



## Islamic Local Culture Commodification in Disruption Era Tourism Industrial

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### Abstract

*This study aims to find out how to synergize the demands of globalization - especially the commodification of the tourism industry's culture - with the development of the distinctiveness of the kejawan group as part of a tourist attraction? What strategy needs to be developed so that the kejawan group as a cultural identity or local wisdom subject of its supporting community is still protected, but it is also hoped that it can accommodate the demands of economic globalization which has commodified culture? The subject in this study was the Aboge Islamic group in Purbalingga and Banyumas Regencies. This study uses ethnographic methods. Ethnographic research methods are used to find theories based on the field data obtained. The era of the global economy demands that all elements of culture can be made into commodities, eventually, the term cultural commodification was born. In other words, the commodification of culture is the process of producing cultural objects as commodities that are traded through the cultural industry by following market rules. The results of this study indicate that the Islamic Aboge group in Purbalingga and Banyumas areas has carried out cultural commodification as a strategy to maintain its existence in society. Several traditions that developed later result in new traditions to maintain the existence of the Aboge group as a cultural identity. Cultural commodification is also able to accommodate the demands of economic globalization as an entertainment art in the form of tourist attractions.*

**Keywords:** Commodification, Islamic Local Culture, Disruption Era Tourism Industrial

### Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana mensinergikan tuntutan globalisasi - khususnya komodifikasi budaya industri pariwisata - dengan pengembangan kekhasan kelompok kejawan sebagai bagian dari daya tarik wisata? Strategi apa yang perlu dikembangkan agar kelompok kejawan sebagai identitas budaya atau kearifan lokal masyarakat pendukungnya tetap terlindungi, namun juga diharapkan dapat mengakomodasi tuntutan globalisasi ekonomi yang telah mengkomodifikasi budaya? Subjek dalam penelitian ini adalah kelompok Islam Aboge di Kabupaten Purbalingga dan Banyumas. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode etnografi. Metode penelitian etnografi digunakan untuk menemukan teori-teori berdasarkan data lapangan yang diperoleh. Era ekonomi global menuntut semua unsur kebudayaan dapat dijadikan komoditas, akhirnya lahirlah istilah komodifikasi budaya. Dengan kata lain, komodifikasi budaya adalah proses produksi benda-benda budaya sebagai komoditas yang diperjualbelikan melalui industri budaya dengan mengikuti aturan-aturan pasar. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kelompok Islam Aboge di daerah Purbalingga dan Banyumas telah melakukan komodifikasi budaya sebagai strategi untuk mempertahankan eksistensinya di masyarakat. Beberapa tradisi yang berkembang kemudian menghasilkan tradisi baru untuk mempertahankan eksistensi kelompok Aboge sebagai identitas budaya. Komodifikasi budaya juga mampu mengakomodasi tuntutan globalisasi ekonomi sebagai seni hiburan dalam bentuk atraksi wisata.

**Kata kunci:** Komodifikasi, Budaya Lokal Islam, Era Disrupsi Industri Pariwisata

### Introduction

The phrase "commodification" has become a serious concern in the age of globalization. Commodification is the process of converting commodities or services that previously adhered to societal norms other than those of the market into a product that does (Gleick et al., 2002). A method of collecting capital used by global

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capitalism is commodification, which has converted use values into commercial exchange values (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1994)

In line with these descriptions, economic globalization has challenged the development of culture in Indonesia. Economic globalization triggers every cultural product to be contested openly and creatively. The impact of economic globalization has also been distributed to several social relations, including the existence of the *kejawen* group, which has been considered a cultural identity for its supporting community. The *kejawen* group, as a cultural expression that has its characteristics, must be required to compete openly with other cultural products. The *kejawen* group, which is a form of local wisdom, has been made into a cultural object that is mass-produced by the industry for financial gain. The *kejawen* group, which was originally the subject of knowledge, policies and local wisdom of the supporting community, then turned into objects in the form of objects that had to be traded through the process of cultural production (Suneki, 2012). This is where the commodification of culture was born in the form of buying and selling transactions of cultural objects. Through an industrial process that demands financial benefits, the existence of the *kejawen* group is packaged into cultural objects that must follow market rules.

The question is, how to synergize the demands of globalization - especially the commodification of the culture of the world tourism industry - with the development of the distinctiveness of the *kejawen* group as part of a tourist attraction? What strategy needs to be developed so that the *kejawen* group as a cultural identity or local wisdom subject of its supporting community is still protected, but it is also hoped that it can accommodate the demands of economic globalization which has commodified culture?

