

NYADRAN AND PAGUYUBAN BUDILUHUR IN CARING FOR INTER-RELIGIOUS HARMONY

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Abstract

This research aims to explore how Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur serve as mediums for maintaining inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village, using Max Weber's social action theory. This qualitative study employs descriptive methods, including observation, semi-structured interviews, and field documentation of the Nyadran tradition and the activities of Paguyuban Budiluhur. The findings indicate that social actions lean towards instrumental rationality, as the Nyadran tradition has been institutionalized in the village's annual agenda, and Paguyuban Budiluhur has become an established foundation. Phenomenological analysis reveals that hybrid social spaces, social interaction, nationalism (driven by motive), and the protection of human rights (in order to motive) are key factors supporting inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. These factors align with the religious moderation vision of the

Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. This paper proposes a recommendation that efforts to maintain religious harmony can be strengthened by creating and institutionalizing social spaces, such as annual traditions or inter-religious organizations. This institutionalization is important, as modern society tends to approach all actions, including social actions, in a rational manner. Rationality can also encourage broader segments of society to participate in efforts to sustain religious harmony and peace.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami latar belakang yang menjadikan Nyadran dan paguyuban Budiluhur, menjadi media merawat kerukunan antar umat beragama di Desa Kapas melalui perspektif teori tindakan sosial Max Weber. Penelitian kualitatif ini dijalankan dengan mengaplikasikan metode deskriptif untuk mengungkapkan peristiwa melalui observasi berkala, wawancara bebas terpimpin, serta dokumentasi penelitian lapangan pada pelaksanaan tradisi Nyadran dan kegiatan Paguyuban Budiluhur di Desa Kapas. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa tindakan sosial di Desa Kapas lebih cenderung kepada tindakan rasional instrumental sebab pelembagaan tradisi Nyadran ke dalam agenda tahunan desa dan Paguyuban Budiluhur dalam sebuah yayasan sebagai instrumen sosial yang mengurus perawatan jenazah warga non-muslim. Kemudian, dalam analisis fenomenologi, ditemukan bahwa ruang sosial hybrid, interaksi sosial dan sikap nasionalisme serta penjaminan hak asasi manusia menjadi faktor-faktor yang mendorong keberhasilan upaya merawat kerukunan antar umat beragama di Desa Kapas. Lebih lanjut, faktor-faktor tersebut sejalan dengan visi sikap moderasi beragama yang dirumuskan oleh Kementerian Agama RI. Makalah ini mengusulkan rekomendasi bahwa upaya menjaga keharmonisan antaragama dapat diperkuat dengan menciptakan dan melembagakan ruang sosial, seperti tradisi tahunan atau organisasi lintas agama. Pelembagaan ini penting, karena masyarakat modern cenderung mendekati semua tindakan, termasuk tindakan sosial, secara rasional. Pendekatan rasional juga dapat mendorong lebih banyak elemen masyarakat untuk berpartisipasi dalam upaya menjaga keharmonisan dan perdamaian antaragama.

Keywords: *Inter-religious harmony, rational action, religious moderation*

Introduction

This article examines the Nyadran tradition and the Budiluhur Paguyuban, focusing on how they create shared spaces for religious communities in Kapas Village, Bojonegoro District, Indonesia. These two social spaces are notable for bringing together individuals from different religious backgrounds to participate in joint activities. Even non-Muslims take part in *Tahlilan*, a ritual traditionally associated with Islam, during the Nyadran tradition. Kapas Village, located in Bojonegoro District, has a highly diverse religious population. While Islam is the majority religion, accounting for 95% of the population, there are also Christians (3.7%), Catholics (0.7%), Buddhists (0.4%), Confucians (0.16%), and Hindus (0.02%). Despite their differing beliefs, the people of Kapas Village have coexisted peacefully for many years, without disputes or conflicts regarding their religious understandings (Velthuis et al., 2021).

Inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village is evident through the Nyadran tradition and the Paguyuban Budiluhur. Nyadran is a tradition practiced by the people of Kapas Village as an expression of gratitude for God's blessings, similar to the Javanese tradition of "Sedekah Bumi." This tradition serves as a unifying event for all religious communities in Kapas Village, involving people from all groups. A unique aspect of this tradition is that all residents, both Muslims and non-Muslims, give alms to one another. They participate in every activity, from the early morning *tahlil* recitation to other rituals, without any conflicts (Yuliningsih et al., 2018).

