

TRANSFORMATION OF TRADITION *KUPATAN* EID AL-FITR AMONG THE JAVANESE MUSLIM DIASPORA IN MALAYSIA

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the Eid *Kupatan* tradition brought by the Javanese Muslim diaspora to Malaysia. The *Kupatan* tradition is a tradition that existed among Javanese Muslims which was introduced by Sunan Kalijaga during the Demak Kingdom for the Islamization process at that time. The *Kupatan* tradition is carried out seven days after Eid al-Fitr, in Javanese, *ketupat* or *kupat* is interpreted as "Jharwa dhosok" which also means "admit Lepat" that is, one must be able to apologize when one makes a mistake. In the *Kupatan* tradition, *ketupat* is the main dish, a rice-based *ketupat* wrapped in *janur* or young coconut leaves in a rectangular shape. The presence of the *Kupatan* tradition in Malaysia was brought about by the Javanese Muslim diaspora community, the local Malaysian community accepted the *Kupatan* tradition because they have several similarities in tradition, such as language, culture and religion, therefore the *Kupatan* tradition was well received and produced positive values for Malaysian local community. In its development, the Javanese Muslim Eid *Kupatan* tradition in the Javanese Muslim diaspora has acculturated, but does not change essential things or the meaning of the tradition, it is evident that the purpose of holding the Eid *Kupatan* tradition is still in accordance with the original meaning and purpose. The tradition of Eid *Kupatan* for the Javanese Muslim diaspora in Malaysia has become a separate identity for the Javanese Muslim diaspora, because other Muslim diaspora communities do not do that, and have different characteristics. This research method uses a qualitative approach.

Keywords: *Kupatan* Tradition, Diaspora, Cultural Acculturation, Cultural Identity

INTRODUCTION

As a multicultural country, Indonesia's geographical and ethnic diversity has fostered distinct cultural heritages that are maintained across generations (Widiastuti, 2013). Among these, the Javanese Muslim community exhibits a unique cultural hybridity, exemplified by the *Kupatan* (*ketupat*) tradition celebrated during Eid al-Fitr. Introduced by Sunan Kalijaga in the 15th century as a cultural vehicle for Islamic dawah, *kupat* carries a profound Javanese life philosophy of *jarwa dhosok* or *ngaku lepat* (admitting mistakes), symbolized by filling woven young coconut leaves (*janur*) with rice (Fadli, 2022; Rianti et al., 2018). Within this tradition, *ketupat* food is processed using rice as the basic ingredient and wrapped in woven young coconut—or what Javanese people usually refer to as *janur*—in the form of a box or rectangular bag,



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which is then boiled and consumed as a substitute for white rice (Lise, 2008; Rianti et al., 2018). In practice, the implementation of bakda lebaran coincides with the first of Shawwal, while bakda kupat is carried out one week after Eid al-Fitr (Arif & Lasantu, 2019). Long before this *Kupatan* tradition was assimilated into a Javanese Muslim tradition, the Javanese people had already known ketupat as a sacred food served in Hindu rituals and the worship of Dewi Sri. Through centuries of migration, this tradition crossed transnational borders, carried by the Javanese Muslim diaspora to Malaysia, where it encountered a local Malay culture that already possessed its own historical relationship with *ketupat* since the Sriwijaya era (Dwijayanto, 2017; Ramly et al., 2022).

However, when a tradition deeply embedded with specific Javanese-Islamic philosophical codes is transplanted into a new geopolitical and social matrix—such as the modern Malaysian landscape—it inevitably undergoes intense cultural negotiation. The scientific problem lies in the tension between cultural preservation and hybridity within a transnational space. As diaspora communities integrate through cross-marriages and adapt to local Malaysian customs (Samsuri & Yusoff, 2020), alongside global shifts in cultural values driven by digital technology (Diah & Setyaningrum, 2018), the original philosophical meanings of the *Kupatan* tradition risk being hollowed out, shifting from a profound spiritual-philosophical ritual into a mere secular culinary commodity.

