

The Form of Cultural and Social Changes in the Ritual of Ruwatan Sukerta Children in Java Community

Asri Sundari^{a*}, Sunarti Mustamar^{b, a,b} Faculty of Humanities, University of Jember, Email: ^{a*}asri.sundari175@gmail.com

Ritual is an integral form of Javanese society and has resulted in the change of different understanding about the rituals of children participating in symbolic meaning. The changes can be seen in the flow of urbanisation and religion which can submerge a system; then it causes clashes in the traditional (rural) society that considers symbols in Ruwatan children has meaning, values, norms. While the modern (urban) society considers the symbols in children's Ruwatan has meaningless or no values.

Key words: *Ritual, Ruwatan Sukerta Child, Symbol, Values, Social and Cultural Change.*

Introduction

In some Javanese communities until now they still believe that children or people who belong to sukerta or sukreta if they are not *diruwat* (javanese ritual) will get havoc. Havoc or disaster describes misery, suffering or even a big life hazard. The word *mala* means filth, impurity, and *pataka* is falling or which causes to fall so that the word *malapetaka* can be interpreted as the fall of dirt.

In these ancient stories must be *diruwat* or released from the sufferer. Therefore, in the present, people who get disasters are called sukreta or sukerta people; suker which means dirt. They must be freed from disaster by *diruwat*. In the belief of some Javanese people, sukerta people or children are those who become one of Batharakala's food. The word *ruwat* is found in the ancient Javanese script. Ramayana Manuscript, written about 820-832 Saka, (898-910 AD) has used the word Ruwat. In this case the manuscripts of Arjunawihaha,

Ramaparuswijaya, Partayajna, Kunjarakarna, Kidung Sundayana, Sri Tanjung, Candidate Charcoal and so on. The word *Ruwat* in the text is used in the sense of being broken, released, free, destroyed. In the end, the word is widely used in the meaning of freeing blemishes, letting go of evil, wiping out havoc and so on. Besides the word *Ruwatan* in ancient stories, the word *lukat* is used, which is the same or almost the same in meaning.

The old text which contains the story of *Ruwatan* is *Kidung Sudamala*. The story of the treatment of *Bathari Durga* who had a giant face was saddled by *Sadewa* and returned to be an angel of *Dewi Uma*. The ugly and miserable face of life in *Setra Gandamayu* was liberated by *Sadewa* so that the ugly face became beautiful again; the miserable life became a happy life. Likewise, the treatment of *Kantakala* and *Kalanjaya* with a big body and face, which then the body and the ugly face became good again. There are also new scripts that tell the story, but the contents and form of the story are different from the *Sudamala* story.

The Forms of *Ruwatan* Ritual in Javanese Society

In ancient Javanese stories, the word of *ruwatan* or *mengruwat* means to make no power, abolish, liberate. What is freed is, *papa*, misery, *mala* blemishes. In Javanese tradition there is the term of *sukreta* child, *sokreta* or *sukerta*. It seems that the understanding of the word *sukreta* in ancient Java developed and eventually became the integrity of the *sukerta* child.

In the new Javanese language the word *sukerta* in Javanese means it has been made, it has been done. Therefore, it becomes a culture or belief that the *sukerta* child if he was circumcised or married must be celebrated, using *Murwakala play*. In some community groups, it was argued that the *sukerta* child was a *suker*, meaning dirty, therefore it must be cleaned or *diruwat*, because the child was a threat to *Batharakala* (Asri, 1996); (Berger, 1998); (Bertens, 1987); (Budiono, 1987).

It becomes an act of custom, because according to Javanese beliefs, the situation or events related to the life of the individual are not accidental events, for example the birth of *sukreta* child. The event is considered as predetermined by God who determines the course of life of each person (Geertz 1981). So according to Javanese belief when the situation occurred, it is seen as critical times, constraints of this kind can cause social danger, meaning the order of the cosmos is disturbed, the balance of the community is threatened. The source of danger is believed to originate from supernatural powers. To maintain this order of the cosmos, the Javanese made an effort in the form of salvation, namely in the form of *ruwatan*.

The expectations in the natural world are the absence of magical disturbances. These expectations manifest symbolically, in form, offerings or *sesaji*. The offering or *sesaji* is a part of ceremonial equipment which is important in all types of salvation. This offering or *sesaji* serves a gift, offering or *persembahan* to the ancestors (KBI 1990).