Additionally, when a resident experiences misfortune, such as illness or death, neighbors visit and support one another regardless of religious differences. Kapas Village has an association called Budiluhur, one of whose programs is to assist in arranging the funerals of non-Muslims. This is done by collecting donations from Kapas residents and helping with funeral arrangements in accordance with the religious customs of the deceased. This practice reflects the strong sense of kinship that has become a defining characteristic of the Kapas Village community. It demonstrates the

community's effort to strengthen collective responsibility and solidarity (Sugianto et al., 2024).

Many traditions in the community showcase values of harmony and tolerance in Indonesia. Several studies highlight how these values are expressed through various forms of local wisdom (Pajarianto et al., 2022) and traditions such as *Perang Centong* (Haryanto, 2022), *Genduren* (Wahyudi, 2019), *Apitan* (Nikmah, 2020), and *Nyadran* (Bagio & Priyadarshana, 2023; Hasan et al., 2023), among others. Furthermore, the values of religious moderation are maintained by communities or organizations. This is evident from studies on community organizations like the Forum Komunikasi Antar Umat Beragama (FKUB) (Idrus & Sonhaji, 2021), Paguyuban (Sulthon et al., 2021), youth organizations (Christover, 2019), and pesantren (Pribadi, 2018). Previous research has found that local traditions can foster religious harmony by embracing differences and promoting coexistence. People respect, appreciate, and care for others of different faiths while maintaining strong adherence to their own religions (Dhani, 2023; Suryana, 2011).

However, in the *Nyadran* tradition and *Paguyuban Budiluhur*, residents of different religions participate in activities that resemble religious rituals and social events together. While in Indonesia, socio-cultural events such as *tahlil* typically involve Muslim communities (Warisno & Tabrani, 2018), in Kapas Village, non-Muslims also follow and recite *tahlil* during the *Nyadran* tradition. They attend, participate, and recite *tahlil* when a resident passes away to show solidarity as members of *Paguyuban Budiluhur*. These activities demonstrate that the *Nyadran* tradition and *Paguyuban Budiluhur* provide opportunities for Kapas residents to foster religious harmony.

The practice of *tahlil* in the *Nyadran* tradition and *Paguyuban Budiluhur* suggests that pluralism in Kapas Village not only promotes coexistence and respect for "the other" (*liyan*), but also unites the community. Furthermore, *Paguyuban Budiluhur*'s initiative to organize crowdfunding to support families in hosting *tahlil* events highlights that the practice of pluralism is managed rationally and with full awareness.

This article focuses on the factors that led to the emergence of tolerance in the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur in Kapas Village. Additionally, it examines the rationality behind sharing within these two social entities using Weber's theory of social action (Weber, 1978). This rationality is important for organizing communities in the modern era. For example, Weber proposed the "rational bureaucratic" model as an ideal form of organization (Udy, 1959). Thus, it is expected that the rational approach to tolerance in Kapas Village can serve as a blueprint for fostering religious harmony more broadly in the future.

Method

The type of research used in this study is descriptive qualitative. The researchers made observations and analyzed the results obtained from the field directly, systematically, and validly (Dawson, 2002). The study was conducted through participatory observation at the research location, particularly during the Nyadran tradition and the activities organized by the Paguyuban Budiluhur. To explore the data, researchers conducted interviews through verbal communication, either in conversation or with a question-and-answer format, with 19 key figures, including residents, community leaders, and religious figures in Kapas Village (Arikunto, 1996). The interviews were conducted openly and semi-guided, but an interview guide was still used to facilitate data collection. This guide could be adjusted according to the informant's responses to better understand the natural setting of the phenomenon being studied, as is typical in qualitative research (Moleong, 2007).

This research uses phenomenology as its approach. Phenomenology aims to approach the truth of a research object by capturing the phenomena or experiences as they are understood by individuals (Cresswell, 2015). Therefore, the researchers avoided directing questions or imposing answers on the informants, allowing the experiences of the individuals to emerge based on subjective awareness and reflection (Smith et al., 2009).

