

Cultural Reproduction and Religious Traditions Among Banyumas Migrant Communities Within the NGAPAK Population in The Provinces of Lampung and East Kalimantan

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Abstract

Understanding the perpetuation of cultural and religious traditions among Banyumasan migrant communities presents a multifaceted challenge, necessitating a profound comprehension of Banyumasan cultural and religious norms, the migratory journey to regions such as Lampung and Kalimantan, and the intricate dynamics of cultural transmission. Meticulous research yields the following conclusions: Firstly, Banyumasan culture encompasses communities in Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, Cilacap, Kebumen, Tegal, and Brebes, characterized by the prevalent Ngapak dialect of Javanese. Rooted in language, values, traditions, and rituals, Banyumasan culture reflects egalitarianism, directness, and harmony, emblematic of the wong cilik community. Secondly, a significant number of Banyumasan individuals historically migrated to various parts of Indonesia, notably Lampung and Kalimantan, initially for colonial-era labor needs and later to alleviate population pressures and enhance economic prospects during the New Order era. Thirdly, migration fosters extensive interactions between Banyumasan migrants and host communities, involving a nuanced negotiation process wherein individuals balance preserving their cultural heritage and adapting to new surroundings. The outcome depends on effective communication strategies to convey Banyumasan cultural identity amidst diverse host cultures.

Keywords: *Ngapak, Tradition, Migrant Communities, Lampung, East Kalimantan*

INTRODUCTION

Culture plays a pivotal role in shaping the identities of both individuals and communities (Touseef et al., 2023). Rooted in the field of social anthropology (Latifa, 2018), culture encompasses distinctive patterns that characterize individuals within a society. These patterns are manifested through customs, traditions, and rituals, collectively forming a cultural “system” shaped by adaptation to physical environments. This system, intrinsic to specific societal groups, endures through generations, thereby ensuring the continuity and preservation of cultural heritage (D. Mulyana & J. Rakhmat, 2000).

Indonesia is globally recognized as one of the world’s largest archipelagic nations, comprising an impressive array of 17,504 islands and hosting a population estimated at approximately 272 million (Massal, 2017). Despite this substantial population, a significant majority—56.01 percent—resides on Java, the smallest of Indonesia’s five major islands, which include Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua. The geographical and ethnographic landscape of Indonesia epitomizes extraordinary diversity, encompassing a rich tapestry of races, ethnicities, customs, languages, cultures, and religions (Goebel, 2013; Mavridis, 2015). According to data from the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics, the archipelago is home to no fewer than 1,340 distinct ethnic groups (BPS, n.d.). Among these, prominent groups include the Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau, Madurese, and Buginese. Notably, the Javanese ethnicity constitutes the largest group, making up 41% of the nation’s population (Suryadinata et al., 2003). This diversity not only highlights Indonesia’s complex social fabric but also underscores the importance of understanding its cultural and demographic dynamics for any comprehensive socio-economic analysis or policy-making endeavor. The nation’s intricate mosaic of ethnicities and cultures represents both a rich heritage and a unique challenge in fostering national unity and development.

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As Dadan Iskandar posits, cultural identity often evolves as individuals move through different locales (Dadan Iskandar, 2004). Upon integrating into a new community, individuals undergo a process of communal identification, thereby affirming their membership in a specific cultural milieu that is unique in its essence (Ratanakosol et al., 2016; Reicher, 2004). This cultural identity functions to perpetuate the traditions, inherent characteristics, language, and lineage within a cohesive framework associated with that particular community (Edensor et al., 2002; Hamidi, 2023).

The dialect of the Banyumasan community stands out as a paramount emblem of their cultural identity, distinguishing them within the diverse Javanese linguistic landscape (Hadiati, 2014). The broader Javanese populace encompasses various sub-dialects, such as those of Solo-Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Madiun-Kediri, Banyuwangi, Semarang, Cirebon-Indramayu, Banten, and Banyumasan, each endowed with distinct pronunciation norms. It is imperative to recognize the stratification within the Javanese language, comprising ngoko, krama, and krama inggil levels. These stratifications serve as stringent guidelines, colloquially known as “pakem,” governing language usage within certain Javanese communities.