The diversity of *sesaji* depends on the type of ceremony because the completeness of *sesaji* is seen to affect the validity of the ceremony. Javanese people see that the form of the ceremony held will not be accepted by something deemed to have the power if the offering or *sesaji* is offered not ultimately because this offer or *sesaji* serves as a gift or offering intended for ancestors who are considered to protect the community by a *ruwatan* ritual from evil interference. *Sesaji* has mystical and symbolical charged properties (Erington 1984) (Chaer, 1994); (Clifford, 1989); (Clifford, 1992); (David, 1999).

The Meaning of *Ruwatan* Ritual in Javanese Society

In various societies, generally, there is a concept that each individual's life is divided into levels. Level by level will be passed or called the life cycle. In this life cycle, humans can lose their self-control and harmony resulting damage not only in the human community but also in the spiritual world. In that condition, people are quickly attacked by the power of evil spirits that can take awareness. In such a situation, the Javanese people held resistance by carrying out the ritual practices.

In practice, the neighbours and relatives gather in harmony to celebrate a banquet (in Javanese called *Kenduri*) in which the behaviour is as a goal to achieve cosmic balance. Furthermore, the harmonious cooperation of neighbours and relatives during the preparation (Javanese called *Rewang*) was highly valued by the Javanese community as a sign of public harmony among citizens, with many problems occurring in Javanese history. Peace and harmony are values that must be fought for and not just glorified. That is the reason why the *Ruwatan* ritual is a traditional ceremony which is certainly formulated and designed in such a way as to show a quiet atmosphere, lonely from the hustle and bustle in the lives of both individuals and social groups as well as self-control of rhythmic arrangements witnessed at ceremonial events. Besides, for Javanese people, various rituals are carried out as an effort to continue the ancestral tradition, in this case, a necessity in Javanese ethics.

Primarily the ritual carried out was a multifunctional event which showed high respect for the ancestors and Javanese traditions and was a form of religious obligation. This is following William (1992) in his ritual theory, stated that this ritual explains its function and usefulness, which is a religion that functions to connect humans with relatives. So it is not just to strengthen group solidarity or social ties (Dison, 1994); (Rato 996); (Doyle, 1986); (Franz, 1985)

The Aim of *Ruwatan* Ritual in Javanese Society

Ruwatan is a form of a traditional Javanese ceremony and it is an integral part of Javanese life in social, cultural and ritual life. Besides that *ruwatan* is as a reflection of life attitudes and supporting identity that related to the beliefs of the Javanese people.

Javanese people realise that in fostering life will never be the perfect one. The forms of life's desires or mistakes in life's events will always cover his or her life. Whether the incident is intentional or not, the failure can lead to life disharmony and makes people uncomfortable because they feel there is still something lacking. The great peculiarity can be fatal to humans (Franz, 1987); (Galdscheider, 1985); (Garna, 1991); (Geertz, 1992).

For the peculiarities such as marriages, building houses, moving house, a birth event happens because it did not heed Javanese or numerological calculations. To neutralize the event, the Javanese performs a *ruwatan* ritual whose purpose is to achieve life safety and there are no disturbances happens both from the real world and the unseen world.

The primary purpose of organising *ruwatan* is to achieve a balance of life (harmony), namely the achievement of physical and spiritual happiness. Conceptually, harmony is exists, but it will still not exist in reality. Nevertheless, humans always try to achieve it by linking various phenomena that they admit and are seen as having a bearing on their life's fairy. The rationality is used as a tool to understand life is, of course, limited to the mind.

In essence, the implementation of *Ruwatan* has two objectives, namely horizontal and vertical. Horizontally, it is to foster the feeling of solidarity, social and to express gratitude in amid different diversity orientations. Vertically *Ruwatan* functions to get blessings and protection from God who controls the universe and by holding sacred ceremonies completed by *sesaji* or offering which is expected no more disturbance befalls him. In this case, they believe that the source of the disruption of life comes from two sides, namely from people who live in the real world and who come from the unseen world (George, 1996); (George); (Ving and Zeithin, 1998); (Ihrom, 1984).