The next stage involves data analysis and processing, where the data were comprehensively analyzed based on the research topic. The analysis was carried out through an in-depth discussion of primary data sources, which were tested for validity using the triangulation method (Moleong, 2007). Furthermore, the researchers analyzed the data using Max Weber's social action theory, as Weber is also considered an early-generation phenomenologist. With this perspective, the researchers aim to understand the background that makes Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur a medium for maintaining inter-religious harmony in Bojonegoro.

This article employed Weber's social action theory. Social action can be defined as an actual event where actors play a role, making positive choices and considering their circumstances before taking action to achieve their goals. Weber's approach seeks to explore the values, goals, beliefs, habits, and attitudes that shape human behavior (Ritzer, 2004). Weber emphasizes the importance of "understanding" as a guide for observation and as a theoretical response to the subjective human psyche. In sociological research, understanding psychological conditions is useful for exploring the relationship between reality and the behavior exhibited by individuals (Weber, 1978).

Rationality is Weber's primary foundation in determining social action. Each individual must rationalize their actions toward others. However, some actions can be easily understood intellectually or, in other words, rationally. In certain situations, however, individuals' actions toward others may not be easily understood, as they may project their own understanding of particular circumstances (Soekanto, 2010). Therefore, in examining social action, Weber also developed a theory regarding the direction of action in situations as understood by individuals within social contexts (Schweikard & Schmid, 2013; Scheff, 2023).

Weber's theorization of this concept is encapsulated in his typology of social action, based on rationality. He classifies social action into four categories: instrumental rationality, value rationality, affective rationality, and traditional rationality (Weber, 1978). In sum, instrumental rationality

involves an individual's intellectual consideration of tools, abilities, goals, and the responses to their actions. Value rationality is derived from an individual's intellectual judgment, where the goals stem from external values such as ethics, aesthetics, or religion. Affective rationality is driven more by emotional responses than by intellectual consideration. Finally, traditional rationality involves actions that are rooted in long-established customs, passed down from ancestors, and, like affective actions, do not involve much intellectual reflection from the individual (Maliki, 2018)

Findings and Discussion

This section discusses rational actions and factors that foster tolerance and pluralism in Kapas Village through the Nyadran tradition and the Budiluhur association. First, it explores Kapas Village as a social space, providing the context and background for this study. The next section examines social actions, particularly those demonstrating tolerance and pluralism, emerging from the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur, using Weber's theory of rational action and Alfred Schutz's phenomenological theory.

Kapas Village: The Hybridity of Rural and Urban Society

Kapas Village is located in Kapas Sub-district, Bojonegoro Regency, at the eastern boundary of the sub-district, approximately 6 km or a 10-minute drive from the urban center of Bojonegoro. The village consists of two hamlets: Sambungrejo (RW 1), which includes eight RTs, and Guyangan (RW 2), which oversees eleven RTs. The village covers an area of 1.11 km², with a population density of 3,163 people/km² (source: <https://kapas-bjn.desa.id/profil-desa/>).

Kapas Village is economically independent, with well-developed micro, small, and medium enterprises (UMKM). Its strategic location places it at the center of commerce and community activities, with various institutions supporting social welfare, education, and economic needs. The village has two large markets, traditional stalls (mrancang), modern shops,

eateries, water wells, terminals, latrines, water reservoirs, and twelve bridges linking it to surrounding areas. Additionally, it is supported by banks, village-owned businesses (Bumdes), cooperatives, farmer groups (Poktan), and farmer group associations (Gapoktan).

Kapas Village also offers good educational facilities. It includes four Early Childhood Education (PAUD) centers, five Kindergartens (TK), two Elementary Schools (SD), one Raudhatul Athfal (RA), and one Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah (MI). In addition, it also has one Junior High School or Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) (source: Kapas Village Monograph).

The strategic location of Kapas Village highlights its development. Situated near the center of Bojonegoro city, the hub of the local economy and government, the village benefits from easy access to resources. It is also located along a highway that connects Bojonegoro to Lamongan, facilitating economic growth. These favorable conditions have allowed Kapas Village to evolve into an independent community with various economic and educational facilities. However, locals attribute much of the village's progress to the legacy of its elders: Simbah Buyut Kaki Kuru, Simbah Umpil, Simbah Palon Singojoyo, and Simbah Rono Joyo Jangrong.