However, the Banyumasan community exhibits a notable departure from this linguistic tradition, where adherence to the “pakem” is markedly lax. Instead, they predominantly favor the use of the ngoko register for communication, eschewing the more formal kromo and kromo inggil levels. On rare occasions, when interacting with individuals from other Javanese sub-dialects, they may employ the kromo register as a gesture of respect. This linguistic preference of the Banyumasan community is deeply rooted in their egalitarian ethos and the profound philosophical tenets of *cablaka* and *blakasuta*, which profoundly shape their collective identity and interpersonal dynamics (M. Koderi, 1991).

After Indonesia achieved independence, remnants of colonial policies persisted as a response to the burgeoning population density in Java. The transmigration program introduced by the Indonesian government can be seen as a continuation of these colonial legacies, albeit with an emphasis on enhancing the economic well-being of the resettled communities. This program aims to establish genuine socioeconomic advancement, with its execution rigorously overseen by the government through a multitude of regulatory mechanisms (Sri Edi Swasono dan Masri Singarimbun, 1986).

The transmigration initiative has triggered a significant migration of Javanese individuals to regions beyond Java Island. While some adhere to the government’s transmigration program, others independently relocate by selling their Java-based properties to acquire new land on different islands boasting larger territories. This collective endeavor is driven by the aspiration for improved economic prospects in their new locales.

Over time, the influx of Javanese migrants to other islands has led to their population outnumbering that of the indigenous inhabitants in these areas. A recurring challenge emerges as the predominant presence of Javanese migrants is often perceived as foreign, characterized by customs and traditions unfamiliar to the native populace. This dynamic impedes the process of cultural assimilation and fosters discord among diverse cultural identities, which ideally should culminate in a harmonious synthesis resulting from cultural encounters within a region. It is not uncommon for cultural segregation to manifest between the traditions of migrant communities, such as those from Banyumas, and those of the native populace in the migrant-receiving regions.

This study aims to explore the unique cultural and religious adaptations of Banyumas migrants. Previous research, such as Geertz’s *The Religion of Java* (1976), provides foundational insights into the relationship between Javanese culture and religion but is confined to Java and lacks focus on the migratory context (Geertz, 1976). Similarly, Hefner’s *Civil Islam* (2000) examines the broader role of Islam in Indonesian sociopolitical landscapes without addressing specific subcultural dynamics (Hefner, 2000). Magnis-Suseno’s work on Javanese ethics (Magnis-Suseno, 1997) and Beatty’s anthropological account (1999) delve into philosophical and regional religious diversities, respectively, but do not encompass the migratory and adaptive aspects of Banyumas communities (Beatty, 1999). Koentjaraningrat’s comprehensive study on Javanese culture (1985) also overlooks the migratory experiences and specific traditions of the Banyumas people in regions beyond Java (Koentjaraningrat, 1989).

This research distinguishes itself by focusing on the cultural reproduction and religious traditions of Banyumas migrants within the Ngapak-speaking population in Lampung and East Kalimantan. It uniquely examines how these communities maintain their cultural identity and religious practices amidst new sociocultural environments, a topic largely neglected by previous research. This study not only explores the migration context but also the interaction and synthesis of Banyumas traditions with the local cultures in these provinces, providing a contemporary perspective on cultural adaptation and integration. This focus on recent migratory dynamics and the specific experiences of the Banyumas community offers fresh insights that contribute significantly to the understanding of cultural and religious continuity and change in migrant populations.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research in question is classified as field research, as outlined by (van de Ven & Poole, 2017). Its primary focus lies in the examination of field data, specifically collected within various Banyumasan communities in Lampung and East Kalimantan. Moreover, this investigation aligns with qualitative research methodologies, employing individuals as instruments for data collection. Characterized as descriptive-exploratory, the study confines its scope to pertinent issues and culminates in findings that are mutually corroborated by both researchers and subjects (Barada, 2013).

Researchers utilized three distinct methods for data collection. Firstly, unstructured interviews were conducted, focusing on probing questions directly relevant to the case under study. Secondly, observation was employed, involving meticulous and systematic observation and recording of data, both directly and indirectly, at the research site. Thirdly, documentation was utilized to gather pre-existing data from document records, serving to support and complement the primary data obtained through observation and in-depth interviews.