Ruwatan Ritual in the Social and Cultural Perspective of the Javanese Community

a. Traditional Perspective

Ruwatan ceremony is an essential ritual tradition celebrated by the people of Iawa. It can be proved that in the Javanese community which is located in the South approximately 30 km from the capital of Jember Regency. The society still holds full trust even if people experience extraordinary events of birth in the world, and the person must be *diruwat* The Javanese community named the ceremony with the ritual of *ruwatan* sukerta child. The form of *ruwatan* is a form of salvation to resist danger. According to Kodiran in Human and Indonesian Culture (1979). The form of the ceremonial salvation is classified into six types,

and what is still preserved is *ruwatan* salvation ceremony (Veeger, 1990); (Kleden); (Kodiran, 1979); (Koentjoroningrat, 1987).

This form of trust is a pure tradition in which tradition is a hereditary habit based on the cultural values of the people concerned. In the tradition, there are a number of conventions. This convention is a guideline for adoption by the traditional community groups concerned. In tradition, there is a rule or a form of identity. The identity is inherent in the community members, even though they are not in a social relationship with other communities. Identity is essentially not an instrument to distinguish themselves but also as a picture of the behavior of values, cultural symbols which are meaningful to their lives. The identity in *ruwatan* ritual is sacred because this ritual is not a daily occurrence which at certain times is repeated but still accompanied by one or several symbols. According to Kleden Probonegara in the journal of the Faculty of Literature that sacred rites were found as religious ceremonies.

According to Durkhem the sacred rite, in this case, the *ruwatan sukerta* child has a relationship with things that cannot be observed through normal perception, because all ideas about actions are actually conjectural but are considered as a truth (Van Baal 1987) for citizens who commit themselves to the rite certainly have more or less the same religious discourse or according to Durkhem as characterised as representation collectives (Koentjoningrat 1987) therefore the religious practice of a particular group has a meaning that is specific to the group and becomes a configuration for its life (Koentjoroningrat, 1990); (Koentjoroningrat, 1994); (Laurer Robert, 1989); (Mardiwarsita, 1978).

The Javanese community in Jember Regency, in this case, is the people of Ambulu and Wuluhan which is located in South Jember, the population of almost all Javanese tribes originating from the District of Kediri, Tulungagung, Madiun, Yogyakarta. The inhabitants have been considered as indigenous people who have sacred rites that are highly valued in an orderly manner—namely Ruwatan Rite.

The condition of Jember Javanese people in Ambulu and Wuluhan even though they were Muslims as their religion and claimed that their acceptance as Muslims did not disturb the previous tradition. The connection of the Javanese in Jember to sacred rites such as the *ruwatan* rite of the *sukerta* child possessed gives the general impression that the Javanese were close to what Geertz called *abangan* on Java where they placed the *ruwatan* rite of the *sukerta* child as an important event and tradition in his life.

The Steps or Procedure of *Ruwatan* ritual *Sukerta* Child

Levi Strauss responds to cultural phenomena, in essence, is the human mind. In this case, the phenomenon like ritual is an empirical thing which cannot be captured by the senses. Linking

between theory and phenomenon, in this case, is in response to the steps in holding a ritual, with the calculation of time, day and year. Logically the step is non-existent and strange but in confidence, this fact must be carried out. *Ruwatan* child ceremony for traditional Javanese society is a form of traditional ritual which must be performed if someone experiences a *sukerta* birth process (Levi-Strauss, 1997); (Marbangun, 1989); (Moh, 1985); (Mursal, 1993); (Poerwadarminta, 1939).

a. The Steps Must Be Conducted

The first thing that must be done to conduct the ritual or the ceremony:

1. Calculation of time, day, month and year

What is meant is the concept of culture. Javanese culture which is better known by the calculation of dragon day, dragon moon, and dragon year. Within this system lies the fundamental Javanese metaphysical concept that is suitable. (Geertz 1981).

This confinement system provides a way of declaring this relationship to provide a way of expressing this relationship and thus adjusting one's actions to the system. This is a way to avoid a kind of disharmony with the general order that will only bring a disadvantage. In connection with the problem here is the implementation of *ruwatan* ritual of *sukerta* child, so it does not just decide to do the ceremony. However, it must take into account the calculation:

The Calculation of Dragon Day

The dragon day has a calculation which contains values in Javanese tradition there is a number of *byang* into calculations that must be obeyed because if it is not obeyed, there is a belief that disaster will come. The value of the day includes:

	Value
1. Sunday	5
2. Monday	4
3. Sunday	3
4. Wednesday	7
5. Thursday	8
6. Friday	6
7. Saturday	9

While *pasarannya* such as :