According to local oral history, Kapas Village was founded by Simbah Buyut Kaki Kuru, who is credited with the village's prosperity. Mbah Buyut was an Islamic preacher who settled in what is now Kapas Village. Later, he was joined by Simbah Umpil, who assisted him in spreading Islamic teachings. The site where they resided has since become a sacred place, or *punden*, where the local community holds the Nyadran tradition (Interview with MK, 11 March 2022).

The two pioneers of Kapas Village received substantial support from Mbah Palon Singojoyo, a local resident who granted them land. Another key figure was Mbah Rono Joyo Jangrong, who donated land to build a mosque for religious activities and a market for economic development. As the village grew with the arrival of new settlers, Mbah Palon Singojoyo was appointed the first village leader. The contributions of these four founding figures are

honored by residents through the Nyadran tradition (Interview with MK, 11 March 2022).

Despite Kapas Village's modern development, various traditional practices remain central to the Nyadran tradition. One such practice is "jimpitan," a voluntary donation system where residents contribute small amounts. The term "jimpitan" comes from the Javanese word *jimpit*, meaning "to take with the tips of the fingers." Donations, often placed in small cans originally used as cigarette holders, are collected at the gates or fences of residents' homes. Jimpitan is coordinated at the RT (neighborhood association) level throughout the village. Kapas Village has 20 RTs, each holding monthly meetings to decide how to allocate the jimpitan funds. The village government also facilitates meetings between RTs on the 25th of every month to optimize the use of these donations for the benefit of the community.

The collection of *jimpitan* has become a nightly routine for the villagers of Kapas, who are on watch during the *ronda* or night patrol. The next day, the *jimpitan* container is filled with coins or banknotes by the homeowners, so that at night, the residents on guard at the *ronda* post go around from house to house collecting the *jimpitan*. The proceeds are used according to the community's needs and mutual agreement, either for public construction, recreation, entertainment, or other social needs. Although this tradition involves only a small amount of money, it plays a significant role in fostering and maintaining strong social interactions and harmony within the community. As is well-known, the people of Kapas belong to different religions. Implementing and utilizing *jimpitan* serves as a bridge between these differences (Interview with AARL, 31 January 2022).

Another tradition that serves as a gathering space for Kapas villagers is the *Grebeg Berkah*. This event, held once a year in September, is a celebration of gratitude for the villagers' incomes. It differs from the *Sedekah Bumi* tradition because *Grebeg Berkah* expresses gratitude not only for crops but also for other sources of income, such as business and trade. The highlight of the event is the carrying of *tumpang*—cones of rice or snacks made by the

villagers. The event is also enlivened with folk entertainment, musical performances, and a bazaar (Interview with ASA, 31 January 2022).

In Kapas Village, there are also various traditional Islamic religious activities, such as the recitation of the *Kitab Kuning*, lessons on reading and writing the Qur'an, and the recitation of the Prophet's *shalawat*, which take place in every *musala* throughout the village (Interview with AAA, 11 November 2021).

Nyadran Tradition in Kapas Village: A Multicultural Meeting Space

The Nyadran tradition has existed since the Hindu-Buddhist era. The word "nyadran" originates from "Shraddha," which means a form of respect for spirits considered sacred. In ancient times, Nyadran was a ritual aimed at praying for and connecting with ancestors (Purwaningsih et al., 2016). With the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, this tradition evolved to incorporate more Islamic rituals, but its core purpose—respect for ancestors—remained the same (Brakel, 2004).

In Kapas Village, the Nyadran tradition consists of a series of events held annually on a specific Wednesday, or Rebo Pon. During this event, Kapas residents visit sacred sites, known as "punden," to offer prayers and honor their ancestors, expressing gratitude to God for the blessings received throughout the year. Kapas Village has two main punden for Nyadran: Punden Guyangan and Punden Mbah Umpil. This tradition involves the entire village, including both Muslim and non-Muslim residents. Despite differences in religion, race, and culture, the people of Kapas Village remain united. The community enthusiastically participates in the Nyadran tradition, which fosters harmony between Muslims, Catholics, Protestants, Confucians, Hindus, and Buddhists.