In qualitative research, the data analysis process unfolds concurrently with data collection. Miles and Huberman offer comprehensive guidelines for qualitative data analysis, encompassing data collection, data reduction, data display, and the drawing of conclusions or verification (Mason, 2002)

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Exploring the Cultural and Religious Traditions of the Banyumasan Community

The Banyumas region, situated on the periphery of major kingdoms like Mataram and Yogyakarta, has developed a cultural identity marked by populism, transparency, and openness, predominantly influenced by its traditional agrarian society. Despite a slower cultural development compared to palace communities, Banyumasan culture's transparent nature facilitates integration with surrounding cultures. It not only embraces diverse cultural influences but also exemplifies unity among different ethnic groups and dynasties from the era of great kingdoms.

Historical evidence indicates a fusion of Javanese and Sundanese ethnicities in Banyumas society, with governance reflecting a blend of the Majapahit, Pasirluhur, and Pajajaran dynasties. This integration is symbolized in Banyumasan culture by the "punakawan" character Bawor in wayang narratives, often depicted as a loyal companion to Werkudara or Bima. This portrayal underscores egalitarian values, demonstrating how a humble servant like Bawor can seamlessly integrate into the life of a revered knight like Werkudara, highlighting the egalitarian ethos within Banyumasan cultural performances.

The Banyumasan dialect, commonly known as Ngapak, plays a crucial role in shaping the cultural identity of the Banyumas community. According to Darmastuti, this dialect holds significant emotional value, fostering a deep sense of belonging among its speakers (R. Darmastuti, 2013). By embracing Ngapak, individuals in Banyumas reaffirm their connection to local culture, not only as a means of everyday communication but also as a symbol of their cultural heritage (Koentjaraningrat, 1994).

Distinct from other languages, the Ngapak dialect embodies the essence of Banyumasan cultural values, such as *cablaka* and egalitarianism. Its unique characteristics enable speakers to adapt easily to diverse cultural environments, bridging differences and fostering understanding. However, to outsiders unfamiliar with

Banyumasan culture, the direct and unconventional nature of Ngapak speech may seem lacking in decorum. In contrast, the Mataraman-Kraton Javanese language is often upheld as a standard of nobility and etiquette. Despite these perceptions, Ngapak speech aims to foster intimacy and egalitarianism, breaking down social barriers for effective communication.

This linguistic diversity can sometimes pose challenges, particularly in inter-ethnic marriages, where communication dynamics may clash due to differences in language nuances and social hierarchies. Nevertheless, the Ngapak dialect remains a vital aspect of Banyumas identity, embodying the region's rich cultural heritage and facilitating connections across diverse communities (Priyadi, 2003).

The Banyumas society boasts a rich tapestry of religious traditions, spanning epochs from animism-dynamism to Hindu-Buddhism, culminating in the assimilation of Islam into the region. To comprehend the religious ethos of the Banyumasan populace solely through an Islamic lens would be to overlook its multifaceted historical trajectory. Noteworthy is the fusion of Islamic practices with non-Islamic elements, despite the predominant Muslim demographic. Such amalgamation often results in behaviors seemingly at odds with Islamic doctrine. The pervasive influence of acculturative Islamic nuances imbues the religious customs of Banyumas society, evident in rituals like Grebeg Sura, kenthongan, janengan, and selamatan, which are emblematic of the syncretic nature of religious expression in this community.

The *Ngapak* Banyumasan Community in Lampung: A Cultural Portrait

The migration of Javanese communities to Lampung between 1905 and 1943 represents a significant historical event, meticulously documented administratively. It is estimated that over 52,000 households relocated to Lampung during this period under the coercion of the Dutch East Indies government, primarily for agricultural endeavors. Notably, among these migrants, 825 individuals originated from the Kedu Residency in Central Java. This phase of migration is often termed colonization, setting it apart from the transmigration policies of the later New Order era.

Initial colonization efforts concentrated on Bagelen, now within the Pesawaran Regency, with the name potentially derived from the Temanggung region, specifically Bagelan or Begelen in Purworejo Regency, Central Java. Upon arrival, the majority of Banyumasan communities in Lampung relied heavily on agriculture, drawn by the region's fertile land, which promised better prospects. However, the limited land availability in Java necessitated diversification beyond agriculture for sustainable livelihoods. Consequently, Javanese communities in Lampung gradually expanded their roles beyond farming to include positions as Civil Servants (ASN), entrepreneurs, traders, soldiers, police officers, and even government officials at local administrative levels.

