

Reciprocity Process and System in “Nyumbang” Tradition In The Midst Of Rural Monetization

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Abstract

The study of the “nyumbang” (giving money or gift when attending wedding or circumcision party) tradition has been done frequently, but has not touched on the gender aspect. In the context of rural areas, it is important to see how rural monetization has changed the existence of women and all existing social institutions, including the “nyumbang” tradition as a form of community solidarity. Money as a tool of rationalization is feared affects the moral ethics built by the rural community and make “nyumbang” traditions as a medium of economic transactions, so it needs to be studied how is the mechanism of reciprocity that took place in the “nyumbang” tradition. This study aims to analyze the reciprocity process and system that takes place in the “nyumbang” tradition amid the dynamics of monetization and the existence of women in this reciprocity system. The theoretical approach used to understand reality in the research site is the giving theory. The research method used is qualitative method with constructivist paradigm approach and take setting location of Java Banyumasansub culture. Subjects of the research were women / housewives from various work backgrounds (non-farm), especially eyelash workers and domestic workers (as non-farm workers) with purposive sampling. Data collection is done through Focus Group Discussion, in-depth interviews and observation. Data analysis using interactive analysis. The result of the research shows that there are differences in the process and mechanism of reciprocity system between men and women caused by different forms of donation. Monetization of donations, women in rural Banyumas still use food (rice and non-rice / *lawuhwedang*) as reciprocity medium and this donation is controlled through *megari* existence mechanism. This is not only because of the legacy of the subsistence economic system but rather of social and economic calculations that place rice as the main reciprocity medium. Rice become the main reciprocity medium in the *nyumbang* tradition, because for rural women, rice meets various aspects of symbolic value (rice as a symbol of basic staple food), usage value (main dishes at the celebration party) and exchange rate.

Keywords: Nyumbang Tradition, Rural Women, Reciprocity System

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I. Introduction

Background of the Study

Molm (2010) identifies the importance of reciprocity, among others, from: Hobhouse (1906) who called the reciprocity system an important principle in society, while according to Simmel (1950) that social balance and cohesion can not exist without a reciprocity system, while according to Becker, humans are a species of "homo reciprocus". As a separate institution, exchange has penetrated to all social buildings and can be viewed as a bond of society.

The reciprocity system develops in a simple and homogeneous society. The term of gift giving in the perception of Indonesian society contains the elitist meaning, the term for upper middle class. Gift giving that have been institutionalized in Javanese villages is known by various terms but generally referred as *nyumbang* tradition. *Nyumbang* is generally identical to the gift at the event that concern the life cycle, from the pregnancy, birth, circumcision, marriage { *mantu*(marry of their daughter)/ *mbesan*(the groom's parents visited the wedding ceremony at the bride's house)}, death with all ritual procession, and at the time *mbangun* (build a house) / moving house ritual. At the time of the events of the villagers held *slametan*(thanksgiving event) and celebration as a sign of social registration, the form of notification to the public that there will be held certain events, then neighbors around come to help in the form of various donations. According to Kutaneegara (2002), the *nyumbang* tradition in rural Java can be explained in the framework of the exchange process (reciprocity) among the citizens. Reciprocity is defined as a process of reciprocal transfer of goods or services from symmetrically related groups and supported by a personal relationship between them. The existence of reciprocity is supported

by an egalitarian community structure, a society characterized by low levels of social stratification and political power relatively unequally distributed among its citizens.

This research discusses the reciprocity processes and systems that exist within the *nyumbang* tradition, and how women take an important part in the reciprocity system. Studies on reciprocity, especially in the *nyumbang* tradition have been less developed in terms of gender sensitivity.

Invitation Social Change and Monetization.

The social changes in the reciprocity system or social exchanges in the *nyumbang* tradition are also marked by an invitation card containing a lot of messages. Invitation cards in the city have a lot of meanings, while, it has been an industry and business opportunity because of the variety of models and designs, the invitation card also contains many social messages through various signs. The price of an invitation reflects the status symbol of the invitee through the fancy design of the invitation, the reception building, the pre-wedding photos attached to the invitation, the inclusion of the bridegroom's parent's title and the bride itself, the inclusion of prominent public figures. It seems to need a more in-depth assessment whether the contestation of social status symbols in the invitation card is the effort to attract the large size of the donation. When a person receives a fancy invitation card from a public figure or an official, they will prepare well in advance to attendance, whether it concerns appearance or donation. Invitation card in this present era, no longer merely invite to come to the event but has represented a lot of meanings.