The subject of study in this study was the Aboge Islamic group in Purbalingga and Banyumas Regencies. Communities of Javanese-Islamic people that are part of the Aboge Islamic group live in the Purbalingga and Banyumas regions and continue to hold syncretistic beliefs, such as the sacredness of particular locations and the efficacy of particular traditional festivals. A religious organization called the Aboge Islamic Society uses the Javanese calendar and Islamic teachings to determine key days and dates. This Aboge calculation is said to need to be preserved as a legacy from the elders and ancestors in order to prevent extinction. The Aboge Islamic community holds that

the Aboge calculations they have been utilizing as a guidance in their everyday operations are the authentic Javanese calculations that have been passed down to them.

Based on research conducted by Agus Maladi Irianto entitled *Cultural Commodification in the Global Economy Era on Local Wisdom: A Case Study of the Existence of the Traditional Arts and Tourism Industry in Central Java*, it is explained that the influx of globalization has produced practical tools based on information, communication, and technology creates industrialization which always leads to market orientation. With industrialists and capitalistic power, the process of mass production is inevitable, including the commodification of traditional art which has been the cultural identity and local wisdom of the supporting community (Trianto, 2016). In line, this research describes the Aboge Islamic community in Purbalingga and Banyumas Regions which carries out cultural commodification as a strategy for maintaining its existence in society. The difference is that Agus's research explains in general the commodification of culture in the global economic era towards local wisdom in Central Java, while this research explains in detail the commodification of culture in the global economic era towards local wisdom in the Purbalingga and Banyumas Regions.

Another study conducted by L. Rudy Rustandi stated that Islam can be materialized into various forms of culture such as sarongs, headscarves, and recitation activities which are a form of Islamic ideological material itself. In the end, one's way of religion becomes cultural due to a shift in the values and authority of narrow religious knowledge. This explanation can be understood that now religion has been treated like goods (products) that have been taken over (Rustandi, 2020). In line with the research of researchers who explain that the era of the global economy places demands on all elements of culture that can be made into commodities.

This study uses ethnographic methods. Research theory can be obtained using ethnographic methods based on field data collected (Spradley, 1997). Ethnographic techniques can be used, for example, to learn more about people's reactions to problems outside their community or group. The Aboge community in Banyumas and Purbalingga Regencies became the research subjects. There are two social strata in the Aboge community, namely the Aboge congregation and the Aboge leaders. Three

methods were used in data collection namely observation, interviews, and documentation. The Miles and Hubberman model is then used to assess the data that has been collected. Data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions are the procedures that the writer takes when analyzing the data (Sugiyono, 2009).

This study aims to solve the problems that have been described in the previous paragraph, namely regarding the demands on society to be able to continue to exist amid globalization through the commodification of Islamic local culture in the era of disruption of the tourism industry. This research is expected to be able to synergize the demands of globalization, especially the commodification of the culture of the world tourism industry through the characteristics of the *Kejawen* group as part of tourist attractions that are developed based on the strategies carried out. This, researchers are interested in conducting deeper research on Islamic Local Culture Commodification in the Disruption Era of Industrial Tourism.

## Method

The method used in this research is a qualitative research method with an ethnographic approach. Ethnographic research is the work of describing a culture from a group of people. This means understanding a view of life from the perspective of native people. As stated by Malinowski in Spradley, the aim of ethnographic research is to understand the indigenous people's point of view, their relationship with life, to obtain their view of their world. In other words, ethnography is studying society and learning from society (Windiani and Farida, 2016).

In this research, the researcher tries to describe in detail the culture of the Aboge Muslim community in Banyumas and Purbalingga. Researchers collected information through interviews with several figures. Researchers also look for data from various literature, including journals, theses, articles or seminar proceedings and other literature relevant to the research so that accurate information is obtained.

## Result

Based on the results of the research that has been done, it can be described the commodification of culture in the era of the global economy towards local wisdom. By conducting a case study of the existence of the Aboge Islamic group in Banyumas and

Purbalingga, Central Java Province, several descriptions were produced. These descriptions include (1) an overview of the Islamic Aboge group in Banyumas and Purbalingga; (2) people's perceptions and responses to the Islamic Aboge group and cultural commodification; and (3) strategy in maintaining identity in the era of industrialization. To explain each of these descriptions can be described as follows:

## **1. An Overview of the Aboge Islamic Group in Banyumas and Purbalingga**

### **a. *Aboge* Islamic Group in Banyumas**

#### **1) History of Islam Aboge in Banyumas**

Islam Aboge is an Islamic sect that bases the calculation of months and dates on the *Alif Rebo Wage* calendar, abbreviated as Aboge (Sa'dudin et al., 2019). The inhabitants of Aboge believe that this calendar was created over the course of eight years, beginning with the years Alif, ha, jim awal, za, dal, ba, and jim akhir. There are 12 months in a year, and each month has between 29 and 30 days. This computation is the result of eight years' worth of calculations based on Javanese calculations, specifically the Pon, Wage, Kliwon, Legi (Manis), and Pahing.