This multifaceted evolution underscores the increasing socio-political significance of the Javanese community within Lampung, reflecting their adaptive resilience and contributions to the region's development. The presence of Javanese communities in Lampung significantly influences the naming of various areas, with many adopting names from regions in Java. This practice originates from a historical policy of the Dutch East Indies government, which encouraged communities to name their inhabited areas after their original regions or those with significant Javanese populations. Consequently, names such as Banyumas, Wonosobo, Kediri, Klaten, Yogyakarta, Sukoharjo, Banyuwangi, Wates, and Bagelen are commonly encountered in Lampung. These areas are predominantly inhabited by Javanese ethnic populations, resulting in Javanese becoming the community's *lingua franca*.

Despite the predominance of Javanese society in Lampung, there is no evidence of oppressive behavior towards the indigenous Lampung people and culture. Instead, numerous points of cultural convergence exist between Lampung and Javanese societies, fostering a harmonious relationship. Similar to Javanese society, Lampung people embrace an open philosophy of life and readily accept newcomers. Furthermore, Lampung society shares several traditions with Javanese culture, such as the *begawi* tradition, which encompasses various life processes from birth to death. Lampung's marriage tradition, known as *djujor*, mirrors certain moral values found in Javanese traditions.

Moreover, Lampung society holds elaborate thanksgiving celebrations, known as the *tayuhan* tradition, where extended families gather to commemorate events such as weddings, circumcisions, house constructions, or

harvest festivals. Lampung fishermen also observe the ngumbai lawok tradition, expressing gratitude for bountiful sea harvests. Additionally, when clearing forests or land, Lampung society follows the ngambabekha tradition, a ritual performed during the conversion of forests into agricultural land or community settlements. These shared customs and practices contribute to the cultural cohesion and mutual respect between Lampung and Javanese societies in Lampung.

Exploring the *Ngapak* Community in East Kalimantan

The connection between the Banyumasan-Ngapak community and East Kalimantan extends beyond the mere implementation of the transmigration program for Ngapak-Javanese individuals to East Kalimantan. The designation of the Ngapak-Banyumasan language as an ancient Javanese dialect appears to be intrinsically linked to the existence of a significant kingdom that preceded the more renowned empires of Majapahit, Padjajaran, and Mataram. This kingdom, known as the Galih Purba Kingdom, is believed to have flourished around 78 AD. Unfortunately, scant written records, artifacts, or inscriptions from this era remain, rendering its historical significance largely obscure to the wider populace. Intriguingly, the progenitor of this realm is believed to have been a Hindu immigrant from the Kutai Kartanegara Kingdom in East Kalimantan. Thus far, insights into the history of the Galih Purba Kingdom have predominantly been gleaned from oral traditions and historical texts attributed to Van Der Meulen.

According to Meulen (1988), the ancient kingdom of Galuh is believed to have been established by migrants from Kutai who arrived via the coastal region of Cirebon before settling in the hinterlands surrounding Mount Slamet, Mount Ceremai, and the Serayu River valley. Van der Meulen further posited that this ancient realm, known as Galuh Sinduala or Bojong Galuh, had its principal seat of power situated in the vicinity of Medang Gili.

The transmigration initiative in Kalimantan Island has seen widespread implementation across various territories including South Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, and East Kalimantan. Notably, in East Kalimantan, population relocation through transmigration commenced in 1954. Subsequently, in 1969, the Indonesian Government, based in Samarinda, earmarked the Lempake Subdistrict as one of the designated settlement areas under a specialized transmigration program designed to accommodate individuals displaced by natural calamities.

Furthermore, considering both governmental administrative considerations and the extensive geographical scope of transmigration sites, the Lempake Subdistrict encompasses approximately 900 hectares of land characterized by predominantly flat and hilly terrain.

The transmigration initiative in East Kalimantan Province was initiated in 1954 and expanded to include Samarinda City in 1969, with the Lempake Subdistrict earmarked as a primary settlement site. This program was particularly designed to accommodate individuals displaced by natural calamities, underscoring its humanitarian focus.

Central to this transmigration endeavor is agricultural development, which encompasses both short-term crops like rice, corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, and vegetables, and long-term crops such as coconuts, oranges, and cloves. Additionally, residents engage in supplementary activities during their leisure time, fostering cottage industries like weaving and broom-making.