A critical research gap remains in existing literature regarding this phenomenon. While previous studies have extensively documented the historical origins of *Kupatan* in Java (Fadli, 2022; Subagia, 2019) or mapped its general culinary presence in Southeast Asia (Rianti et al., 2018; Ramly et al., 2022), they tend to treat the tradition either as a static historical relic or a generalized culinary symbol. There is a profound lack of empirical focus on how the Javanese diaspora in Malaysia actively negotiates, alters, or retains the specific *Islamic-philosophical values* of *ngaku lepat* amidst local Malay acculturation and modern globalization. Consequently, existing research falls short by neglecting the shifting value paradigms and the diaspora's agency in maintaining cultural continuity within a foreign social matrix.

To address this gap, this study establishes a problem statement focused on the cultural resilience and transformation of the diaspora. Specifically, this research aims to investigate how the Javanese Muslim diaspora in Malaysia reconstructs and maintains the original Islamic-philosophical values of the *Kupatan* tradition within a foreign socio-cultural landscape. Furthermore, this study examines the extent to which acculturation with local Malaysian culture and global technological shifts have eroded or created new hybrid meanings for the *Kupatan* tradition. By analyzing these dimensions, this study provides a nuanced understanding of how transnational migration impacts the survival of localized Islamic traditions.

METHOD

The method used by the author in this research is descriptive qualitative, because this research examines data in depth about all the complexities that exist in the research context without going through statistical procedures or other forms of calculation (Sudarwan, 2002). This type of qualitative research is considered appropriate for use

in this research because it discusses cultural phenomena that occur in community life, the researcher wants to see a direct picture of the phenomenon to encourage understanding of the substance of an event.

The research on the *Kupatan* tradition as an Indonesian cultural identity is a qualitative study, the researcher wants to see how the events and efforts of the Javanese Muslim diaspora community brought their culture to their diaspora so that acculturation occurred and became a cultural identity in Malaysia. In qualitative research, Lexy J. Moleong, explains that qualitative research is to understand the phenomena experienced by the research subjects, for example; behavior, perception, motivation, actions, habits, and so on (Lexy J. Moleong, 2018).

To effectively capture these cultural phenomena within contemporary transnational contexts, this study specifically operationalizes a digital ethnography framework, also widely conceptualized as virtual ethnography or netnography (Kozinets, 2010). Given that the interactions, cultural expressions, and identity negotiations of the Javanese Muslim diaspora are increasingly mediated through online spaces, a digital ethnographic approach provides a valid methodological lens to investigate these digital footprints without geographic constraints. Therefore, the primary data source for this study is purposively derived from selected YouTube vlogs produced by the Javanese Muslim diaspora in Malaysia.

Vlogs are intentionally chosen as the primary ethnographic data because they serve as rich, self-directed visual narratives where diaspora individuals actively document, articulate, and perform their cultural rituals—specifically the *Kupatan* tradition—in real-time. Rather than merely viewing YouTube as a media platform, this research treats these vlogs as digital field sites containing embedded ethnographic artifacts, community interactions in comment sections, and authentic expressions of cultural preservation. By analyzing these digital narratives, this study decodes how the diaspora reconstructs their localized identity and negotiates cultural acculturation within the Malaysian host environment.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The presence of the *Kupatan* tradition in Malaysia is closely linked to the development of the Malay people. Malaysians are an indigenous Malay-speaking people, predominantly Muslim, who live a Malay lifestyle. Malays are widely spread across various regions, including Malaysia, Singapore, and much of Southeast Asia. Inter-marriage with other communities has led to a blending of cultures and the development of Malay traditions to this day.

During the Malacca Sultanate, Malay civilization experienced rapid development (Uhi, 2016). Malay traders who sailed to Southeast Asia introduced Malay customs, language, and food, thus making their culture known and experiencing rapid development. However, at that time, *ketupat* was not yet well known among Malaysians.

The arrival of Islam in the 14th century CE brought new traditions and civilization. Islam spread not only among the lower classes or ordinary people, but also spread and won the hearts of kings and rulers in Malaysia. The spread of Islam in Melaka throughout various circles changed the traditions and culture of the Malaysian

way of life. Malaysian food and traditions began to be adapted to the teachings and principles of Islam.