A common message from an invitation card is the event notification, place and time of the event and the purpose of inviting is generally beg of blessing from the guests. This means guests are invited to give a blessing. Not only blessing, but also donate (goods, gifts or money) so that the Javanese call it *nyumbang*. Through invitation cards, donations can be arranged and controlled. At around the economic and political crisis era in Indonesia (in 1997/1998) many marriage and circumcision invitations inserted message as follows:

"With all due respect and apology we do not accept donations / gifts in the form of goods"

The message is then reinforced with a crossed picture of the gifted image or an envelope image inserted in a jar or coffers. The giving of *nyumbang* is no longer as a personal will but has been controlled by the interests of the invitee, so how then became a hot issue in society at that time. For the Javanese at that time the invitation was seen as "*saru*" or inappropriate or impolite. The public comment that many thrown at that time was: "*Saru! Nyumbang kodiatu – atur, itukan terserah yang nyumbang*" (*Innapropriate! How come they regulate donation, it should be up to the guests' will*). Although initially the community was forced, but when the trend of the message is widely followed as a "fashion", eventually they accept it as a habit. The public acceptance of this money donation is marked by the provision of a "box" or "barrel" of money donation placed at the entrance of the building or the house where the reception is held.

According to Mrs. AJS information (46 years old) who has long been engaged in marriage services in Banyumas and surrounding areas, initially (before there is a trend of "special" message in invitation cards) donate money still limited to certain people, they gave it through *salam tempel* (cash handshake / giving money in the envelope while doing handshake) with the owner of the celebration (generally the hostess). She was ready with the bag in hand or kept the envelope close to the wedding seats. This method is still used in some areas. According to Mrs. AJS, in 1995 a lot of citizens in Banyumas have started to donate money even though still limited in certain circles. This is indicated by the placement of a ceramic jar near the wedding seats in a somewhat concealed way, the money (within the envelope) is still given through the greetings and then the owner inserts it into the ceramic jar. In 1997/1998, he argued, the public was start open to money donations, the "box" or "barrel" of donations had become a separate industry packed in such a way and placed in an open space, generally directly at the entrance of the house or the reception building. Money / envelopes are no longer given through cash handshake but instead put them together at the time of filling in the guest book.

Based on the interviews and the recognition of some people working in the college environment in Purwokerto show there is a tradition among them to contribute money in the celebration without a name, regardless of the amount of donations given. The reason they expressed was generally: "I do not want to be repaid. It's ok if they don't repaid it". Exceptions apply if they are unable to attend and entrusted to other people who come, then the envelope will be named as their "representative". In the minds of people, anonymous envelopes are identical to small donations as the teachings that develop in society "it is better to donate little, as long as do it sincerely." Although the notion is a bit very relative and subjective, that concept seems not applicable to rural communities because there is social control that regulates the amount of donations. An informant, MN, 34 years old, a lecturer at the state university who lives in the village feel *nyumbang* in the countryside is no longer rational, especially regarding to the inviter who is not too familiar with him. His existence as a resident from outside Banyumas allows him not too tied to the norms *nyumbang* in the rural area,

including in terms of donation amount and difference donation between male and female. But there are also migrants lecturers or other civil servants live in rural areas choose to adapt with village institutions, including in the institutions of donation. In this way they feel more welcomed by the village community. Although this group of immigrants choose to adapt in the institutions of donations, but for their celebration traditions, they may choose to develop their own way.

Based on observations, at the beginning of 2012 the invitation in the Banyumas region experienced a new era driven by middle family, which was actually done by the invitation card model such as in big cities like Jakarta. In the invitation card is inserted a small paper / card containing a special message that essentially "does not accept invited guests at home".

In the message it says "With all due respect and sincere apologies we do not provide acceptance of your blessing at home", while the other message has little difference in the word "With no less respect and our sincere apologies do not receive your blessing at home ". Although it has slightly different words, the core of the message is the same, the owner of the celebration does not accept the presence of guests at home. In the invitation it is written the purpose of invite is to give blessing prayer with the place and time has been determined, so the gift of blessing should also be in accordance with the place and time has been set. Unlike messages from the first invitation and the second invitation, the third invitation message is more assertive and more detailed: "With no less respect and all the Big Family of " Drs. X, - Ms. Y ' please respectfully not to give a gift or visit the residence other than the time and the prescribed reception ". The words "not giving gifts" indicate the language of a ban on gratuities that is now being intensively conducted by **The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)** in the context of eradicating corruption, but the message still continue "or visit the residence other than the time and the prescribed reception". This phenomenon describes how social events in the city have been controlled by "formal" norms that seem very deterministic. As a new phenomenon, the message generated mixed reactions. One of the people's views on the phenomenon is "*Omahkokraolehdiambah?*" ("How come they ban people to visiting their house?") which describes how the function of the house has undergone a shift, the decrease in the social function of the house. The concept of "*namu*" (visit to a person's house) as a form of friendship or social bond between relatives will also disappear due to various factors. First, the reason of limited house space and the narrower parking area of the vehicle makes it difficult to receive large numbers of guests and is considered to disturb the surrounding neighbors; Second, the practical reason, the host does not want to be bothered, such they must provide funds, energy and extra time (in the building and at home), and the Third is the reason for prestige, which is a pride for the host of the celebration if there are a lot of attendees, so the presence of guests at home will reduce the guests present in the building. However the number of guests is a measurement used to measure the size.