At first, the arrangement of this calendar system was on the orders of Sultan Agung Hanyakrakusuma the supreme holder of the Mataram kingdom at that time. As time went on, there were modifications and several adjustments, so this calendar model was slightly different from what had been determined initially by Sultan Agung. The process of setting this calendar is based on the need for Javanese Muslims to have certainty of time in determining various celebrations, such as Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adhaa, and the beginning of Ramadan. Furthermore, this calendar model spread throughout Mataram's territory, including the Banyumas and Cilacap regions at that time.

In Banyumas there are three focal points for the spread of the Aboge Islamic community, namely in Cikawong, Pekuncen District, in Cikakak, Wangon District, and Pekuncen, Jatilawang District. The meeting point of these three central points is not known, but when viewed from the position of the caretaker, each of them admits to being the 12th caretaker. When viewed from their religious characteristics, the Aboge Islamic community in Cikawong (Pekuncen) and Cikakak (Wangon) are more tinged with Islamic *Santri* because they have prayed five times a day, although some adherents still wear Javanese symbols, such as wearing an "iket". and "tembang" (Javanese song) in dhikr (Chamidi et.al., 2022). This is different from the Aboge Islamic

community in Jatilawang Pekuncen, which is more dominant in its *abangan*. While praying five times a day, even other circumcision prayers are not performed by its adherents.

The spread of Islam in Banyumas is closely related to the history of Islam in Demak and Pajang. These two kingdoms have contributed a lot to Islamizing the land of Java. At that time, the two kingdoms sent several people to wander in several areas, including in Banyumas. In this area, several *kyai* were sent, namely Kyai Makdum Wali in Pasir Luhur, Kyai Mustholih (Mbah Tholih) in Cikakak, and Kyai Bonokeling (a pseudonym). Because its existence (including its name) is still a secret now. The three *kyai* have a division of tasks, namely Kyai Pasir Luhur is in charge of northern Banyumas, Kyai Cikakak is in charge of central Banyumas and Kyai Bonokeling is in charge of southern Banyumas. It seems that they spread Islam incompletely so some pillars of Islam are left out.

## **2) Belief System**

In the research area, almost all of thAlmost all residents in the research area are Muslims, but in Cikakak and in Pekuncen, their faith is still influenced by local customs and/or traditions. Santri, who have observed the five daily prayers, dominate Islam in Cikakak, although the majority of people still adhere to local traditions.

While most people in Pekuncen Village do not pray, they believe in God Almighty, His book, and the last day. As a result, the research area is divided into Nyantri Islam and Nyandi Islam. The Nyandi Islamic community is concentrated in tombs or temples, while the Nyantri Muslims are centered in mosques or musala / langgar.

Grandmother Kyai Bonokeling's grave in Pekuncen and Kyai Tholih's grave in Cikakak are considered very sacred. Many people frequent these two tombs. On Rajab 27, namely Jaro Rojab Day, many people visit Kyai Tholih's tomb, while on the upload day or nyadran, many people come to Kyai Bonokeling's grave (Ridwan & Wachid, 2008). This suggests both tombs functioned as gathering places for religious activities and as symbolic representations of the local indigenous population and even the wider community.

"Wong urip iku angger ora nyantri yo nyandi" (People who live if nyantri ya nyandi), according to an elder by the name of Sumitro. The terms "five pillars of Islam" and "three pillars of Islam only," i.e., the creed, fasting, and zakat, are used to

distinguish between Muslim communities that follow the five pillars of Islam and Muslims who only follow the three pillars of Islam. As a result, nyandi is equivalent to "Islam without five daily prayers," whereas nyantri stands for "Islam five times a day" (Sulaiman, 2013).

They think that Almighty God is the essence of everything. They consider Prophet Muhammad SAW, Al-Quran, Last Day to be true. They also hold the belief that "Gusti Allah" is the same as God. But Nyandi Muslims, on the other hand, don't want to perform the five daily prayers. This is because according to them the terms "prayer" and "prayer" are different. According to him, prayer is an activity similar to farming, trading and other activities that can be stopped and then resumed at any time. Meanwhile, prayer is a "practice" that must be carried out in everyday life, for example showing respect for others without hurting them, wanting to help the weak, trying to reconcile others, and so on.

Thus, Nyandi's Islamic teachings are the basis of faith. They need to believe in God Allah, the Prophet Muhammad, angels, the Koran, and the hereafter. He even said that this life is a soil for nandur (planting) good deeds, and that those good deeds will later be harvested in the hereafter. They do not perform Hajj and pray five times a day, they only carry out the three pillars of Islam, namely the shahada, fasting and zakat. This is what distinguishes Islamic santri from Islamic nyandi. Santri Islam is more dominant in its Islam, while nyandi Islam is more dominant in its kejawen (Sulaiman, 2013).