The Indonesian diaspora community in Malaysia is the largest diaspora community in Malaysia, geographical factors are also one of the reasons for the spread of Islamic influence, this is also a factor in the entry of Javanese tradition influence in Malaysia, the *Kupatan* tradition which is full of Islamic values and Javanese life philosophy is much liked by native Malays so that the culture is easily accepted by them.

The influence of the entry of other religions, such as Hinduism and Animism, is also something related to the culture that develops in Malaysia, and this culture also continues to be practiced in Malaysia, as long as it does not contradict Islamic principles, the culture will be maintained. The social phenomenon of the spread of Hinduism is related to the voyages made by Indians to Malay lands, the voyages made by Indians opened the way for the entry of Indian culture into Malaysia, they influenced Malay traditional culture, such as food, clothing and other cultures.

The spread of ketupat to Malaysia is mentioned in the earliest history which can be attributed to the Hikayat Inderaputra which was written in the 15th century as a Malay heritage culture. The tradition of *Kupatan* as a cultural heritage is not only as a cultural continuity but also as the identity and dignity of the nation. In another explanation it is mentioned that the spread of the origin of ketupat food orally is believed to have started earlier than that period and according to the records of Buddhist priests, during the Sriwijaya period ketupat had become a food that was spread to the Malay peninsula.

Ketupat was an important food and prioritized at important events during the kingdom's reign (Ramly et al., 2022). Local Malaysians embraced the art of weaving ketupat wrappers as an art form aligned with Islamic principles and teachings, readily embracing the culture. However, it's important to note that the *Kupatan* tradition is fundamentally influenced by Hinduism and Indian culture.

In the development of the global world, the *Kupatan* tradition has undergone significant changes. The *Kupatan* tradition is no longer sacred. The *Kupatan* tradition is rarely found in Malaysia and has been eroded by the influence of other foods that have emerged in the modern era, such as hot dogs, pizza, and so on. The implementation of the *Kupatan* tradition is also rarely found in sacred places. Javanese Muslim communities in Malaysia only carry out the *Kupatan* tradition in their respective homes, together with extended family and diaspora friends.

Area studies is the study of a region, encompassing its diverse social, economic, political, educational, religious, and other aspects. As it develops, area studies must adapt to changing times, such as the tradition of ketupat lebaran (the traditional Javanese traditional dish) brought by the Javanese Muslim diaspora to various regions, making ketupat popular throughout Southeast Asia.

As the dominant religion in Southeast Asia, Islam has attracted the interest of scholars to delve deeper into its teachings. Islamic teachings serve as a prime example of its spread throughout Southeast Asia and other regions since ancient times, reaching its peak in the modern era amidst the presence of colonialism. The peaceful spread of Islam has made it the most widely practiced religion in Southeast Asia, with minimal

use of violence in its spread (Arnold, 1965).

Several experts have tried to trace the main reasons for Islamization in other countries, as a religion widely practiced by Southeast Asian people, using various theories (Azra, 2000). One of the main reasons for the spread of Islam to Southeast Asia was through the voyages of Muslims who initially came to trade, then they began to introduce Islamic teachings that were in accordance with everyday life, through religious interactions they gained profits in trading, as well as advantages in politics. Europeans who arrived at that time did not gain much benefit because they did not use the same methods as Muslim traders, and they only had a small impact on the spread of European culture.

This caused the spread of other religions not to develop rapidly in the archipelago, including Christianity, although the reasons for the rapid spread of Islam are not clearly explained, but it is little known that the colonial rulers did not hinder its spread, nor did they force the local people to adopt other religions that were developing at that time (Azra, 2000).

Another explanation that still agrees with the opinion above, assumes that the presence of the colonizers actually stimulated the occurrence of Islamization and intensification in various regions of Southeast Asia, the label attached to the colonizers as oppressors of infidels opened the way for Islam to provide greater opportunities for its spread, providing an opportunity for the entry of Islamic religious identity and becoming an integrative factor for regional communities that were divided by social and cultural factors in facing Western colonialism.