Value

1. *Kliwon* 8
 2. *Legi* 5
 3. *Pahing* 9
 4. *Pon* 7
 5. *Wage* 4
- (Javanese *Primbon* : 1)

Furthermore, to determine the days that can not be selected calculation like the example below:

The sum of the values between the day value and *pasaran* value is added if the amount is calculated then there is the meaning behind the value:

1	Total Value	Meaning	Characteristic
	7 or 13	Prosperous	Good
	12 or 18	Natural Disaster	Bad

Calculating Dragon moon

Traditional Javanese people still have a strong belief, in choosing a month as follow:

- Suro
- Sapar
- Maulud
- Bakda Maulud
- Jumadi Awal
- Jumadi Akhir
- Rejeb
- Ruwah
- Puasa
- Dulkhaidah
- Besar

Among these days Javanese customs believe that the month of Suro is a frightening month that must be avoided

Calculating Dragon year

In the sense of the year, there is a prohibition if there is a person has an intention or *kenduri/hajat* must be obeyed. The dragon year consists of:

- Alif
- Be
- Wawu
- Kabisat
- Ehe
- Dal

For children born in Dal, it is not permissible to hold a ceremony in Dal because there is a belief that holding a ceremony will be disastrous.

a. The Facilities and infrastructure for the *Ruwatan* ritual process

1. Leather Puppet Show (*pagelaran wayang kulit*)

In the *Ruwatan* ceremony, *wayang kulit* show is the main requirement in the ceremony. The story that was performed was Batharakala. While the puppeteer or *dalang* is not a caretaker *dalang*, but *dalang* of the mastermind is already qualified. In this ritual, the main means of *wayang kulit* shows are used because, since the Neolithic era *wayang kulit* shows in this case shadows are religious ceremonies or ceremonies related to the beliefs that are done at night to worship Hyang. While on the other hand puppets are part of ritualistic, polytheistic and magical *abangan* religious patterns, puppets are therefore a type of defensive ritual whose position as the embodiment of *slametan* (Geertz, 1989). According to Sri Mulyono (1982) puppet is a symbol which explains human existence in the relationship between natural and supernatural powers (Priyatmaka dan Edyson, 1995); (Subalidinata, 1985); (Rusli, 2001); (Sasradiharjo, 1986).

After a good day was determined for the Purwo puppet show, then the “*teratak*” screen was set up above, hung 2. Rice strand, two sunflower fields, sugar cane on either side and two *thundun* banana raja as meaningful symbols. Before the staging of the *Ruwatan* play begins all other requirements have been prepared such as *sesaji* with bamboo measure hung by a rope, flower, areca nut, barek, a kind of yellow-colored pelutas which smell nice and incense *kemenyan*. The takir is hung on the screen near the puppeteer or *dalang*.

Near the *blencong* (puppet lights), clothes are placed into the requirements for 7-color long fabrics. And headbands, these are all anointed with incense and after the staging is finished, is brought home by the puppeteer or *dalang*. Before the performance of the Batharakala play begins, all the holes next to the house and the building beside it must be closed. During the performance, *sukerta* children were seated close to the screen (puppeteer) by being covered with White Mori, during the *ruwatan* the children were not allowed to sleep and when finished mastermind staged puppets, the children were cut off as clean symbols and bathed with water from *sesaji*

The implementation of Ruwatan is carried out in any situation such as together with circumcisions, marriages or in the special time of holding *Ruwatan*. What is clear before entering married life. The form of the *ruwat* tradition is not an arbitrary salvation ceremony. So the implementation of these forms must be carried out by *wayang kulit*, if it is done in the morning then it must be completed before Duhur and if it is done the afternoon then it must be completed before Maghrib. The procedure before playing the puppet, with the lifting of mountains where the form has meaning in navigating a life will face challenges which are symbolized in the mountain picture. The form of the implementation is also equipped with *sesaji*, such as *Buceng*, Roast Chicken, *Gedhang Setangkep*, Coconut, *Kembang Telon* which are all placed on top of *niru* or *tempeh*. Besides, there are forms of *sesaji* of kitchen utensils such as irus, boiler, steam, and so on. These forms are located beside the puppeteer or *dalang*.

The Perspective Change

Today almost all societies experience a change, both social change and cultural change. It happens because of people way's of life in the modern era has already developed time by time. The change or development of society today will continue, applies to all societies and can apply anywhere (Garna, 1991). It can take place suddenly and simultaneously (revolution) or slowly (evolution).