According to Kutanegara (2002) and also supported by the direct narrative of an informant from the region of Surakarta, that in the Javanese rural areas of Yogyakarta and Surakarta there is another measurement to measure the size of a celebration, it show from whether the owner of the celebration receives donation or not. If the celebration "*nomposumbangan*" / receive donations then it means the celebration is big, and vice versa. According to an informant who came from the Surakarta region, his family recently held a celebration without "*nomposumbangan*". This is more because "*ewuhpekewuh*" (ashamed and disincline) with neighbors and relatives, because it has often held a celebration, considering his family is a big family, plus a second marriage due to the factor of divorce / death of one spouse. In reality, the control over the size of the contribution occurs at the frequency of a particular celebration or social event. When a family often holds a celebration and with nearby time, there is a tendency for the community to determine their attendance in the celebration and or the size of the donation given. Therefore many of the hosts who feel "*ewuh-pekewuh*" choose not to receive donations. This indicates how donations in the celebration are something that has social sensitivity, in the sense of being easily social gossip in society.

In Banyumas itself until now there has been no tendency of invitation cards containing messages not receiving donations of any kind. On the other hand there are invitation cards that are considered quite phenomenal. Invitations came from newcomer who lived among the Javanese, making the invitation seem unusual to the Javanese. In contrast to the cities, almost all villages that have been studied, print invitations are not widely known to rural households, especially for poor households. Notice of a celebration is done traditionally or orally through traditional media. Written invitations are generally only used to invite certain circles, such as inviting city people where the women work as housemaids and neighbors of their employers or brides' or grooms' factory co-workers. Invitations are not be printed as their order, but they are purchased empty-kind invitation that cost less than Rp. 500 per invitation, even when they purchasing 1 box they will get cheaper price. Although the villagers hope that many guests will attend, but this invitation is not purchased on a large scale because only for the limited circles as already mentioned above. However the biggest guest is from his village neighborhood which is enough to use an oral invitation.

From the picture "invitation" show how simple is the invitation and the celebration. The wedding reception ceremony is usually only attended by close relatives and fellow brides. The address and map are also not written clearly such as city people's invitations. However it is not difficult for city people who get invited to find the address. The spouse will come separately in the celebration, the women will come in groups and be greeted by the hostess, while the men will also come in groups and be greeted by the host. Similarly they will go home together. *Nyumbang* will become a medium for building social ties, how women "chat" along the journey to leave and go home.

According to the research subjects in the Datar village, because generally the spouse donate individually, sometimes when the spouse come and put the donation together, there is a host who waited ... "Ah, *denengkaedurungawehamplop. Aja-ajaklalenya*" (Ah, why he / she have not give the envelope, maybe he or she forgot). Instead an informant, JTW, who lives far apart from her husband, tells that whenever there is a celebration and her husband does not come home, she will donate two categories, to the hostess and the host separately. To the host she explain that she was being her husband representative and give his donate. As a resident from outside the Banyumas region, she chose to adapt with her new environment. Otherwise, if the one who has intent is a widow, both spouses give different donation (male and female). This is as the usual expression of "*Kaemelaswisrandha, nyumbang*" ("That pity she is a widow, donated her). Usually those who receive donations from male guests are the hostess's mothers or brother.

In addition to the oral and written invitations above, Mangunegara village is a village that invites the citizens' celebrations differently, by fire a firecracker whose voice is heard within a radius of one village. In this village there is a tradition, about three days before the celebration (wedding, circumcision) begins, the host fire a fireworks as a form of notice / invitation. At the time of lighting this firecracker accompanied by the event "*panyuwunan*" (beg the blessing) in the host's house so that they can held the event smoothly and have a lot of guests. A lot of guests mean a lot of donations. On the other hand, for some residents in Mangunegara, hearing the fires burning is means to be ready to find money loan to give donate. A villager reveals: "*Pokokenekkrungumerconatinewisdheg-dhegan*" ("If you've heard that sounds, your heart will beat faster").