### **3) Ritual System**

In this area, various religious rituals are performed by the community, both in Pekuncen and Cikakak. The religious ritual is generally in the form of a *slametan* with group prayers. *Slametan* is divided into several types, namely pregnancy to birth *slametan*, post-death *slametan (kenduri)*, and slametan for circumcision and wedding anniversaries (Chamidi et al., 2022). In general, rituals held by the community include rituals related to the life cycle, ecological cycle, and holy day cycle (Sulaiman, 2013).

#### **b. Aboge Islamic Group in Purbalingga**

##### **1) The history of the Islamic Aboge group in Purbalingga**

The development of Aboge Islam in Purbalingga cannot be separated from the role of Raden Sayyid Kuning as a religious scholar who in history is known as a scholar who spread Islam in Purbalingga (Putra & Irenewaty, 2016). The role of Raden Sayyid

Kuning or Ngabdullah Syarif in the spread of Islam in the village of Onje was formerly motivated by the Onje people themselves, in the religious field at that time the religious conditions of the people there had mostly embraced Islam but were still Islamic *kejawen* in the sense of not carrying out their obligations as a Muslim.

This is what made Ngabdullah Syarif move to change, by broadcasting the Islamic religion and streamlining the understanding of the Onje people, he always taught Tawheed, then also instilled faith and morals in every person's heart, the same as what the Prophet taught, because the Prophet was sent by Allah solely to perfect morals. (HR. Bukhari), it was from there that Raden Sayyid Kuning began to teach morals so that Islamic teachings were not mixed with a sense of doubt to admit the truth, the five senses and reason were used to understand and understand the truth, while revelation became a guide to determine what is good and what is bad. and what teachings should be believed, believed, and believed by every Muslim? Teachings related to faith in Allah, His angels, Al Qur'an that He sent down, His Messengers, and events in the afterlife or the hereafter.

The method used by Raden Sayyid Kuning to improve and help create a society that behaves Islamically by adhering to the Al-Qur'an and Sunnah and method he is using does not eliminate the existing cultures in Onje village as long as it does not violate Islamic law itself, In this way, Islam is more quickly accepted by the Onje community. Raden Sayyid Kuning was entrusted with becoming the first chief in Purbalingga (Lestari, 2021).

Raden Sayyid Kuning did not only talk about religion; He also explained how to use the calendar, which is called the Aboge calendar, which stands for Alif, Rebo, and Wage, to determine Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha, as well as other important dates such as building a house, calculating celebrations, slametans for baby births, and other events (Sukirman, 2016)

Calculations in the Aboge calendar have become customary or hereditary, this calendar only determines Eid al-Fitr and Adha, although they are on different days, they always fall on the day after Idul Fitri in general. Islam Aboge has similarities with Nahdatul Ulama in carrying out tarawih, namely that it has 23 cycles, not only that, Islam Aboge also uses qunut in performing morning prayers. In essence, Islam Aboge is

based on the Qur'an and Sunnah, fears or does what Allah commands and stays away from His prohibitions (Lestari, 2021)

## **2) Belief System**

Kyai Aiji, as the 9th descendant and the imam of the mosque in the village of Onje, has not abandoned the habit that Ngabdullah Syarif did, that is, until now he has always revived the mosque by inviting children and teenagers to gain knowledge, by imparting knowledge religious knowledge from an early age for their provisions in the life of the world and the hereafter, and this activity is carried out every day at midday to learn *Iqro* and juz 30, then after maghrib for teenagers learn juz 1 to juz 29, and teach them to always practice the teachings Islamic teachings by not leaving the five daily prayers, studying the Qur'an and studying the Sunnah.

## **3) Ritual System**

Activities of the Onje community that still exist today, such as before Friday prayers with two *adzan*, and before the month of Ramadan, the community cleans the graves or visits the graves, then at night *Istighosah* at the Raden Sayyid Kuning mosque. In addition, religious ceremonies as a form of acculturation with Islam are commemorations of 1 Muharrah, Mawlid Nabi, Isra Mi'raj, Eid al-Fitr, and Adha. The *grebeg* ceremony which is usually carried out by the Onje Grebeg Sura community is usually accompanied by cleaning sacred objects, such as *keris* or other objects (Purnomo, 2022).

## **2. Community Perceptions and Responses to Aboge Islamic Groups and cultural commodification**

The culture of the people of the archipelago cannot be separated even though Islam entered the archipelago (Alif et al., 2020). Islam's introduction into the archipelago was influenced by local culture, particularly on the island of Java. The walisanga place a higher priority on the teachings of monotheism. At that time, the first step in converting to Islam for residents of the Archipelago was to utter two creedal statements. One technique involves presenting puppet performances with themes that have been modified suit Islamic ideals (Takdir, 2018). As a result, people can adopt Islamic principles without leaving their own traditions.