The Nyadran at Punden Guyangan starts at 7:00 AM and continues until the tumpeng ritual is completed, around 5:00 PM. The day's events begin with cleaning the Guyangan punden, believed to be the resting place of the village ancestor, Mbah Buyut Kaki Kuru. The community gathers to

clean the tomb in preparation for Nyadran, with all residents—Muslim and non-Muslim—working together, reinforcing the spirit of cooperation.

Next, *tahlil* (Islamic prayer) is recited collectively at the village hall, led by Mr. Yasin or Mr. Husaini, local Islamic leaders. Interestingly, non-Muslim residents also participate in the *tahlil* recitation. Before the *tahlil*, the leader invites everyone to pray according to their own religion or belief (Interview with MH, 11 November 2022).

In the afternoon, residents bring *tumpeng* (ceremonial rice cones) to the *punden*. This Nyadran tradition is followed by both Muslims and non-Muslims, especially those who have vows or personal prayers. Even Mr. Sadar Yusak, the Catholic priest, often participates. The village head also contributes by bringing *tumpeng* with "ingkung" (whole chicken), which is then shared with the villagers (Interview with AARL, 31 January 2022).

The Nyadran at Punden Mbah Umpil is similar to that at Punden Guyangan, differing only in location and time, as it is held during the day. Some locals believe that Mbah Umpil's resting place is not here but only his "petilasan" (sacred site). The caretaker, Mbah Suprianto, oversees the ceremonies at Mbah Umpil Punden. Though the *punden* was once covered with old roof tiles, it has been gradually renovated in honor of the elders. Pilgrims frequently visit, though Mbah Suprianto reminds them not to ask for material blessings, as Mbah Umpil is just an intermediary, with all prayers ultimately directed to God. It is also forbidden for menstruating women to enter the *punden*'s grave area.

Some residents come to fulfill vows at the *punden*. Before hosting events like Nyadran, village officials visit Punden Mbah Umpil first, as it is considered the oldest *punden* in Kapas Village. Traditionally, the Nyadran here did not include Islamic rituals like *tahlil* or Yasin. People would simply come and eat at the *punden*. However, since Mbah Suprianto became the caretaker, *tahlil* and Yasin prayers have been incorporated into the ceremony.

To enhance the Nyadran event in Kapas Village, villagers usually organize a performance of "Sindiran," a type of Tayub, in the village hall at

night after the Nyadran ceremony. Sindiran is considered an essential part of the Nyadran tradition in Kapas Village, as it must be included according to the village elders. Even during the COVID-19 outbreak, this performance continued, albeit with restrictions on the number of attendees. Under normal circumstances, the performance is attended by village officials, religious leaders, community leaders, Kapas residents—both Muslim and non-Muslim—and even people from neighboring villages. The performers are typically Tayub artists brought in from Bojonegoro or Jatirogo, Tuban (Interview with ASA, 31 January 2022).

Paguyuban Budiluhur in Kapas Village: A Space for Minority Accommodation

Kapas Village is known for its religious tolerance. Within the social structure and community order of the village, there are no inter-religious disputes. Instead, the village demonstrates a harmonious and prosperous way of life (Interview with AAA, 11 November 2021). Kapas, which is home to a diverse religious community, even has a non-Muslim organization called Paguyuban Budiluhur. This foundation, established in 2015 by Pak Totok Sudiyono, a Catholic who was then the Head of Kapas Village, was created in response to concerns raised by non-Muslim residents about cemetery issues and unused land owned by a Chinese foundation that was not being maintained. The land was acquired by the Paguyuban Budiluhur Foundation and turned into a non-Muslim cemetery adjacent to the Islamic cemetery. The foundation's original purpose was to assist with funeral arrangements for non-Muslim residents, a necessary service in a predominantly Muslim area unfamiliar with non-Muslim burial customs.

Mr. Totok initially led the foundation, but its leadership is now held by Pastor Sadar Yusak. Mr. Totok remains as the foundation's advisor. Pastor Yusak, who has been assigned to Kapas Village since 1983, has integrated well into the community and actively participates in village traditions such as the Nyadran tradition. He is also involved in Graikamtikmas, organized by the Kapas police, and Pendetakamtikmas, which holds meetings every few

months attended by Kapas residents (Interview with SY, 13 March 2022). Although Paguyuban Budiluhur was founded and is led by Catholics, its members include Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians. They meet twice a year among the board members and once every two years with all members to discuss the foundation's needs. Additional meetings are held when a member passes away.