This fact occurs in the form of ruwatan ritual sukerta child which change in the society rapidly, so there is a change in the meaning of the symbols used in the ritual of Ruwatan. To explain this study, there are several theories, including:

1. Structural Theory

Levi Strauss and Redcliffe Brown pioneered structural terms and terms of structuralism in cultural anthropology. The two figures are each obsessed with structure, but both are different in understanding the structure. Redcliffe Brown looks for structures in reality which can be observed by looking at the entire network of existing social relations. In the end, epistemologically he departs from the assumption that the reality is all things that can be captured by the senses.

It is different, according to Levi Strauss, he looks for the structure behind the observed reality. According to Levi Strauss, it departs from the assumption that reality is not something that seems empirical or sensory, but it is behind it all (Soedarsono, 1986); (Soerjono, 1990); (Sri, 1987); (Susanto, 1984).

Levi Strauss responds to cultural phenomena, in essence, is the human mind. In this case, a phenomenon like ritual is an empirical thing which cannot be captured by the senses. According to Levi Strauss, culture consists of relations which can form structures, the

structures that are hidden behind visible and unconscious phenomena (Unconscious). The structure is not concerned with empirical reality but with the models arranged behind it (Levi Strauss, 1963). Therefore the structure must be found through structural analysts.

In this regard, ruwatan ritual in *sukerta* child in this research is a structure which cannot be understood by the senses. Furthermore, one of the essential things in structural analysts is about the use of the elementary concept of the division of the universe into two groups based on the most different features of a method called binary opposition or paired opposition. The concept of binary opposition is very elementary in human life and can be seen in daily life such as the division of day/night, earth/sky, life/death, male/female, human/god (*dewa*), left / right and so on. The one element in paired opposition can only be understood if it is connected with other elements. For example, the day can only be understood if it is connected with the night.

Based on the elementary concept, Levi Strauss then saw the tendency of the human mind to always look for a link between two extreme points on one continuum namely a point that contains the characteristics of the two extreme points (Sayudi, 1994); (Sugiyana, 2000); (Tomas, 1995); (Usman and Asik).

Structural models which underlie religious activities in the ruwatan *sukerta* children, there are differences between profane and sacred, in the human mind is a structure that refers to the binary opposition model. Humans are natural creatures who are considered to occupy the profane world and oppose with subtle or supernatural creatures that occupy the sacred world such as ancestral spirits, gods, God and so on. Thus the binary opposition model, the profane world or the sacred world can be obtained, while the ancestral spirits of gods, God are supernatural.

2. The Functional Structural Theory

This theory is a methodology for exploiting interdependence; according to experts, functionalism is a theory of cultural processes. Kaplan (2000) stated that the cultural changes that occurred in traditional ceremonies are caused by dependence from the community. Does the community still want to keep, maintain, then this culture still functions, but if the community can no longer maintain, then there is dysfunction.

The things which cause people are not able to maintain, among others, because in this form it has a value system, rules of various interactions and actions occur, whereas today with the presence of contact or communication with residents of the surrounding community, as stated by Susanto (1984) the contact of a social group with other social groups or a nation with other nations can cause changes.

The changes in the past went slowly because transportation technology has not been as fast as today. The progress in transportation has resulted in physical changes, so contact between social groups or between nations has increased. The increasing frequency of contacts between social groups or a nation allows the faster dissemination of knowledge so that societal changes occur more quickly as well. This is as said by Garna (1991) argues that in increasingly global life, the change will be considered as a habit because of technological developments and transportation.

In accordance with Kaplan's opinion that the functioning and whether or not it depends on the community. It turned out that Sorokin also stated that the shift in society could be caused by humans themselves such as inclinations and impulses.

Therefore, if in the implementation of ruwatan ritual sukerta child is also subject to change, due to technological advances, knowledge, finally the community develops the ways of thinking more rationally and so that rituals with various symbols are considered useless, irrational, which are eventually forgotten because it is deemed not functioning.

3. The Theory of Social Change

According to Laurer (1999) social changes as an essential change of social structure are patterns, social behaviour and interactions, norms, values and cultural phenomena.

This opinion is also reinforced by Veeger (1990) that Veeger rejects realism in philosophy; he does not allow his mind and freedom to be granted by an outside reality. He allows independence; he is anxious about the freedom of creativity. It does not depart from social institutions. This kind of action means that it has entered social change or is leading towards modernity. According to Davis (1960), social change is a change which occurs in the structure and function of a society. In other words, social change means a shift in the fabric of social elements that are essential in the society, both patterns of family, group, government and community relations.