This instance demonstrates how it is impossible to separate the cultural facets of the neighborhood from the Islamic teachings that originated in Java. Simply said, it is

clear that the people of the archipelago will not accept Islamic teachings if they are used to coerce individuals to change who they are. This was the background for the trustees to gradually preach Islam and then produce *kejawen* Islam as one of the streams in Islam. *Kejawen* Islam is Islam that upholds syncretic principles (Dewi, 2018)

One form of *Islamkejawen* is "Islam Aboge," which developed in the districts of Banyumas and Purbalingga as a cultural reaction to people's dissatisfaction with the control of the Majapahit empire. The distance of the Banyumas region from the center of power prevented its inhabitants from being affected by the policies of the rulers who were enacted at that time, especially Islamic teachings. Thus, the growth of *Islam Aboge* is one of the unavoidable cultural responses. The Banyumas people's dissatisfaction with the rulers led them to think that the Islamic teachings developed by the kingdom were nothing more than political aspirations, which is why the Islamic community of *Aboge* continues to preserve the Islamic teachings that developed in their society. That is what enables *Islam Aboge* to continue to exist today (Ahmad, 2022)

Even now, the *Aboge* Islamic Society has experienced a number of modifications. This is a result of the ongoing evolution of the current period (Mutiarra & Ginanjar, 2022). There are just two options: either lose by opposing or survive by making modifications. The people who still have their original *Aboge* identities cannot be isolated from other interests, such as political and economic interests, even though the group is still in the development stage. In the age of globalization, culture is discussed in terms of more than only the established social groupings' collective patterns of behavior, knowledge, and thinking. In the age of economic globalization, culture has established a reality that is continually generated and reproduced, giving rise to new identities, rather than being viewed as a material reality that is always fixed (Irianto, 2009). In the framework of modern Indonesian society, economic globalization and the growth of cultural consumption go hand in hand. This development influenced the transformation of consumer capitalism, which was characterized by the growth of fashionable shopping malls, the leisure, the fashion, the beauty, the culinary, the advice, the gossip, the luxury residential areas, the apartments, the advertisements for the luxury goods, the instant food (fast food), and the reproduction and transfer of lifestyle through media and advertising (Irianto, 2016).

Identity, in this era of economic globalization, is not a form that has existed since the beginning and persists in an eternal essence. Meanwhile, seen from the aspect of space, it is also not just one or single, but consists of various layers of identity. The layers of identity depend on the roles carried out, and the objective conditions encountered, and are also determined by how to respond to these situations and roles (Irianto, 2005). Identity is not finished and final but is a condition that is always readjusted, its nature is always renewed, and its state is constantly being negotiated so that its form will always depend on the processes that shape it. Identity at this time is becoming increasingly faded with interests that are even more prominent. Today's social development has gone beyond modern thinking (which is marked by the emergence of industrial goods and services) towards postmodern thinking which tends to be more organized around cultural consumption and the game of mass media (Smith, 2001).

Collective identity is rooted in social movement communities. The concept of collective identity in the process of social movements can be used to see patterns, characters, and *modus operandi*, such as the *Kejawen* revival movement and the Islamic puritan movement. How does the *Kejawen* community build its group identity through sentiments of cultural similarities, shared interests to maintain traditions, and even ideological similarities? When under pressure from outside, these sentiments develop into a shared awareness and enter into the process of strengthening collective identity, because they feel there is a threat. At first, this process took place within the internal environment, which was a phase of consolidation, but then developed into a social movement to resist outside influences, or at least to defend against outside influences.

The Aboge Islamic group as one of the *Kejawen* Islamic groups trying to maintain its social identity is not without conflict. Conflicts often arise within the group itself. Maksudi (2022) delivered: "Initially this Aboge became the majority group in Purbalingga Regency, it's just that there were many influences from outside such as understandings of Islam that were different from what we understand made the Aboge group less and less". This was also corroborated by Sumarto (2022), who said: "In the past, most people around Purbalingga used Aboge calculations when they

wanted to do anything. Even the previous grandparents always used the Aboge calculation.”

So, from the interview excerpts above, we can understand that Aboge, which is a collective identity, actually also has efforts to survive and adapt to current developments, such as the emergence of *nyandi* Islam and *nyantri* Islam within the Aboge group. The emergence of these two groups indicates that there was an internal conflict that initially occurred within the Aboge group to maintain their identity or simply so that they would still gain recognition amidst the incessant Islamic revivalism movement.

This Islamic revivalism movement has in turn fostered the solidarity of the Aboge group to be able to survive external pressures such as the Islamic purification movement. So the internal conflict that originally appeared is no longer a problem. The emergence of Islamic purification movements made the two Aboge groups emerge as groups that have the same collective identity, namely Aboge. Aboge groups then unite to maintain a collective identity that needs to be maintained by responding to various aspects of life, such as cultural, economic, and even political aspects.