The main activity of Paguyuban Budiluhur is raising funds to cover the funeral expenses for non-Muslim residents. Every member is required to contribute a minimum of Rp. 2,000 to the association's treasury. These funds, along with contributions from the general Kapas community, are used to manage funeral arrangements for members, regardless of whether they are Catholic, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, or Confucian. Members' bodies are buried on land allocated by the foundation. Non-Muslim Kapas residents who are not members of Budiluhur may also be buried on the land, but they do not receive financial assistance for funeral arrangements (Interview with TS, 11 November 2021).

During non-Muslim religious holidays, Paguyuban Budiluhur members typically organize celebrations and invite both non-Muslim members and Muslim residents from the village. They also distribute gifts to those living near the foundation's office and around their homes (Interview with EWS, 1 February 2022). This charitable activity increased significantly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Paguyuban Budiluhur members, who are generally from upper-middle-class backgrounds, raised significant funds to support Kapas residents affected by COVID-19, providing assistance for those in self-isolation, hospitalized, or bereaved. This aid was distributed equally among all affected residents, regardless of their religion (Interview with AAA, 11 November 2021).

Rationality of Efforts to Maintain Religious Harmony in Nyadran Tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur

The description of the Nyadran tradition and the Paguyuban Budiluhur activities above illustrates how these two elements serve as mediums for maintaining religious harmony in Kapas Village. The traditions and activities of these institutions demonstrate deliberate efforts to strengthen and uphold social cohesion in the multicultural community of Kapas Village. This is evident in the institutionalization of the Nyadran tradition as an annual event in the village (Yusuf et al., 2023), as well as the formalization of Paguyuban Budiluhur. These institutionalizations are concrete efforts by Kapas Village policymakers. By institutionalizing these traditions, village policymakers ensure that material support is provided to sustain the Nyadran tradition and run the Paguyuban Budiluhur's programs. Additionally, support comes from Kapas residents through the practice of *jimpitan* (a small community-based donation). In other words, in addition to institutionalization, the effort to maintain inter-religious harmony is reinforced by financial support through village programs and the *jimpitan* practice.

Efforts to preserve religious harmony in Kapas Village through the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur are also passed down to the younger generation. In the Nyadran tradition, community and religious leaders involve youth in activities like cleaning the *punden*, participating in *tahlilan*, and performing *sindiran*. These activities are enthusiastically carried out by adults, youth, and children alike. Additionally, the youth are entrusted with managing *jimpitan* as part of the Paguyuban Budiluhur program. The youth members of the foundation are tasked with collecting money from the *jimpitan* cans in front of residents' houses, which is then counted and managed by the treasurer. Passing down this tradition and involving the younger generation is crucial (Chalim et al., 2023), especially in the face of globalization, which allows the unrestricted spread of various cultures into different regions.

The various efforts made by the Kapas community have proven successful in fostering a social order that sustains and preserves inter-religious harmony in the village. This success is closely tied to the factors and considerations behind these efforts. From a phenomenological perspective, actions are shaped by collective understanding within society. These actions can be identified through an analysis of motives, as formulated by Max Weber. Motives refer to the reasons behind actions, rooted in specific rationalities. Weber argues that social actions are often seen as objective facts, without deeper inquiry into the causal relationships that drive them (Weber, 1978). Moreover, as a key figure in interpretive sociology, Weber defined sociology as a science aimed at interpreting and understanding social actions and relationships to uncover causal explanations (Reed, 2023).

Max Weber's theory of social action defines an individual's action as long as it carries subjective meaning for the individual and is directed at the actions of others, making it "meaningful action." Weber distinguishes action from mere behavior by asserting that a movement is not considered an action unless it has subjective meaning for the person involved (Weber, 1978). This indicates that an actor is aware of their actions, which can be analyzed through their understanding, motives, and feelings. According to Weber, rationality is classified into four types of social action (Ritzer, 2004), which can be observed in the traditional activities of Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur in Kapas Village.