4. The Theory of Cultural Change

This theory explains the occurrence of changes in values, norms in society. According to Sudarsono (1985), cultural change occurs is a process of changing values, old traditional cultural norms toward modern cultural values. The traditional cultural values are values which have been passed down for generations and are lived in people's lives. While the new cultural values are the values, grow and develop as the application of science and technology. This process begins with development in all fields, especially in economic development, where every development is directed towards industrial society. The symptoms of industrial society, among others, in the set of cultural values give the confidence that the natural environment is realised to be enjoyed to meet human needs unlimitedly. Therefore humans

are always encouraged to develop technology to master the environment and not just adapt as part of the ecosystem. Thus humans are not bound to a particular environment in processing the resources (Van Baal, 1981); (William, 1999).

As a result of this system humans always show the developments which reflect unceasing growth and change, then the cultural change ensues. Examples of *ruwatan* ritual forms with *wayang kulit* shows and complete with *sesaji* which are meaningful symbols have changed because they are considered to be of no value. This fact occurred during the *Ruwatan* incident in the Santo Yusuf Catholic Church in Jember Regency. If you pay attention to the procedure is a form of deviation from the values, norms.

In this case, the theory of cultural change places more emphasis on changes in the value system, rules and various actions occurred. Based on the view, the ritual of *ruwatan sukerta* child that takes place in Jember Regency is a fact of social and cultural change.

It can be seen in the form of acculturation conducted by Pastor Justin in Catholic Church Jember Regency. In fact, the church does not have a rule or a teaching code of worship to perform *ruwatan* rites, moreover on its numerological system or Javanese count. The category of child's *sukerta* is like children *ontang-anting*, *sendhang kapit pancuran*. Besides, in doing *ruwatan*, it has deviated from the Javanese traditional order lines which are conditional on values. While the thing proves that the event is also included in the category of social change is a condition by doing mass that saves costs. This is certainly different from the actual traditional (*adat*) process.

5. Modernisation Theory

It should be noted that as Javanese people, especially those who live in urban rituals, *Ruwatan* is no longer a form of trust or the only means of maintaining harmony or a means of dispelling danger so that it can pave the way to success in treading the cycle of life.

However, due to a process of transformation in all aspects of human life both in the economic and social fields, the ritual of *ruwatan sukerta* child has lost its magical value, as well as losing the inherent symbolic meaning. As Berger (1982) stated in Dominikus (1996) that the modernisation works like a giant sledgehammer which destroys the traditional institutions and the structure of the meaning of the protection of traditional institutions, even the institution tends to deprive people of the cosmological peace obtained through traditional religious views. This is as said by Guldscheider (1985) that modernisation means developing rationality and new ways of thinking and the inclusion of these methods in every human social life. Thus the modernisation means dynamic changes which have implications not only the fading of tradition, without fear of their lives that change but what is important how to realise the change from ordinary into another habit. These changes can involve the most

essential things. Namely changes in cultural meaning, in this case, has a vital role in people's lives because it is not only a reference but can be a guideline for people's lives.

The forms of reality and the causes of cultural and social change based on the shape of the change, the reasons are found;

- a. So far, in innovation at the state and city level, there are no alternative means to foster symbolic capital. The reasons proved as follows:
 1. Lack of government attention to the development of Javanese culture such as establishing Javanese cultural institutions or *Javanologi* so that the way of fertilizing symbolic capital has never been done, for example organizing traditional *ruwatan* events.
 2. Because of the lack of guidance so that the shadow puppet or (*wayang kulit*) show was held only in demand by the heirs of Javanese culture who were mostly from rural communities.
 3. Very few Javanese cultural experts understand the meaning of symbols in Javanese cultural values.
 4. Lack of attention in fostering educational institutions, in this case, is fostering experience and expert puppeteer (*dalang*) by organizing informal gatherings so that *dalang* can understand the meaning of symbols and give attention to the Javanese community both through radio and television. This fact appears on events.

In the event of the *ruwatan* at Police Station Jember regency by *dalang* Timbul, the writer observed that the ritual was held in *godho-godho*, meaning that in the performance the puppeteer or *dalang* Timbul had not paid attention to the completeness of the ritual event which included the installation of symbols and *sesaji*, and reading spells whose status as prayer to communicate to the Almighty.