Some scholars claim that areas with outdated social contracts that permit the distribution of political and economic resources based on racial and religious factors frequently experience cultural conflicts. This kind of resource distribution enables the logic of identity politics to define and occasionally even take control of the political competition. Cultural disputes and even violence rise when political identity is reinforced and the institutions responsible for upholding the social compact are undermined.

Why may identity politics lead to more intercultural conflict? According to identity politics' reasoning, it is frequently impossible to reconcile claims based on ascriptive criteria like race and religion. Conflict claims based on cultural criteria are very vulnerable or easily turn into protracted and deep conflicts rather than disputes between interest groups. This is why interests are so subtle and multiple, that are compromised, cultural identities affirmed and non-negotiable. Disputes over resources between interest groups proved to be specific and difficult to negotiate and then escalated to violence (Crawford, 1998). In other words, when institutions are weakened, disturbed, or changed in ways that undercut promises to honor agreements

or encourage dissent, the cultural struggle will change and develop into violence. Even though various forces undermine this commitment, according to Crawford, globalization and economic liberalization can be said to be the evil twins that destroy commitments to social contracts that are full of local wisdom.

Violence might be the only means left to political adventurers to prevent cultural groups from negotiating when the impersonal forces of globalization and markets seize control of domestic institutions, when institutions are unable to credibly enforce agreements that encourage peaceful competition between cultural groups, or when they are unable to avoid culturally discriminatory policies. Essentialists contend that social urges to "enter" group members and "reject" "others" are constantly connected to irrationality, natural psychology, and conflict. These essentialist arguments frequently surface when they are probed, despite the fact that they do not explain why the dominant emphasis of property needs is on racial or religious groups. The essentialist perspective assumes that a person's behaviour is always controlled by his reference groups which have a standard set of norms, such as ethnicity, race, and religion. Therefore, the cultural conflict will arise if in a society several groups already have standards, and given norms, and each of them claims the truth of their normative sources (Robertson, 1995).

The inherent characteristic of an ethnic group is the growing feeling of a community among its members. These feelings give rise to an awareness of a strong connection. In addition, there is also a feeling of "we" among its members, so a sense of kinship is established. We, in identifying ethnic groups have two views of understanding: 1) as an objective unit that can be interpreted by differences in one's cultural characteristics, or 2) just a product of one's thoughts which then declares it as an ethnic group (Manger, 1994) Thus, this cultural conflict seems to be closely related to ethnicity, which is now an important aspect in the context of inter-group relations. The emergence of this term concerns the notion of distinction, the dichotomy of "us" and them and the distinction of claims based on cultural origins and characteristics (Abdillah, 2002). If there is no distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders", there will be no such thing as ethnicity (Yohanes, 2017).

Likewise, the cultural conflict also has a relationship with religion. Religion controls the rules of life, religion is everything, taking the role of power up to the level

of personal matters. Religious normativity becomes the only reference in life. Islam, which for some of its adherents is a unified living system, has determined the existence of an Islamic state. Attachment to each doctrinal normativity places political and religious groups in a prioritized position. In this position, oftentimes, religious political confrontation cannot be avoided (Abdillah, 2002). From a sociological perspective, the notion of religion is difficult to distinguish from culture, and even religion is part of the culture. Therefore, inter-religious, inter-ethnic and racial conflicts, in essence, are also cultural conflicts. In this context, the conflictual relationship between the puritan Islamic movement and *Kejawen* contains cultural conflict. Conditions related to identity politics between Puritan Islam and Abohe Islam in maintaining their identity which in turn gave rise to political responses.

After the reform, the freedom for Indonesian people to engage in politics, gather and express opinions was opened as wide as possible, including towards Islamic movements. Since then, various transnational Islamic movements, political parties, and teachings that integrate with local culture have emerged and grown rapidly. It's just that in recent developments the condition known as revivalism faces many problems, including their weakness in offering various solutions to address real problems in society. Not a few of the Islamic activists are stuck with pragmatic actions that are far from Islamic values as they voice them.

Several previous studies indicated that entering the reformation phase of 1998, Islamic revivalism in Indonesia experienced a resurgence. Since then, Indonesian people have gained more freedom than they had during Suharto's time. According to Vali Nasr, the military has started to leave Indonesian politics after the reformation, giving Islamic organizations more leeway for Maneuver (Nasr, 2005).

When the momentum for reform came, the enthusiasm to emerge, Islam, as an alternative to various national issues emerged. The Muslim community hopes that the mental and spiritual development of Indonesian Muslims will be optimal. In the end, various ideas in social, cultural, economic and political life will acquire Islamic overtones. They believe that Islam can realize social justice in society and oppose feudalism with various social values and Muslim worship, such as zakat, fasting, prayer, etc. This is proven by the increasing number of Islamic parties that have emerged. If previously there were only PPP, in the reform era PKS, PBB, PKB, PPP, etc. emerged.