First, *instrumentally rational action* refers to actions where individuals consider the relationship between the means used and the goals they wish to achieve. In this case, the Kapas community has carefully planned almost all activities within the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur, considering the objectives and the methods of achieving them. The institutionalization of the Nyadran tradition as an annual village event demonstrates the rationality of this action. Each activity, procedure, and funding involved in Nyadran is calculated and planned. This rationality is also present in Paguyuban Budiluhur, which brings together members of

various religions and has been institutionalized and legalized as a foundation.

Second, *value-oriented rational action* involves actions that are rational based on their perceived benefits, even if the specific goals are not clearly defined. In this case, the person engaging in the action believes that it aligns with the values of what is good and right according to the community's standards. In the context of the Nyadran tradition, non-Muslim members of Kapas participate in *tahlilan* as part of the Nyadran events. While their participation in *tahlilan* may not be rational from a strictly religious standpoint, for the participants, it is a form of social participation required of all Kapas residents. The fact that Kapas residents, including non-Muslims, know the *tahlil* text by heart indicates that *tahlilan*, in this context, has transcended religious expression and has become a form of social action. Kapas Village, with its multicultural society, has brought the Nyadran tradition, including *tahlilan*, beyond theological boundaries and into the public sphere, allowing it to permeate individual understanding and guide their actions (Soekanto, 2010). Similarly, the philanthropic activities led by Paguyuban Budiluhur demonstrate that acts of kindness transcend the divisive boundaries of religion (Adam, 2017).

Third, *traditional action* refers to actions performed simply because they are customary, without consideration of the reasons or planning for the goals and methods. In such actions, the individual merely adheres to a long-standing tradition, viewing its continuation as essential. These actions are driven by habit and the desire to preserve tradition. While this type of action is not found in Paguyuban Budiluhur, which was established recently, it can be observed in the Nyadran tradition, particularly in events like *sindiran* performances and *tumpeng ingkung*. Although the original reasons for these Nyadran activities may no longer be known, Kapas residents continue to organize them simply because they are tradition. In fact, Kapas residents invest significant effort and resources into maintaining *sindiran*, even as *sindiran* artists become increasingly rare (Interview with ASA, 31 January 2022).

Fourth, *affective action* is characterized by spontaneous reactions to events, performed without planning or full awareness. This type of action is absent from the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur, as both are carefully planned and institutionalized efforts that mediate inter-religious social relations in Kapas. However, during the peak of the Nyadran tradition, when the *sindirani* performance is followed by music and a bazaar, the joyful expressions of attendees are evident. This annual event not only fosters inter-religious harmony but also brings happiness to the people of Kapas Village. Moreover, visitors to the event come not only from Kapas but also from surrounding areas.

The various identifications above reinforce Weber's assertion that social action must contain subjective meaning. Weber argues that individuals in society act based on subjective considerations, even when their actions align with societal norms. The Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur represent collective actions performed by Kapas residents, but each individual has their own rationality for participating, as illustrated by the analysis of the four types of social action.

Overall, the most prominent type of action in both the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur is *instrumentally rational action*. This type of action is evident in the institutionalization of these traditions, which have been carefully planned and organized. The activities carried out in these two events shape social relationships and the community's social structure. The institutionalization of both Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur plays a crucial role in maintaining harmony in Kapas Village. Previous studies have found that inter-religious dialogue and communication are key to fostering tolerance (Fuadi, 2021; Indainanto et al., 2023; Suparto et al., 2023). Furthermore, the community must create social spaces where people of different religious backgrounds can come together and engage in joint activities (Ismail, 2010; Yuliningsih et al., 2018). Thus, the institutionalization of Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur represents a valuable effort by Kapas Village to strengthen community solidarity.

The overall actions in the Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur traditions reflect efforts to maintain inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. It is evident that every event held in Kapas Village demonstrates a high level of solidarity, which serves as a rational guide for the community. At the same time, residents also show respect for each other, even when it may seem irrational. For instance, they follow the rule that prohibits certain spices in the *tumpeng* offerings. Although the original reason for this prohibition may be unclear, they respect it because it has been passed down through generations, and they dare not violate the customs of Kapas Village. Therefore, the village's efforts to preserve local traditions and wisdom amidst modernization also contribute to maintaining harmony (Brakel, 2004; Dhani, 2023; Pajarianto et al., 2022; Riyadi, 2017).