Another fact is found in the implementation of the *Ruwatan* ritual at Belitung Housing complex on July 19, 2000. In carrying out the *ruwatan*, sukerta child does not pay attention to completeness such as symbols of *sesaji* and incantations.

The fact that when there is a change in symbolic meaning in the implementation of ritual rituals by the Catholic Church in Jember Regency, namely the acculturation model carried out by Father Yustinus. Rituals do not use symbols, offerings and mantras or even *wayang* performances are held only as entertainment, not as a magical ritual.

5. Because of the lack of guidance from educational institutions on Javanese culture among teachers from elementary to high school level, it results in not understanding the symbolic meaning in Javanese culture for their students.

- b. The prevailing economic conditions are very influential because in reality, as long as the economy is good, the community will be motivated.

The changes in symbolic meaning caused by the prevailing economic conditions significantly affect, because in reality as long as the economy is good, the urban community will be motivated to carry out ritual traditions with full understanding, but if the cost of living rises, it can be predicted that there will be changes in ritual practices. It happened several times when the economic conditions have worsened, the costs of rituals have been reduced, it is because the ritual with all the equipment requires substantial funds. Therefore they finally simplified the ritual procedures by changing the symbol. As a result of these actions, the rituals of *ruwatan* are sacred ceremonies are full of magic again become profane forms which merely complementary to cultural changes and social changes. Understanding for urban communities, rituals are not the only best way to get social recognition compared to education. Therefore urban people prioritise educating children. Educating is a very high goal and has a positive impact on improving social status, as smart and educated children will get prestigious jobs. While their view of ritual is not the only best way to get social recognition compared to education. Therefore the ritual is then cut and held on a small scale even abandoned.

- c. The influence of modernisation

In the theory of modernisation according to Guldscneider (1985) stated that modernisation develops rationality and new ways of thinking and the inclusion of these methods in every human social life. Thus modernisation means dynamic changes which have implications, not only the fading of tradition, the fear of their lives that change, but also what is important is how to realise the change from one that can become another habit. These changes can involve the most significant thing, namely changes in cultural meaning. In connection with this, it is necessary to know that as a Javanese community, especially those living in urban rituals, the rituals of *ruwatan* sukerta child is no longer a form of trust or the only way to maintain harmony or a means of dispelling danger, but because of a process of transformation in aspects of human life both in the field The economic, political and social, the rituals of *Ruuwatan* Sukerta child has lost its magical value while losing the inherent symbolic meaning. This is like the opinion of Berger (1988) that stated modernisation works like a giant sledgehammer which destroys traditional institutions as well as the structure of the meaning of protection of traditional institutions. How hard the institution is, it tends to deprive humans of the cosmological peace obtained through the views of traditional religion. In the social reality, the meaning received by the individual through the process of rationalisation, so that the filtering process occurs when the external process is running, therefore the meaning in tradition of *Ruwat* has various meanings. The change in symbolic meaning, according to the views of urban communities in Jember Regency, the people who live in Kaliwates district, Patrang district and Summersari district, logically they do not

believe that in this world there are births of dirty or *sukerta* child, their understanding of the term *sukerta* which has become the basis of trust traditional society is a person who is not careful, an example in Javanese belief that people refer to are people who decide on the *gandhik* (traditional medicine for rinsing) the traditional people believe that the person must be complained with all his equipment. Javanese people believe that if it is not carried out it will be affected by disaster, on the contrary urban society believes that if a person decides an object, in this case, he must replace it, they will not be afraid and do not believe if a disaster will occur. Their understanding of *sukerta* child is as *ontang-anting*, *uger-uger lawang* is usually just an ordinary birth process. If it is related to the process of *agamanisation*, namely by cleansing *Istiqosah*, by being educated with religious teachings, good character and good schooling, it will eventually succeed.

It can be seen in urban communities in Jember Regency, which consist of Kaliwates, Summersari, Patrang Districts in the face of rituals. Urban society is more rational in understanding symbols, this is because of the influence of technological developments, communication equipment, TV, radio, VCD, cellphone, then the bond of social solidarity is reduced, so that they easily forget and leave the necessities of life such as traditional events.

d. Urbanisation

Urbanisation is the process of migration of people from villages to cities or so-called modern urban society; the process of migration from rural residents and urban communities has a difference. It relies on the necessities of life, for example: No matter how strong external influences, the village community still maintains the tradition. One of them is carrying out traditional ceremonies, in this case, the rituals of *ruwatan sukerta child*, but vice versa in urban communities, because of the influence of technological developments, communication tools, the bonds of social solidarity are reduced, so at the end of the day they easily forget and leave the necessities of life such as traditional events.