As with other villagers in the village of Lingasari, Banyumas regency felt the same when hearing the sound of tape recorder music through loud speaker from the owner of the celebration. The sound of the music serves as a reminder to the residents that the event has started and the host is ready to accept the presence of guests and their donations. The type of music must be regulate or it will be a public gossip. For women who do *rewang* (being assistant at the event voluntarily), as long as the music turn on then during that *rewangan* can not rest. Music played for 2 - 3 days, then during the event received guests and donations take place.

System and Reciprocity Mechanism.

As already mentioned above reciprocity as a symmetrical exchange takes place within a simple and relatively homogeneous group of people. In fulfilling the needs of their lives they used to help each other (mutual help). The reproduction of the various dimensions of social relations is based on solidarity and normative moral values. The existence of mutual assistance indicates the existence of a strong communalism that emphasizes the values of togetherness or cooperation and group solidarity. As a rural community, the solidarity developed is mechanical solidarity (referring to the Durkheim concept).

As Mauss (1992) says gifts are never "free" given, without any obligation to reply, so called potlatch. The term potlatch is defined by Mauss as an interchangeable gift and more assertively categorized as reciprocal giving. Theory of Mauss Containing three obligations in the exchange. First, giving gifts as the first step of establishing social relationships. Second, receiving a meaningful gift as acceptance of social ties. Third, reciprocate by rewarding with a higher value indicates social integrity. The obligations that occur in the prize exchange are reciprocal, so the value in the prize is generally soaring. The more expensive the reward value, the better, because the involved parties are being exchanged.

The principle of reciprocity conveyed by Mauss is also strongly held by the villagers of Banyumas. Any donation received should be repayable appropriately according to the household condition of the celebration owner. *Nyumbang* as part of the rural reciprocity system have a gender-dimensional structure. Single form of male donation is money, the size depends on the bonds of kinship. While the contribution of female guests generally is food, and only a small part of non-food (gifts or money). Food can be distinguished again that is rice and non rice/ snacks (*lawuhwedang*). Rice is a donation given by women of the villagers in general whose size is also common since the past which is about 2.5 kg. What is different is that the rice given from their crops or the local rice products, but now the *Raskin* rice (special rice for poor people) is used as the main choice to donated rice. While *lawuhwedang* is a donation given by women from close neighbors and relatives. Socially, a *wedang* is a donation that is considered to have more value so it must also be rewarded more. Women donate money or gifts to date for the rural areas of Banyumas City is still very limited.

The difference in the amount of donations also has implications for the mechanism of receiving donations and the reciprocity system. In general there are two mechanisms governing the reciprocity system in the *nyumbang*

tradition in the Banyumas village, ie directly to the owner if the donation is money, and through *megari* (people who trusted by the host to control the distribution of food donation) control if the donation is food. Money is a donation that comes from male guests, and limited circles for women (such as civil servants, village officials, traders in the market or guests from the city). Money donations of male guests were given to the host, and money donations from female guest were given to the hostess.

For villagers who work as employees (*priyayi* class/ high class) in the city usually carry out a celebration with two systems. The first system for villagers who follow village rules, the guests come to donate not to watch the reception, men come donate money through the greetings and women come to bring rice or *lawuhwedang*. While the second system follows the townspeople, guests come (relatives / friends' offices) at the reception with a much more special banquet (using catering services) and entertainment (usually single organ performance), while neighbors around it only become spectators against the guests who came. Most of the guests came in pairs (the couple) and all donated money in envelopes that had been reserved to a special place on the guest book desk and no more cash handshakes. The reception is also composed of friends of the office and relatives who wear uniforms. For some people by using these two systems is a form of social discrimination of village *priyayi* groups, both in the case of banquet services and banquet facilities. Those conditions also occur in the villages of other regions, such as in Bantul, as revealed in research Kutanegara (2002) that in weddings and circumcision events, the group of wealthy or "*priyayi*" villagers often put the people around as a spectator event whose purpose through celebration their wants to show their social status. While the "*priyayi*" argued that the villagers were not usual to come at the peak of the event. According to TB, which has recently held a celebration, villagers prefer informal events and allow them to interact with the owner more intensively than at the peak of the event. This further reinforces the social differentiation of village communities leading to social discrimination.

The second reciprocity mechanism system is indirect through the *megari* control. This system of mechanisms applies specifically to the donation of foodstuffs and those related to foodstuffs provided by female guests. As has been mentioned above, the general contribution of female guests is food (rice and non rice / *lawuhwedang*). While it is said to be indirect, because for this food donation the hostess has bestowed her mandate on the *megari* to control the donations of the incoming food and return appropriate gifts according to the donations given. In other words *megari* works in the area of the village women's reciprocity community and is the social area of the village due to public control. This is in contrast to money donations, money donations are "private" territories without social control, in which donors and donors are directly related through "cash handshake". However, "cash handshake" also becomes the arena of social control to detect the "social identity" of a person.