In this context, it is crucial to delve deeper into the motives behind individual actions within the community that have successfully created a harmonious environment. This research will employ a phenomenological analysis to explore the underlying consciousness behind the harmonious attitudes of Kapas residents. The phenomenological theory used in this analysis is Alfred Schutz's, which is considered more practical and operational than the earlier, more philosophical phenomenological approaches (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012). Schutz divides the motive of action into two categories: the "because motive" and the "in order to motive."

The "because motive" refers to the reasons behind a person's actions, shaped by the community's background (Schutz, 1964). The "because motive" for fostering inter-religious harmony in Kapas is at least partly motivated by the preservation of tradition, the creation of hybrid social spaces, social interaction, and a sense of nationalism. As mentioned earlier, Kapas Village is a boundary area between urban Bojonegoro and rural areas. This demographic condition makes Kapas an ideal space for the intersection of modernity and tradition. The hybrid social space in modern Kapas allows for unique social interactions. On one hand, modernity in Kapas has made the population highly heterogeneous. On the other hand, the long-held traditions of the residents foster a friendly and open attitude, known in

Javanese as *tepo seliro*, despite religious differences (Interview with SY, 13 March 2022). Such social interactions eventually promote a sense of nationalism (Tim Penyusun Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), a nationalism that transcends religious differences, fostering a shared identity as Indonesian citizens (Interview with TS, 11 November 2021).

The "in order to motive" refers to the future goal or result that an individual aims to achieve through their actions (Schutz, 1964). Various social activities in Kapas Village, such as Nyadran, Paguyuban Budiluhur, Grebeg Berkah, *jimpitan*, and other initiatives focused on religious harmony, are all aimed at ensuring the fulfillment of individual rights and freedoms in Kapas Village. This goal fosters interactions among Kapas residents and upholds the essence and dignity of humanity. The unity and cohesion achieved are not based on religious uniformity but rather on a shared commitment to mutual tolerance and respect among individuals of different faiths. The various motives and goals behind the social actions of Kapas residents in maintaining religious harmony align with the concept of religious moderation as defined by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Tim Penyusun Kementerian Agama RI, 2019).

Overall, the findings of this study also have several limitations. Firstly, while the research identifies instrumental rationality and institutionalization as key factors in maintaining inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village, it may not fully capture the complexity of informal, everyday interactions that contribute to social cohesion. These unobserved interactions could play a significant role but remain underexplored due to the study's focus on formalized traditions like Nyadran and the activities of Paguyuban Budiluhur. Additionally, the findings are context-specific and may not be easily transferable to other villages or regions with different social dynamics, religious compositions, or historical contexts. The study also primarily draws from the perspectives of leaders and active participants, potentially overlooking the views of marginalized or less vocal community members, whose experiences and perceptions of religious harmony may differ. Finally, the emphasis on rationality might downplay the emotional or

affective dimensions of social actions, which could be significant in understanding how religious harmony is experienced and sustained in a community.

Conclusion

The Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur serve as unifying platforms for the local community to foster inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. Using Weber's rationality analysis, it was found that social action in Kapas Village is predominantly inclined towards instrumentally rational action due to the institutionalization of the Nyadran tradition as part of the village's annual agenda and the formalization of Paguyuban Budiluhur as a foundation. However, the other three types of action were also observed as part of the activities associated with both the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur programs. These findings reinforce Weber's theory that social action is defined by the meaning individuals ascribe to their actions, even when they follow similar patterns of behavior.

In the phenomenological analysis, it was found that maintaining tradition, hybrid social spaces, social interaction, and nationalism (because motive), along with the guarantee of human rights (in order to motive), are key factors that contribute to the success of efforts to sustain inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. Furthermore, these factors align with the vision of religious moderation promoted by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs.

This paper concludes with a recommendation that efforts to maintain religious harmony can be strengthened by creating and institutionalizing social spaces, such as annual traditions or inter-religious organizations. This institutionalization is important, as modern society tends to approach social actions in a rational way. Rationality can also encourage broader participation in efforts to sustain religious harmony and peace.

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