In the process of urbanisation, migration of people from villages to cities will result in unplanned changes in *adat* arrangements. In the science of sociology and anthropology called institutions, namely systems which become a vehicle allows citizens to interact according to habitual patterns (Koentjoroningrat, 1991).

This is because the development of a situation such as the rapid development of technology, economic, political, and social conditions will result in unplanned changes such as eliminating the implementation of the ceremony which has been his grip. While the state of the city is heterogeneous and does not recognise mutual cooperation, there is no concern with traditional ceremonies besides that because the economy is very decisive especially during the current crisis to meet daily needs less fulfilling, however, to pay attention to the customs or *adat*.

The Effects of Change:

The occurrence of inner conflict, because the ceremony can not be carried out perfectly, which completed by symbols and *sesaji* it will impact psychological health which consequently becomes physical health due to worry.

Because in urban communities can not perform complete rituals of *ruwatan sukerta* child, then people who hold the ceremony must go home to the village to do it, of course, it will require funds. Whereas for urban communities who due to limited funds, even though they are not following the rituals of mass *ruwatan* massively.

The Reality of Forms of Cultural and Social Change

The ritual tradition of *ruwatan sukerta* child is an integral part of Javanese life in both socio-cultural and ritual life. The ritual in Jember Regency, in fact, has experienced a change both in the form of social and cultural changes. These changes occur because of:

1. There is a sharp difference in understanding of cultural beliefs, in this case, the ritual of *ruwatan sukerta* child in rural communities. with *kejawen* Muslims. Most members of Javanese culture share some basic cultural ideas, but the generic parts are then further elaborated by the ceremonial leader.
2. Because there are a number of locality differences and historical changes in ritual practices.

In understanding the rituals of *ruwatan sukerta* child by intellectuals in the villages in Ambulu and Wuluhan, they are different from intellectuals in urban areas in Patrang, Summersari and Kaliwates. The village community in Ambulu and Wuluhan in understanding the culture in the ritual as an effort to continue the tradition of ancestors, because in their belief in respecting ancestors is a necessity in Javanese ethics. Whereas urban communities in Patrang, Summersari and Kaliwates districts, on average *Ruwatan* rituals are only social solidarities and few understand as magical symbolic meanings.

3. The current of urbanisation

It is a process of migration of people from villages to cities or called urban or modern society. The process of moving from rural residents to urban communities has a difference in attention, especially to the necessities of life. This is proven however strong external influences, but the village community still maintains the tradition.



Understanding the ritual of *ruwatan sukerta* child for Javanese people is an appropriate cultural procedure to fight evil influences and is a step to achieve harmony in life, besides that it is a sign of public harmony between citizens. Because of with many conflicts that occurred in Javanese history, peace, harmony are valued must be fought for and not merely envisioned, like symbols. Scramble in *sesaji* seems rude behaviour but can subvert a peaceful atmosphere.

The forms of understanding between urban communities and rural communities which have arisen as social and cultural changes include the procedures for *ruwatan sukerta* child Ritual, Accreditation Prayers and the Family Planning program. One prominent example of social change and cultural change which occurs is a form of acculturation.

The social changes in acculturation included the mass execution carried out by the St. Joseph Catholic Church in Jember District by Father Yustinus which shows that in the Catholic Church's procedures there was never a ritual *ruwatan sukerta* child belonging to the Javanese community carried out by the Catholic Church. The event finally invited the sympathy of the church members to follow in connection with the belief in the priest. While the cultural changes occur in the ritual *ruwatan* priest who at the same time as a puppeteer or *dalang* and leads the ceremony do not use symbols, and *sesaji*, shadow puppets (*wayang kulit*) performances are held separately, because not as a means of inviting magic but as entertainment.

The deviation carried out by the priest is a form of change in values, the norm which has so far remained a strong grip for traditional Javanese. The change which is carried out by a priest has positive and negative impacts. Both ceremonies carried out have the same goal as both want to achieve peace, happiness and prevent disaster. From this form of change, in reality, rural communities in Ambulu and Wuluhan still maintain traditions with symbolic meanings.

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