Another opinion states that Islam contains elements of very complex and sophisticated teachings (Levy, 2000). Islam is a religion that teaches simplicity of life, this is evident in the fact that Muslims in their region use simple elements of teaching to harmonize life and religious teachings. Islam developed rapidly in the midst of civilizations with sophisticated social systems and strong traditions, such as Java, Aceh, Minangkabau, Sunda, and others. There is no complete explanation for the spread of Islam as a whole until it emerged and became the majority religion in Southeast Asia. Various theories that have emerged and developed seem to need to be combined to produce a complete explanation of how Islam spread successfully in Southeast Asia.

It can be recognized both in fact and historically that the spread of the Javanese Muslim community to Malaysia made them a dominant cultural community that had a major impact on the development of Malay society and the brotherly relationship between Malaysia and Indonesia. Javanese Muslims began to be recorded as a rapid diaspora community in the 19th and 20th centuries, the rapid diaspora to the Malay Peninsula from various tribes in Indonesia is a continuation of the relationship that existed hundreds of years ago, indicating the existence of a close relationship between the Javanese Muslim community and the local Malay community and has lasted for centuries (Cortesao et al., 2015; Dwijayanto, 2017).

Adaptation of Javanese Muslims in Malaysia

Every diaspora community that migrates must adapt, this also applies to the Javanese Muslim community that migrated to Malaysia, they must be able to adapt to the differences that appear in language, tradition, and culture. These two communities

have differences in defining language, one word with a different meaning. The word Malay also has a different meaning between the understanding in Malaysia and Indonesia, in Malaysia the word Malay means a unity of all things related to Malay culture, they are the original descendants of the Malay people who are under the Malay constitution, speak Malay, practice the customs that exist in Malay, adhere to Islam and as a community of a race, not of ethnicity. While in Indonesia, Malay has a narrower definition, as a tribe from various tribes in the archipelago, they occupy an area located from the eastern tip of the coast of Sumatra to the western tip of West Kalimantan (Dwijayanto, 2017).

The Javanese Muslim community has adapted well in Malaysia, easily adjusting to the place they migrated to. The cultural similarities between Javanese Muslims and the native Malay-Malaysian community make it easy for them to adapt. The cultural encounter doesn't necessarily result in the disappearance of their native culture; both communities maintain and preserve the culture they brought with them. The Javanese Muslim diaspora community continues to perform ceremonies they traditionally perform in their homeland. The acculturation process between Javanese Muslims and Malaysian culture has been smooth, with only some challenges encountered during the initial arrivals or the first generation.

In subsequent developments, the acculturation process progressed smoothly, with Javanese names no longer being a problem for administration. However, a sarcastic culture persisted, entrenched within local Malaysian society. Consequently, a new culture emerged, with Arabic names often being chosen to replace Javanese and Malay names, especially after the Hajj pilgrimage, although the name changes were not entirely complete. In subsequent generations, Javanese names were rare; much of this acculturation between the two cultures led to their successful adaptation to the new cultural encounter (Dwijayanto, 2017).

Acculturation of the *Kupatan* Lebaran Tradition of the Javanese Muslim Diaspora in Malaysia

Javanese Muslim communities continue to maintain their ancient traditions, practicing them, and adopting modern traditions to keep up with the times (Diah & Setyaningrum, 2018). Their culture is maintained and practiced from generation to generation, such as the traditions of pregnancy until the birth of a baby, marriage, and harmony in society. Although there is an acculturation of traditions between Javanese and Malay, this cultural meeting still has its own unique characteristics in both, which cannot be found in other cultures, for example in Javanese culture which is called *pranata hamil neloni*, *baritan*, and *tingkeban* (Dwijayanto, 2017).

The *Kupatan* tradition is a tradition that continues to be maintained and continues in Javanese Muslim culture in Malaysia, which is present during Eid al-Fitr or Lebaran Kupat, which is seven days after Eid al-Fitr. As explained above, the Malay community adheres to Islam, which shares similarities with the Javanese Muslim community, so many daily activities refer to Islamic values (Dwijayanto, 2017). The *Kupatan* tradition is sacred and maintained by them, all groups carry out the tradition, children, teenagers, and adults, all directly involved in the procession and some simply join in the excitement. Young children are beginning to be introduced to the traditions

brought by the Javanese Muslim diaspora community.