Not to mention the emergence of several other Islamic movements that are not political, such as Salafism, FPI, LPI, Laskar Jihad, Laskar Mujahidin Indonesia and etc. Likewise in terms of culture, Islam has become a "pop culture" in society, with many women wearing the headscarf, and the spread of Islamic terms in people's lives, including in conveying greetings. In essence, Islamic culture is a matter that is common and widely accepted in Indonesian society (Boellstroff, 2005). Conditions that in the previous era were considered taboo by most people.

Even in a political sense, the large wave of people returning to Islamic teachings can be seen from the amount of public support for the Islamic parties that were born at that time. This great support for the Islamic movement influences many other domestic political issues. This can be seen, for example, from efforts to implement Islamic law in several regions in Indonesia, such as Aceh, and one of the districts in South Sulawesi. Likewise with the emergence of Islamic figures in the national political arena such as Amien Rais who is a former chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, Hidayat Nur Wahid who is a former president of PKS, B.J Habibie, who is a former chairman of ICMI, and Gus Dur who is a former chairman of PB NU (Wahyunanto et al., 2021).

Based on the explanation above, in simple terms, the Islamic revivalism movement in Indonesia can be categorized into two models, namely the political revivalist movement and the non-political revivalist movement. Among the movements that have gone through the political route are those that are involved in activities related to power, even by establishing political parties.

In Indonesia, several groups that can be categorized as political revivalism movements include

PKS, PAN, PBB, and PKB. According to this group, the political path must be taken because the current position of the Muslim community is so weak and they have no political power. It's just that in its development, it is not uncommon for them to be difficult to escape from the influence of pragmatism and Western-style political understanding. Even in coalitions, between one Islamic party and another, it is sometimes very difficult to unite political views.

This condition eventually became an argument for other Islamic groups to take non-political paths. According to them, the political path taken so far has been ineffective and could even cause more serious damage, especially to the image and

spirit of the unity of the Muslim Ummah itself. At first, maybe the enthusiasm that emerged was to fight for the interests of Islam and rid society of various social ailments. Their situation is likened to that of someone who wants to clean a dirty pool, only they enter the pool with clean robes. Finally, people also said that he was already starting to get dirty.

This is sometimes the reason why some of those who are involved in politics even though acting in the name of Islam often get opposition from society. There is even a view that what they are doing is not much different from what is done by other non-Islamic party groups in general. In the end, the choice of a non-political path is considered more rational. The Islamic revivalism movement ultimately also influenced the ideology of Indonesian society. Islam which is developing in Indonesia forms a *Kejawen* Islamic society that seeks to combine syncretic values with Islamic teachings. This is because the stages of the development of Islam in Indonesia do not directly change or even eliminate the culture that has developed. If this is done, perhaps Islam will not develop rapidly in Indonesia.

If this is seen from a political perspective, basically *Kejawen* Islam is an Islamic stream that the government tried to defend during the Orde Baru era. This was because the *Kejawen* Islamic community was not interested in getting involved in politics, business, or government so the government's power at that time was secure. Until the post-reformation arrived, and then followed by the Islamic revivalism movement, this initiated the development of Islam in the world of politics.

The phenomenon that we often encounter is that Islamic parties do not support the development of *Kejawen* Islam. These Islamic parties think that *Kejawen* Islam is an Islamic group that still maintains things that they think are not in line with Islamic teachings, such as syncretism. Therefore, in its development, the *Kejawen* Islamic group supports non-Islamic political parties which they think can support them in maintaining the existence of the *Kejawen* Islamic group, including in this case the Aboge Islam group.

Based on observations, the existence of the Islamic Aboge group in Purbalingga began to gain recognition when non-Islamic parties came to power and dominated power, such as the PDIP. Even the Aboge Islamic group is used as a regional icon as a form of local wisdom that needs to be maintained. This is one of the reasons why the

Islamic *kejawen* group, in this context, Aboge is more affiliated with non-Islamic parties which they think are capable of maintaining their existence amidst the onslaught of puritanism, so the law of symbiosis of mutualism in this context also applies, where Aboge as a minority Muslim group tries to maintain its existence by affiliating with non-Islamic parties and non-Islamic parties also need support from the *Kejawen* community at large to maintain their existence in the political world.

Apart from that, the impact that is quite interesting is that Aboge gets a place during the onslaught of puritanism due to the support from the government. Even delivered by Maksudi (2022): "There is a tradition that did not exist before, but now it is held, such as the implementation of *grebeg* Onje. Previously, this was a form of the *nyadran* tradition, only now because there is support from the local government, the *grebeg* Onje tradition was made as a tradition of our gratitude to God".