"Megari" and Food Pranata Reciprocity of Women Territory.

In Banyumas - Indonesia dialect dictionary, *megari* has the meaning of dish regulator in celebration (Tohari 2003). In practice, *megari* act as a reciprocal organizer between donations and souvenirs or "balen" (counter-gifts) for female guests who have contributed and arranged the distribution of food for various purposes related to the gawe celebration (marriage and circumcision). The presence of *megari* is a local culture of Banyumas, at least as a term.

Specifically *megari* profile can be described as follows:

1. Female gender, generally middle-aged age that is considered to be "pernahkemerke" (good at managing and get around food distribution), consists of 3 - 4 people who are all women.
2. Working exclusively for the celebration of mawaranggawe (marriage and circumcision) at the request of the landlord hostess whose consequences get paid wages, "gifts" and "*kiriman*" (food that deliver to the *megari*'s house) as compensation for her labor services. "*Kiriman*" contain the staple food (rice and side dishes) sent by the owner of the celebration to the female family who work as and during the *megari*, while the "gift" is a gift by the time the work as *megari* has been completed, *luwihan* (excess) in the form of rice and food (snacks).
3. Working for 3-4 days (almost full day), so it is deemed worthy of "compensation" for loss of time for work in the household
4. Working in a special food distribution room, because *megari* has the duty to redistribute food from donations (specially groceries) provided by female guests and then redistribute it for various purposes especially to arrange *angsul – angsul* or *ulih-ulih* (gifts of celebration) to the special female guests and for a celebration dinner.
5. The presence of *megari* in order to carry out the principle of reciprocity: giving - receiving and reciprocating that is considered appropriate. Appropriate means that donation given will be rewarded according to the social value (not necessarily dependent on the value of the rupiah) in effect. The higher the value of a donation, the higher the reward will be.

6. Working under the control of relatives of celebration owners whose nature is to help smooth the redistribution of food, because after all *megari* does not always have full power to regulate the distribution of food. This depends on the trust given by the owner of the celebration.

The presence of *megari* that moves on the area of female guests makes the celebration has its own dynamics and make the image that rural women's donation are complicated. In contrast to male donation, are simple. A social observer describes the presence of the *megari* as an indication that the woman is a calculated, so everything must be arranged in such a way. The heavy burden of women in the tradition *nyumbang* considered by some circles due to the existence of social control through *megari*. If *megari* is used as an indication that the village woman is full of calculation, it seems that there are some things to look for: *Megari* is a legacy of a long-standing subsistence economic system (marked by the donation of agricultural products and local produce) and has been preserved to the present in Banyumas. In subsistence economy relatively unknown profit and loss, they prefer to put safety first.

The content of the gifts is an issue for women contributors. During on the way home the women will peep at each other souvenirs and this will be mocked among the neighbors if the souvenir are not as they expected. Therefore, not all women want to be *megari*, because he will be mocked among the neighbors after the celebration. Instead *megari* also be a source of information about the habits of donors who do not fit the norm or even those who give more. *Megari* will then report to the "hostess" about special donations. This report will be used for the hostess to determine the amount of donation later if there is a neighbor who conduct celebration. In general *megari* not recorded in writing contributions that come in, but only rely on memory only. For some societies recording the amount of donations is considered inappropriate because "counting" donations indicate the nature of the trade. Even if there is a record will not be published in public. The *nyumbang* tradition being social dynamics of village women when reciprocity is considered unbalanced. The form of reciprocity that applies to village women is the long-term reply of donations and short-term (direct) in the form of souvenirs of counterparts, while for men it only applies long-term. While in view of Mauss (1992), to distinguish potlatch by barter, the reward of giving is not given directly, but rather on an unspecified period. Whereas bringing gifts of food gifted gifts is something that is expected by families, especially children and it becomes the duty of women; while men are considered inappropriate to bring souvenir gift gifts.

The presence of *megari* represents the importance of the reciprocity principle within the village community, that all giving is reciprocated, there is a reward. Symbolically the reply gift (Javanese term Banyumasan *ulih-ulih*) is a form of gratitude for the presence, prayer of blessing, attention and most importantly its contribution. Although the symbolic event is a celebration of prayer blessing or safety prayer, it is almost impossible for village women to come to the event without a donation. Even if they are not economically capable, the pressure of shame and sense of social sanction is the driving force to always engage in *nyumbang* traditional activities.