Javanese Muslim society has always carried out the tradition of *Kupatan* Lebaran with great joy and solemnity in their hometown, the diaspora caused Javanese Muslims to bring the culture of *Kupatan* Lebaran tradition to the diaspora, the cultural encounter between Javanese culture and local Malaysian culture caused cultural acculturation. Acculturation according to (Koentjaraningrat, 1990), is a culture in society that is influenced by foreign elements that are different in nature, so that these cultural elements are gradually accommodated and integrated into the culture itself without losing their personality and culture.

The acculturation of the *Kupatan* Lebaran tradition can be seen in Ikhsanuddin's vlog, (2022), He explains the traditions of the Javanese Muslim diaspora in the Selangor Malaysian village, one of which is the Baraan tradition, which is a tradition carried out on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of Shawwal, Baraan in the Javanese Muslim tradition is called *Kupatan* or Bakdaan. Javanese Muslim communities in the implementation of Baraan come to visit each other's homes to visit fellow Muslim relatives and ask for forgiveness, the implementation of Baraan is divided into 3 days, adults on the 2nd of Shawwal, youth on the 3rd of Shawwal and youth, and Muslim women on the 4th of Shawwal. Baraan is carried out with a fairly lively atmosphere, all family members gather in one house of the oldest person, but there are no processions, or performances, and prayers together in the mosque, they only visit or visit the homes of relatives and neighbors, which finally closes with a meal together (Ikhsannudin, 2022).

Most of Indonesian people see that in the implementation of the Eid al-Fitr *Kupatan* tradition, there is a cultural acculturation, which should be carried out one week after Eid or 7 Shawwal, in Selangor Malaysia the Javanese Muslim diaspora carries it out on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Shawwal, there are no joint prayers carried out and it is only celebrated in each house together with the family, usually the Eid al-Fitr *Kupatan* tradition in Java is carried out in places of worship or mosques.

A similar atmosphere observation in Rukanz's vlog (2022), Mr. Rukanz shows how the atmosphere of Lebaran *Kupatan* in Malaysia, the Javanese Muslim diaspora is seen gathering in the oldest family's house, some wearing complete Malaysian traditional clothing or what is called baju kurung, and some wearing ordinary Muslim clothing, the Lebaran atmosphere in this vlog looks quite crowded, the atmosphere of mutual forgiveness is also seen, the young apologize to the old, and the menu served in Lebaran this time is seen to have ketupat, satay and chicken, one of the typical Javanese menus of course. They no longer say the Lebaran sentence, but use the Raya sentence, and use the Malaysian dialect in chatting with others (Rukanz, 2022).

Acculturation that the author found was the influence of cultural encounters, where foreign cultures entered existing cultures, caused by several factors, including marriages between local Malaysians and the Javanese Muslim diaspora as in Momy Juna's vlog (2020) Momy Juna is a Javanese Muslim diaspora, in the *Kupatan* Eid celebration she showed the Eid atmosphere with her family consisting of her husband, Momy Juna and her three children wearing traditional Malaysian clothes, namely baju kurung. Momy Juna's child received an Eid envelope containing money, and after that ate with his small family, he failed to return to Indonesia because of Covid-19, so he

had to celebrate Eid for the first time in a foreign country, in Kuala Lumpur, he celebrated Eid in their respective homes, but when eating together the food served was seen, there was no ketupat, there was only lontong, laksa and tart cake with the words happy Eid written on it (Momy Juna, 2020).

After eating with her small family she visited her husband's family home, a native Malaysian, there she ate with her husband's family, in the meal session there was no Eid ketupat served, in the vlog there are various types of typical Trengganu Malaysian food menus, namely; oil rice, Trengganu trading rice, palas ketupat, and red cooked chicken. Next they continued their journey to momy Juna's sister-in-law's house, to the Javanese village of Klang, Selangor Malaysia, where the Klang village of Selangor Malaysia is one of the Javanese villages in Malaysia, there is also an angpao celebration, which is combined or arranged like a lottery in Indonesia, here there is a serving of ketupat, peanut sauce, balado chicken and chicken opor. In mommy Juna's vlog, the implementation of the Eid *Kupatan* tradition does not exist in their family, this happened because of marriage to a Malaysian and she did not live with other Javanese Muslim diaspora environments.