An intriguing aspect worthy of exploration is the nexus between the residents' prior livelihoods and their success as transmigrants. Notably, individuals with farming backgrounds exhibit a propensity to seamlessly transition into agricultural pursuits within the transmigration areas. Conversely, those lacking farming experience in their places of origin initially demonstrate apprehension and reluctance, indicating the need for targeted support and integration strategies.

In essence, understanding the dynamics between the residents' pre-existing skills and their adaptation to the transmigration context is imperative for optimizing the program's efficacy and ensuring sustainable livelihoods for all participants.

The Cultural and Religious Traditions of Banyumasan within the *Ngapak* Community in Lampung and East Kalimantan

As a cultural and religious anthropological phenomenon, the interaction of cultural traditions with their surroundings is crucial. Mastery in adaptation and negotiation enhances the resilience of a culture or religious tradition, potentially elevating its prominence. Conversely, failure in these endeavors may subject such traditions to subordination, assimilation into dominant cultures, or the complete loss of their original essence.

Both Lampung and East Kalimantan exhibit remarkable community diversity. In addition to the indigenous populace, migrant communities include not only the Banyumasan-*Ngapak* ethnicity but also a variety of Javanese groups. These Javanese migrants originate from regions such as Yogyakarta, Surakarta, and East Java, each preserving distinct cultural heritages. Notably, the Banyumasan-*Ngapak* community does not dominate within the Javanese migrant society. This is evidenced by the prevalence of Javanese-Mbandek villages, which outnumber Javanese-*Ngapak* settlements. Furthermore, in villages where both Javanese-*Ngapak* and Javanese-Mbandek coexist, Mbandek tends to be the dominant vernacular. This dominance extends to cultural and religious practices, where Mbandek traditions overshadow *Ngapak* customs.

The manifestation of cultural and religious traditions within migrant communities in Lampung and Kalimantan can be elucidated through various lenses. Firstly, linguistic nuances indicate resilience amidst cultural assimilation. According to Berry's Acculturation Theory, the resilience of the *Ngapak* language amidst cultural assimilation highlights a nuanced balance between integration and separation. Despite the encroachment of modernity and Javanese cultural hegemony, the *Ngapak* language endures as a cornerstone of Banyumasan identity. In both Lampung and East Kalimantan, villages populated by Banyumasan migrants serve as linguistic enclaves where *Ngapak* is prevalent. However, in areas dominated by standard Javanese speakers, the *Ngapak* language is marginalized, relegated primarily to older generations, while younger descendants increasingly adopt standard Javanese, indicating a generational linguistic shift (Berry, 1997).

Community associations play a crucial role in preserving the *Ngapak* language by facilitating regular interactions among speakers, thus promoting its consistent use. Fishman's theory of language maintenance supports this, suggesting that institutional support is vital for the survival of minority languages (Fishman, 1991). Notably, the term "*Ngapak*" pertains predominantly to the linguistic aspect, while "*Banyumasan*" encompasses broader cultural and traditional elements.

The Javanese community's perception of the *Ngapak* dialect as distinctive and entertaining is significant. This aligns with Labov's Sociolinguistic Theory, which posits that dialects often carry social meanings beyond mere communication (Labov, 1973). On Java Island, the *Ngapak* dialect frequently evokes laughter, not in mockery, but in appreciation of its unique and humorous qualities. Consequently, young Banyumasan speakers may feel reluctant to use *Ngapak* around standard Javanese speakers, opting instead to master the mbandek dialect to avoid being a source of amusement. This situation underscores the importance of community associations in fostering linguistic confidence.

The cultural duality in Banyumasan communication practices is notable. Known for their playful, easygoing, and egalitarian nature, Banyumasan people navigate this duality by expressing their identity through *Ngapak* while adhering to the communication norms of Javanese-Mataram society. This involves understanding and employing various linguistic registers, adhering to etiquette, and selecting appropriate language based on social status. This adaptation, while diverging from traditional Banyumasan norms, reflects the significant influence of Javanese-Kraton culture, illustrating the dynamic interplay between cultural preservation and adaptation (Gumperz, 1982).

Secondly, the tradition of "*Grebek Sura*" is intricately woven into the cultural fabric of the Banyumasan people, representing a rich tapestry of historical and social significance. This tradition, historically termed "*mbandek*" within the Javanese cultural lexicon and encompassing practices such as "*sedekah bumi*" (earth offerings) and "*sedekah laut*" (sea offerings), has evolved in its identification. Contemporary organizers often consider themselves broadly Javanese rather than exclusively Banyumasan.