In contrast to men where the principle of reciprocity is only for the long term, the female reciprocity principle mechanism has two systems, short term and long term. Short-term reciprocity is a more typical reciprocal principle of village women, as a form of gratitude that female guests are given *angsul - angsul* (counter gift). In the city they usually give souvenirs as gratitude sign, while in the rural Banyumas it is in the form of food. Here, however, the system of food forms is also two categories for local (dominant) food and food markets. Local food is structural means that the number and type is largely determined by the social value of the contribution. These local food counter gift are given to female guests who have donated food. Rice donation is a common food donation so it will obtain common *angsul - angsul* which is usually a plastic pack of "*rempeyek*" (crispy snack) (often without content) and banana crisp. This food is made by the host long before the celebration. While the contribution of non-rice food that usually in form of *lawuh wedang* they will obtain special *angsul-angsul*, depending on the amount of social value of donation. The contents of *angsul-angsul* also more diverse, there is wet food (most of them obtained from guests' donations) and rice complete with side dishes.

Rice donations are then inserted to donation bag. The equally spirit of the villagers is also manifested in the donate bag (see Figure 1), whose model is almost identical. This bag also serves to be a female reciprocity bag. The guest fill it with donated rice or other foodstuffs, then on the way home it will contain a meal reward.



Figure 1. "Special Bag for The Giving Celebration"

For women who donate money, the counter gift are standard or relatively similar, meaning that no matter how large the donations, the *angsul-angsul* or *ulih-ulih* are the same. The contents of *angsul - angsul* generally are delicious noodle and biscuit bread or balado macaroni worth less than Rp. 5000. "Mie Sedap" has become a trade mark for the contents of *angsul-angsul* in Banyumas. While a resident WiradesaPekalongan said that in his area "Sarimie" which became a trademark for the contents of *angsul-angsul*. Standardization of these counter gift is very possible because the donation is given through the cash handshake when the visitor contributed farewell, so the hostess has not had time to know the size of the donation. In other words women donate money is a "privatization" of the tradition *nyumbang* in rural area because there is no social control through *megari*. The contents of the *angsul - angsul* was already a market product that is generally included in a paper bag that reads thanks for the presence and prayer blessing. Sometimes the owner of the celebration feels sorry after knowing the contents of the envelope of his guest is considered a lot, so it will usually be a subsequent *angsul-angsul*.

Instead a guest will feel proud when the contents of their counter gift added by the host because they realize the donor's background and expected to contribute more than general. For men bringing *angsul-angsul* or *ulih-ulih* that is a direct reply packet back home *nyumbang* is inappropriate. Because it is considered inappropriate, men feel embarrassed when carrying *ulih* replication. "*Lah, isintemen nggawaulih-ulih*" (Whatashame brought souvenir). Due to the existence of inappropriate norms, men do not get the gift after donate such women did. While in a *slametan* because it is framed within male norms, men returning home with *slametan* blessings is a fun for their family because of alternative opportunities to eat well. As Hefner (1982) has pointed out, the division of labor in the *slametan* rituals is female *nyumbang* and *rewang*, while men pray and get a blessing, the envelope as a token of gratitude has been involved in the provision of prayer.

The thing to be aware of is that outside of marriage and circumcision matters, all activities of *nyumbang* by women to have implications to reply both direct (short-term thanks) and indirect (long-term rewards as gifts of mutual or *genten* mutual help). This is mainly for *slametan* activities (institution in the scope of wiring tapis) which quite a lot variations. According to residents, donations that do not have *angsul - ansulis* contributed to death and birth. For the visiting baby birth the donation is done in groups. Because the birth donation absorbs the largest expenditure of rural women. The principles of rural women, every discarded bag that a guest brought to donate will not come home empty. Thus each donation is binding on the recipient to retaliate. For the Javanese the gift will bind a person likened to "*wong dipangku mati*" (when someone be honored and respected, they will be obedient/do not crotchety) as symbolized in the way of writing honcoroko Javanese letters. Therefore, if the owner of the house is not ready with the *angsul-angsul* (for example for donations to build a house or visiting baby birth that has a relatively time is not too limited), then usually this donation bag will be asked by the host first. The host usually come to the shop to search the contents of *angsul-angsul* by way of debt. According to them it is better to owe than to bear the shame of not repaying a gift or a favor. This is what Mauss (1992) later said that the moral economy exchanging will not be matched with natural economic principles or utilitarianism, because of the many social calculations used as the basis of a reciprocal relationship.

Rice Between Social Value and Economic Value of Reciprocity.

Until now, rice is a vital reciprocity tool in the *nyumbang* tradition in rural Java. In rural Banyumas, this rice donation applies to all donate activities except for visiting baby born. Rice represents the basic needs of the most rural people. Rice also serves as a basic necessity for rural households to donate. In contrast to the various shapes and magnitude of donations in other Javanese rural areas, in Banyumasan the rural women generally still survive by donating 2 - 2.5kg of rice. In Bantul it was originally a number of donation reach 5 -7 kg of rice while to neighbors and relatives was 10 - 20 kg of rice. But in the economic crisis era, the price of rice soared from Rp. 800.00 to Rp. 2500,00 per kg. As a result, the contribution of rice was felt to be so burdensome that it change into money and the monetary crisis (krismon) in 1998 was a milestone for the change of donations

from rice to money. Rice is also a social symbol to assess the size of celebration through the amount of rice expenditure and the number of rice donations.

