only among close neighbors and relatives. One time the donor is also have right to "*nembung*" if he has an intent. Commonly, the things asked is rice or cooked rice.

When there are people who are unable to attend in celebration, the person can donate after that time, and this contribution is called *dorang*. *Dorang* donation value is generally greater than *umume* as compensation shame, but also attained more *angsul-angsul*.

Particular people view, *dorang* is done deliberately to get the host's attention because it contribute more. In other words, the element of self-profit (*pamrih*) being the main reason rather than the reason can not come in the celebration. This is as LL comment about *dorang* on social media Facebook: "people come late with the intention that the host immediately knew if he came and immediately know how much the donate is or what donated items is".

The meaning of Giving and Nyumbang : From Nandur to Nyelengi

Tradition of giving is not easy in the present. Many critical reflection that appears in addressing the "ethics of giving," because it can considered as "apple-polishing", bribing, creating a lazy culture and so on. As an example, the government ban appeal (even from ulama - Islamic religious leader) to give money for beggars and street singers, because it will creating a lazy culture.

In terms of rural agrarian society, *Nyumbang* is *nandur* (planting) and have intent (*mbarang gawe*) is harvested. People will never harvest, if they never planting goodness (among others via donate) where the fields are surrounding communities. An elderly (sepuh) female informant said: If we are diligent '*nandur*' and '*tanduran*' (plant) we care well, one day we will also have to harvest a lot. Although I often had intents, but as I've often *tandur* my guests are always plenty. Therefore, in order to maintain good relations with neighbors and avoid *mbokan dharani* (get bad impression), poor rural household willing to do anything to be able to donate. *Tandur* term also began to fade, because their land begin to reduce. Otherwise, households that do not ngundang-ngundang (inviting other) will be considered as *wong ora olih diambah umahe kayane*. (people whose house do not want to visited).

II. Conclusions and Suggestion

In *Nyumbang* institutions in the village, socially spouses have different obligations, role and rights, because of differences in the typology of *Nyumbang* . Social obligation to donate for men is only in the village

scope, while women both in the village scope and *tapis wiring* scope. Differences occur in a variety of opportunities to *Nyumbang*, form and amount of donation. Women donate in all *Nyumbang* tradition activities both in the village and *tapis wiring* scope (close neighbors), while men only donate in the big celebration (*mbarang gawe: mantu, mbesan*, and circumcision) established in the village. The gender determining differences in the form of donations stereotypical, men donate money and women accounted for donating food (both rice and non-rice). Donations difference between men and women has consequences differences mechanisms and reciprocity systems. In general, there are two patterns of reciprocity mechanism (in the stage of giving), they are directly and indirectly (through the social control). Directly donate is a donations in form of money. It traditionally given by a male guest to the male owner of intent through the mechanism of "*salam tempel*" (greeting paste); similarly, if there is a female guest donate money they give it directly to the female owner of intent also through the mechanism of "*salam tempel*" when they return to say goodbye. As for female guests who donate food, delivery mechanisms do not directly to the host but through *megari* control, which means "mistress" house has been mandated to *megari* to record and organize the donate. The existence of *megari* follow the principle of reciprocity, that every gift (donation) which has received, must be repaid according to amount of the provision that has been given, as emphasized by Mauss: Giving - Receiving and - Reply, as a sign of the creation and maintenance of a social bond.

Mutual cooperation in a celebration that is identified with "Rewang" has experienced a shift from volunteer to be a contractor. Rewang who first identically as women who volunteered work in the kitchen area at neighbor's celebration, had shifted to wage labor. This would be the barrier distance for women to come closer as a volunteer when she was not asked (*ditembung*). This means that there has been monetization in Rewang power, even rewang is their relatives, they will also obtain the same wage. The "rationality" of village women revealed its form in this Rewang area.

However, monetization village something that can not be avoided, so what is needed to do is revitalize or create spaces for the new sodality for women through group empowerment. For example not all donations activities must be done individually but through *jimpitan* (collecting rice) results that exist in social organizations, such as *dasa wisma* (housewives group consist of ten people) or *majlis taklim* (religious study group). Village women will tend to change when social groups are also changing.

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