During the 1970s and 1980s, “sedekah bumi” was vibrant and thriving within Javanese communities, including the Banyumasan populace. However, over the past three decades, this once-cherished tradition has seen a marked decline, a trend further exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia around 2020. Several factors contribute to this decline. Firstly, the pervasive influence of modernization has engrossed individuals in their professional lives, leaving little time for large-scale communal activities. This phenomenon aligns with the broader sociological theory of modernization, which suggests that industrialization and urbanization often lead to the erosion of traditional practices (Inglehart, 1997). Secondly, the advocacy for “Islamization” by certain religious authorities has cast doubts on these age-old customs, arguing that they conflict with Islamic jurisprudence. This reflects the broader tension between religious orthodoxy and cultural traditions, where the former often seeks to purify practices perceived as syncretic or non-conforming to doctrinal purity (Geertz, 1976). As Parno (2022) notes, this religious critique has dissuaded many adherents from participating in these rituals. Thirdly, the financial demands associated with organizing such events have become prohibitive. This economic barrier is compounded by the lack of communal financial support, leading to a decline in public enthusiasm and participation. Lastly, the proliferation of alternative entertainment avenues that offer mass appeal has diverted attention away from traditional communal gatherings. This shift in leisure activities, influenced by globalization and technological advancements, has marginalized traditions like “Grebek Sura” and “sedekah bumi” within contemporary societal ethos (Tohari, 2022).

Thirdly, the tradition of Kenthongan has not achieved widespread recognition among Banyumasan migrant communities, a phenomenon likely stemming from the fact that the artistic evolution of kenthongan emerged around 1997, while the transmigration programs significantly predate this development. However, it is essential to understand that kenthongan originally functioned as a vital communication tool rather than merely an art form, with deep roots in Javanese communities, including those among Banyumasan migrants (Surono, n.d.). This historical context suggests that kenthongan is more accurately associated with broader Javanese culture than with the specific Banyumasan subculture.

From the 1960s through the 1980s, Javanese migrant communities continued to employ kenthongan to disseminate urgent information. In times of crisis, the instrument was struck rapidly to produce a distinctive rhythm known as “titir,” a signal well recognized among the Javanese populace (Tohari, 2022). This practice illustrates the kenthongan’s role as an essential tool for communal communication before the advent of modern technologies.

Within these communities, placing a kenthongan on the front porch of houses evolved into a customary tradition, symbolizing readiness for collective response. Typically, the duty of striking the kenthongan fell to neighborhood patrol officers or the first individual to witness an event warranting community alert. Upon hearing the initial signal, other residents would strike their kenthongans in response, creating a cascading amplification effect that ensured the sound echoed throughout the community, thus ensuring rapid dissemination of critical information.

This tradition highlights the intricate interplay between cultural practices and communal needs, underscoring the kenthongan’s enduring significance in facilitating communication and fostering social cohesion within Javanese society, including its migrant subsets.

Fourthly, the traditional practice of Janengan, which is deeply embedded in the Banyumasan culture of Kebumen, has experienced a notable decline in its prevalence and vibrancy over time. Historically significant, Janengan performances are now rare and seldom featured in major events or communal gatherings. According to Kyai Tohari, a respected practitioner of Janengan, although Janengan groups still exist, their public appearances have become sporadic. This shift can be attributed to the community’s growing preference for other forms of Islamic music such as kasidah, hadrah, and contemporary Shalawat.

Kyai Tohari further emphasizes the difficulties in nurturing new talent within this art form. The challenge lies in the lack of successful regeneration efforts, making it increasingly rare to find individuals capable of mastering the distinct vocal style and tone characteristic of Janengan music. This sentiment aligns with the observations

of cultural theorists who argue that traditional art forms often struggle to sustain themselves in the face of modern and more popular alternatives (Bourdieu, 1984; Hall, 1997).

The diminishing presence of Janengan in community events highlights a broader trend of cultural transformation where traditional practices are overshadowed by contemporary expressions of cultural identity. Theories of cultural hegemony, as discussed by Gramsci, (1971), suggest that dominant cultural forms often marginalize less mainstream practices, leading to their gradual decline. Despite the historical and cultural significance of Janengan, its current state underscores the need for deliberate cultural preservation efforts to ensure its continuity and relevance in contemporary society.