Similarly, the Tengger community Jawa Timur in recording the value of the donation is also synonymous with the value of rice weight, which then is used as the basis to reply to the donation to donors if they later invite the celebration (Hefner 1983). Furthermore, in Subang, West Java, the social exchange in the village is called *gantangan* which literally means a unit of measurement with a value of 1 bushel equal to 10 liters of rice. In practice *gantangan* is the exchange of rice and money made between the neighbors / relative to the host (organizer of the celebration) before or during the celebration party takes place as a guest saving which must be returned by the host (Prasetyo 2012). The value of the *gantanganis* at least equal to half a bushel (5 liters). Thus rice is an important medium for reciprocity system for many villagers, especially in *nyumbang* tradition. In other words, rice is a fair means of exchange for villagers (women) compared to money.

In Banyumas, another reason for the use of rice donations is that rice is a staple food of the villagers so rice is always available at all times. At this time not all villagers can produce their own rice. In fact most of the subjects in this study were not farmers (owners). Many of them as beneficiaries of *raskin* (poor rice). *Raskin* rice is hunted by women to donate the price is cheaper Rp. 1000 compared to rice generally. This rice is then known by the name of donated rice, because it spins from donate to donate. This rice is purchased by women to donate, which is then sold by the owner of the celebration to the shop and bought again by the residents to donate, and so on. In the Datarvillage, Banyumas regency as a center for making *ketupat* that supplies to the Pasar Induk in Purwokerto, donated rice becomes the seizure between residents and *ketupat* (rice cake boiled in plaited coconut leaves) makers. The *ketupat* craftsmen generally have come directly to the owner of the celebration after the event is over. Besides the price is cheaper, donated rice for *ketupat* can also expand so that it can save production cost. In Banyumas in mid-2012 the price of rice *raskin* between Rp. 5.000,00; then when resold by the owner of the celebration price only be Rp. 4.000,00 - Rp. 4.500,00. According to the residents, when they held celebration in the beginning of the month, they usually received *raskin* rice because the distribution of *raskin* is generally on the early date.

In Purbalingga, *raskin* rice, donated rice or their local term is "*sembako* rice" is also highly sought after by women for *nyumbang*. In their language can be described: "*Olehelurungantipadha 'tubrukan' soalemurah ...*" ("They fight each other to get the rice, because it is cheap"). This is illustrated if there is a contribution of 500 kg of rice with an average price of Rp. 6.000, 00 / kg, then if it is cashed is worth Rp. 3.000.000,00 received by the host. Conversely, if the donation given in the form of rice and then sold Rp. 5.000,00 / kg, the total sale value is only Rp. 2.500.000,00 so mathematically they loss Rp. 500.000,00. But the mathematics / social calculation of village women is different and much more complicated.

There are many social calculations that women consider not to switch from rice to money. This female social calculation is based on many aspects, between the reality and demands of the market economy (money), norms and the need for self-existence which involves social recognition. If previously donated can use agricultural products, but now with the market economy system, donate more use of cash, either directly or indirectly. Men donate money directly, while women who donate food can no longer be subsistently fulfilled but must be obtained through a market economy. Mainly for women from poor households who are no longer working in the fields and have no agricultural land.

This kind of development causes the villagers' dependence on money to grow larger and wider. Subsistence economy loses its strength in meeting the needs of rural communities. In this case women appear to be the most responsible parties for the changes that occur, because socially, women are the household economic regulator. While in social transactions such as the *nyumbang* tradition, women are the important social actors who take many roles (Geertz 1983). Limitations of cash cause the women have high dependence on village stalls in order to meet the need for donations, and done by way of debt. They do not always have cash, so taking debt by buying rice or other foodstuffs to a stall is more likely than owe money to the neighbors. Instead the stalls will also not be sold if it can not be debted. Food donations and *lawuh wedang* from the neighbors and relatives of women is philosophically useful to entertain the guests and used as the content of *ulih-ulih*. If there is nothing left except given for the neighbors and relatives can also be sold again, especially for dry foods. Usually they neighbors ask each other about the donateto be brought.