Another factor that the author found, namely the friendship factor, which led to acculturation in the *Kupatan* tradition contained in Melani's vlog (2019), Rosi as a Javanese Muslim diaspora community received Malaysian guests during Eid, the usual Eid celebration, with live video of the dining atmosphere, when chatting with her friend, she showed that ketupat in Malaysia does not use janur and is wrapped in plastic in a long box shape and large size, the name also changed to nasi himpit, her friend as a Malaysian also said that Malaysian people themselves have a typical ketupat, namely ketupat palas, which is smaller than Javanese ketupat, and is triangular in shape (Melani, 2019).

In addition, in the implementation of the *Kupatan* tradition, the author also found that not only the celebration in the implementation changed, but the clothes that Javanese Muslims wore experienced acculturation, as did the language they used, this was found by the author in Bang Ray's vlog (2018) Bang Ray showed the atmosphere of the Eid al-Fitr *Kupatan* after the Eid prayer, the implementation at his house was quite crowded because all his family members gathered, he himself wore traditional Malaysian clothes, and did not wear them like other Javanese Muslims did (Ray, 2018). The atmosphere of another Eid *Kupatan* tradition can be seen in Hiburan Terbaru vlog (2020), In this vlog, the atmosphere of Eid for the Javanese Muslim diaspora in Malaysia is shown, they visit their neighbors, shake hands and ask for forgiveness, but they do not bring food or gifts that are usually done by Muslims in Java in their homeland, they just come, shake hands, ask for forgiveness, and enjoy the food or drinks that have been served, in some houses there are also some who cook ketupat. The implementation of the *Kupatan* tradition of the Javanese Muslim diaspora in Malaysia is not like in Java, in Java the implementation of the Eid *Kupatan* tradition usually involves people gathering at places of worship, praying together, then eating together. Here the community only makes visits to maintain friendship, there are no prayers together, it is also seen that their celebration only lasts one day (Terbaru, 2020).

Acculturation that occurs in the *Kupatan* Lebaran tradition is a process that

always exists in the meeting of two different cultures, but even though this tradition has been acculturated in Malaysia, it certainly cannot eliminate the essence and meaning of the *Kupatan* tradition itself, because as the author explained above, the *Kupatan* tradition is held with the aim of objectives that are still in accordance with Islamic teachings and rules, namely for a gathering, charity, honoring guests and maintaining ancestral traditions. Acculturation that occurs in the Javanese Muslim diaspora in Malaysia only has an impact on external matters, so that the meaning and purpose of the tradition remain and are inherent in it. In this event, the diaspora community must acculturate the traditions they bring, one of which is the *Kupatan* tradition, this must be done as an opportunity to adapt and be accepted by the local Malaysian community, so that there is no cultural conflict between the two.

Tradition *Kupatan* as the Identity of the Javanese Muslim Diaspora in Malaysia

As something cultural in nature, cultural studies and cultural identity do not have discussions outside of cultural discourse itself. Identity can also have meaning in a particular genre, for example, ethnicity, race and nationalism. Cultural discourse as a cultural study does not only discuss something that has existed since ancient times, but this study continues its discussion according to changes caused by changes in time, and the development of human culture. Ethnicity as a concept is based on the formation of a culture, and boundaries in the cultural realm that have advantages from each culture itself. Hall (1990) in Christian, (2017) then came to the conclusion that cultural identity is a production that is never finished, but is always in the process of identification in the context of history and culture (Christian, 2017; Hall, 1990).

The Javanese Muslim identity in Malaysia has existed since they migrated to the Malay Peninsula. The cultural and traditional manifestations they brought with them were relatively easy to introduce to the native Malaysian population, as they share some similarities in tradition and culture with the Malay community, and the spread of their culture has been characterized by positive values. Javanese Muslim communities are almost always found throughout Malaysia, as they are considered the largest and fastest-growing diaspora community. Eating ketupat for Malaysians is a tradition that serves as a reminder of self, a form of gratitude, and a form of mutual love. This meaning is well-received by Malaysians without losing the authenticity of their culture.