Kyai Tohari's insights shed light on the critical issue of cultural sustainability and the importance of fostering an environment that encourages the transmission of traditional knowledge and skills to future generations. Without such efforts, the unique cultural heritage embodied in Janengan risks being lost (Tohari, 2022).

Fifthly, the traditional practice of Selamatan persists among Banyumasan migrant communities, signifying its cultural importance. While its origins are not unique to Banyumasan, similar customs are widespread among Javanese communities. Selamatan, deeply rooted in the Banyumasan cultural fabric, exhibits significant linguistic influences, notably from the mbandek dialect within various settlement areas. For instance, the term "kebo," used in both mbandek and ngapak communities to commemorate the seventh month of pregnancy, contrasts with the Banyumasan "keba," highlighting regional phonetic preferences.

In Banyumasan communities, the Thanksgiving tradition is characterized by unique dialectical variations. The ngapati/ngupati ceremony features a diverse culinary array, including Tumbeng unthup-unthu (steamed white rice), various sautéed dishes, salads, shredded coconut, fried tempeh, and a dish known as pelas kebo siji, comprising beef, giblets, anchovies, or shrimp. Additional offerings include boiled eggs, market snacks, eight types of dried fruits (such as cassava and arrowroot), three varieties of bananas (Ambon, longok, king, and sasi bananas), lepet, kupat, crackers, lanting, and peanuts.

The keba/kebah tradition, while similar to ngapati, introduces the distinctive tumpeng robyong, a cone-shaped rice dish topped with eggs, chili, shallots, and shrimp paste, presented with several items skewered atop the cone. Pregnancy blessings in these traditions involve a series of culturally significant rituals, including a ceremonial bath where the expectant mother is bathed with a mixture of special flowers and water from seven natural springs, performed by seven family members. This ritual, which includes floral elements like kenanga, kantil, roses, and bougainvillea, is followed by dressing the mother in a sarong with seven distinct motifs.

Modern adaptations of these traditions reflect a pragmatic shift, emphasizing philosophical and symbolic meanings over strict ritualistic practices. The central theme remains the pursuit of safety, with food menus and rituals serving as symbolic gestures rather than essential components. Practical constraints and resource availability have led to simpler food selections and streamlined rituals. Traditional ingredients such as uwi, irot, and ganyong, often scarce today, are frequently omitted from contemporary ngapati or keba blessing menus.

This evolution of Selamatan practices aligns with anthropological perspectives on cultural adaptation and resilience, as discussed by scholars such as Clifford Geertz (1960), who explored the dynamic interplay between tradition and modernity in Javanese society. These practices, while retaining core cultural values, demonstrate an adaptive flexibility that ensures their relevance in contemporary settings (Geertz, 1976).

CONCLUSION

Understanding the perpetuation of cultural and religious traditions within Banyumasan migrant communities presents a multifaceted challenge, necessitating a deep comprehension of Banyumasan cultural and religious norms, the migratory journey undertaken by Banyumasan individuals to regions such as Lampung and Kalimantan, and the intricate dynamics of cultural transmission within the Banyumasan migrant populace. Through meticulous research and methodological analysis, the following conclusions can be drawn:

Firstly, Banyumasan culture encapsulates the rich heritage of communities residing in Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, Cilacap, and Kebumen, extending to encompass regions like Tegal and Brebes, where the ngapak dialect of Javanese is prevalent. Rooted in language, values, traditions, and distinct rituals, Banyumasan culture

embodies traits of egalitarianism, directness (blakasuta), and a commitment to harmony, emblematic of the wong cilik community.

Secondly, a significant number of Banyumasan individuals have historically embarked on migrations to various parts of Indonesia, with Lampung and Kalimantan emerging as prominent destinations. These migration patterns trace back to the Dutch colonial era, where labor relocation aimed at bolstering agricultural output for colonial interests, evolving in the subsequent New Order era to alleviate population pressures and enhance economic prospects.

Thirdly, the migration journey fosters extensive interactions between Banyumasan migrants and host communities, characterized by a dynamic interplay of cultural identities. Within these interactions, there exists a nuanced negotiation process, wherein Banyumasan individuals navigate between preserving their cultural heritage and adapting to the cultural milieu of their new surroundings. The outcome of these negotiations hinges upon the communication strategies employed to convey Banyumasan cultural identity amidst the diversity of host cultures.

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