For the contents of the *angsul – angsulis* a product from the city, not from society itself. The practical reason is if there is any leftover it can be sold again. At this time not everyone can process traditional food. To make a *jenang* (a yummy fludge-like sweet made from glutinous rice, palm sugar and coconut milk) for example, for good results there needs to be a ceremony / giving offerings, don't allow to swearing, and so on. With the current pattern of women's work (tied to work contracts with employers and outdoors) not many people can make *jenangs*. In Mrebet Purbalingga for example, *ulih-ulih* obtained from donations in *tenong / tenggok* (boxes) used to be traditional foods such as: *klenteng* (rice flour food), *ampyang / rengginang*, *cucur*, *tumpi* (plain rempeyek without content), *wajik / ketan*, *jenang*, *mendut*, *utri* (shredded coconut mixed with

coconut wrapped in banana leaves), and so on. Along with the number of women who work at eyelash factories, all the food for the *angsul* is a market / store product.

The principle of reciprocity conducted by women through rice donations seems to be an act of comparative rationality that accommodates all of Weber's rational and non-rational social actions, as rice meets all aspects of exchange rates: symbolic value, usage value and exchange rate. In other words, rice has the power of social dimension, economic dimension and time dimension.

Money, although it has the advantage as a rationality tool for modern society, but for village women rice have a more appropriate equivalent exchange rates, especially in terms of time. This rationality for village women is more placed on how to enforce a principle of reciprocity (village size).

"Special Code" Process of Reciprocity

In the daily discourse of the Javanese the concept of giving often circulated the phrase: "Setithikorapoposal ikhlas" (donate little is okay as long as do it sincerely) or "if you have no money do not forced to donate" those phrases stop at mere expression. According to Mauss gifts are never "free" given, without any obligation to reply, so called a *potlatch*. The term **potlatch** is defined by Mauss as an interchangeable gift. It is categorized more assertive as a reciprocal gift. Here there is no sincere, voluntary or godly concept, just hopefully giving. The existence of *megari* as already revealed above is to carry out the moral principle of reciprocity from the recipient side to be able to control and reciprocate all the gifts received. While from the giver's side it doesn't clearly whether they sincere or not and voluntary in giving without expecting a reply. In the concept of Mauss above, there is no sincere, voluntary or godly concept, just hopefully giving. This "hopeful" packaging is about moral ethics in the *nyumbang* tradition.

In the village money contributor (men) generally do not write their names on the envelopes because there is no common standard in donate money. This is because the men directly give donation to the host at the time they want to leave after enjoy the meal. Although there is no common standard, but from daily chats people already understand that men generally donate in the range of Rp. 10,000,00 to Rp. 20,000,00. Generally donate envelope nameless, but the host is quite memorized by the amount of content. At the time of "cash handshake" is a medium for the host to identify the envelope in a certain way. "Cash handshake" is also a medium of social control. Therefore, envelope boxes are not widely used in celebration party in rural areas except for the wealth people.

As men who donate more will give a special sign, women also do the same when donating non-common. Usually if the person donate bigger than the standard, he will say to the host, such as "aku mau nggawa endhogsiji" (I brought a single pack of eggs) so that who have the intention 'recording' her contribution and later reply with an equivalent value. Eggs have a special place for the villagers. Eggs are a symbol of wellbeing on top of basic needs, so, by contributes the eggs they will also get a better reply parcel. Donate 2 kg eggs worth Rp. 30,000,00 equal with donating money as much as Rp. 30,000,00 but the souvenirs will get different treatment, where the egg contribution more appreciated.

II. Conclusions and Suggestion

Megari's existence show how the principles of justice should be run between donors and those who are contributed in the giving-receiving process. This also indicates that *nyumbang* has a strong social control for women so that it becomes its own social dynamics between the sense of social solidarity. The contribution of rice is still the main reciprocity medium for most village women as it does when the village still applies subsistence economic system. When monetization of donations has been widely used in the *nyumbang* tradition, rice still has its strength as an important media of reciprocity in the village. In this reciprocity phenomenon there is a tendency of reciprocity system that exist in *nyumbang* tradition in rural Java experienced a shift from usage value to exchange rate as revealed by Kutaneegara (2002) is not entirely justified. This is because rice for the villagers meets the aspect of use value and exchange rate. The usage value, because after all, rice is still a vital necessity that is vital for the villagers, while it can fulfill the exchange rate aspect because rice has a high resale value, even if it is a donate rice. For poor women, the existence of donated rice is not only to fulfill the social legality aspect, "*ketongawane*", to donate, but also to be used as consumption rice. This means that in the midst of donation monetization, rice still has its strength as part of an important reciprocity system. While the shift from rice contribution and other food to money has reduced social ties for some women, and the *megari's* function has diminished, social control has weakened and sodality spaces for village women will also diminish. On the other hand monetization is difficult to avoid, so it is necessary to seek to create new sodality spaces or revive the existing sodality spaces.

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