In this context, we understand that the traditions that were later raised to maintain the existence of Aboge, in other contexts, this was also able to attract the interest of many researchers to then carry out research, even being able to penetrate the economic field. Where the implementation of the *grebeg* Onje ceremony involves many people, this is what is then able to boost people's purchasing power. Likewise with Aboge in Banyumas. The traditionality of the Aboge group in Banyumas, especially those in Cikakak, has also attracted people's interest in recognizing the identity of the Aboge group. Back again that the stereotypes that are owned by the group are a manifestation of a unique and original cultural heritage, so it must be maintained. This is the political response that has developed to maintain Aboge's identity amidst the onslaught of puritanism.

### **3. Strategy for Maintaining Identity in the Era of Industrializat**

Starting from several descriptions above, basically, the existence of *kejawen* Islamic groups as a form of local wisdom in the era of the tourism industry faces both opportunities and challenges. The opportunity for the *Kejawen* Islamic group in the era of the tourism industry is in the form of increasing orders to perform shows by market demands. This commodification is done to gain the benefits behind the name religious tourism. Amid intense competition in the tourism industry, the Golden Dome Mosque is also required to be able to fulfil the spiritual needs and the true meaning of the mosque as a religious symbol itself. Such as broadcasting religious values and

interpreting them as a holy and sacred places for Muslims (Budiarto, 2017). The cultural identity and local knowledge of the supporting community will be increasingly impacted by the difficulties of growing the Kejawen Islamic group's existence in the existing tourism sector. Globalization's effects have undermined local culture and brought on an existential dilemma for those who cherish traditional arts, particularly in the era of the tourism sector (Budiman, 2002).

Even while the social aspects involving the inhabitants in a village still have a strong traditional feel to them, the village has now taken on a more urban appearance. When it comes to the knowledge of visitors who travel as well as the cultural components of the people visiting, the tourism industry's influence on local expertise of a place has turned into "an agent of cultural changes." Along with the requirements of the globalization period, both are interconnected. Traditional art, which has traditionally served as a means of promoting social harmony between people and their surroundings, must change to meet commercial expectations that are compatible with those of the travel and tourist sector (Kuswarsantyo, 2013).

The growth of the tourist sector necessitates the creation of goods that are anticipated to be exchanged, which has an effect on the commercialization of culture. The term "commodity" most frequently refers to manufactured, purchased, and traded economic items. Commodification, on the other hand, depicts the process of goods and services being generated swiftly to meet market demands (Jery & Jerry, 1991). Commodification is the process by which goods and services and their use- values are transformed into commodities that have an exchange value in the market. In his description, commodification includes content, audience, and workers. If associated with the media industry itself, workers will produce content that is of value and will later be distributed to audiences as an exchange value, such as economic value or other social values (Emir, 2020). Traditional art has become a commodity because of the needs of the tourist sector, which is a natural result of the effects of economic globalization, and must therefore be commodified.

It is intended that traditional art may meet the demands of economic globalization while simultaneously serving as a cultural identity and a means of preserving the local knowledge of the supporting community in order to address this series of issues. For example (Agusta et al., 2017), The commodification of religion is

interpreted as a strategy carried out by industry players by utilizing religion as a selling point to get the attention of consumers. Industry players are competing to obtain a sharia or halal label from a product that is produced to be able to compete with its competitors (Baharun & Niswa, 2019). Based on the results of field research in Purbalingga Regency, the Aboge Islamic group modified existing traditions into a new tradition that can attract the wider community, one of which is the *grebeg* Onje tradition. The history of *grebeg* Onje itself started with the government of Purbalingga Regency in 2017 led by H Tasdi SH. MM as Regent of Purbalingga. He proposed that Onje Village, Mrebet Sub-District, become a religious tourism village, with the reason of looking at the wealth of artefacts and sites for the spread of Islam in Purbalingga, which is said to have started in Onje Village.

In 2017 the *nyadran* or *Grebeg* Onje tradition has developed. The *grebeg* onje procession is wrapped in cultural rituals, a series of events welcoming the arrival of the month of Ramadan which is carried out directly by the local government of Purbalingga. The *Grebeg* Onje activities were carried out for 3 days, namely (1) On The first day the community did a history trail of onje, the tosan aji exhibition, and a workshop on the history of onje. (2) The second day is the procession of taking water from seven springs, followed by *jodangan* and *grebeg gunung palawija*. (3) The third day of the *grebeg onje* activity was filled with cultural performances and traditional art performances including *begalan* art which was carried out in the area of the R. Sayyid Kuning Mosque (Yulianto, 2022).

The *grebeg* onje tradition was deliberately made to be able to provide its charm in Purbalingga Regency. So, at first, the *grebeg* onje tradition was a series of *nyadran* traditions carried out by the Aboge people, but the advent of the industrialization era forced the Aboge groups to carry out commodification. There are several reasons underlying this, including 1) the Aboge group which currently can be said to be a minority group must be able to maintain its existence amid the onslaught of the puritanism movement, 2) The current era of industrialization provides opportunities for the Aboge group to carry out cultural commodification as one of the one ways to maintain its existence.

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