Literally, identity is something that is attached to various kinds of essence, such as a belief, a person's attitude and lifestyle of a cultural community, identity is useful for distinguishing between one entity and another. A figure Mead explains that identity is a concept in social phenomena about a person when he or she experiences deeply from the perspective of a social group and the environment he or she comes from.

The *Kupatan* tradition conveys a message that signifies that it is a characteristic of Javanese Muslims, a foreign culture, and that acculturation with local culture occurs without losing its authenticity. In other words, the Muslim community must integrate to be accepted by the local culture without conflict and to be able to practice their respective cultures freely without any restrictions.

In Eko Joyoningrat's vlog (2020), Mas Eko is one of the Javanese Muslim diaspora communities in Malaysia, he explained in his vlog that the mandatory menu

for Javanese Muslims in Malaysia on Eid al-Fitr must include kupat, mixed with chicken opor, he ate alone, without family and relatives accompanying him. As a Javanese Muslim diaspora, he showed how the *Kupatan* tradition should take place, he showed that the *Kupatan* tradition is a Javanese Muslim identity in which the implementation of this tradition includes a typical food, namely kupat (Joyoningrat, 2020).

Another thing that is the identity of Javanese Muslims in the diaspora in Malaysia, they still wear clothes like Javanese people in general and do not wear traditional Malaysian clothes or baju kurung, as showed in Eko Joyoningrat's vlog (2020), and in Hiburan Terbaru vlog (2020), all Javanese Muslim diaspora communities still wear sarongs, peci and formal clothes or batik, so this is a characteristic that indicates that the person is a Javanese Muslim diaspora community (Joyoningrat, 2020; Terbaru, 2020).

Humans and culture are inseparable. Culture is present as a habit in human life that has been going on since ancient times. Cultural development is in line with the development of human life. Therefore, the culture that exists in the Javanese Muslim diaspora community cannot all be separated from them. Although many external cultures influence them, they still maintain their original culture. Javanese Muslim culture in Malaysia experienced a meeting in a diaspora phenomenon, this meeting did not cause a difference that resulted in conflict, so that the Javanese Muslim diaspora community could still maintain its traditional identity. Thus, the Javanese Muslim community in Malaysia has a social identity characteristic that is different from other diaspora communities in Malaysia in the form of the Eid al-Fitr tradition.

CONCLUSION

The Javanese Muslim diaspora to Malaysia caused Javanese Muslim culture to be brought to the land of migration, one of which is the tradition of *Kupatan* lebaran, this tradition has been acculturated, such as the implementation of the *Kupatan* lebaran tradition in Malaysia which takes place on the 2nd of Shawwal for adults, 3rd Shawwal for young men, and 4th Shawwal for Muslim women, the *Kupatan* tradition there is known as baraan, and Javanese ketupat food can be replaced with ketupat himpit or ketupat palas, some wear traditional clothes or typical Malaysian baju kurung, and some do not replace ketupat food with laksa. Although the tradition of *Kupatan* lebaran of the Javanese Muslim diaspora has experienced acculturation, it does not eliminate the essence and meaning of the purpose of the tradition of *Kupatan* lebaran of Javanese Muslims, it can still be seen that the purpose of the *Kupatan* lebaran tradition still exists, such as a place to stay in touch, ask for forgiveness, give alms, honor guests and maintain ancestral traditions.

The tradition of *Kupatan* Lebaran has become an identity for the Javanese Muslim diaspora community, because from the observations that the author found, other Muslim diaspora communities do not carry out the *Kupatan* Lebaran tradition, they only celebrate Lebaran as usual and use other foods, in the menu served, such as nasi minyak, ambeng, laksa, and they usually wear their respective traditional clothes, in contrast to the Javanese Muslim diaspora who still wear sarongs, formal wear or batik and wear peci as their identity. The acceptance of the local Malaysian community towards the *Kupatan* Lebaran tradition proves that the culture brought by Javanese

Muslims to the diaspora contains elements of goodness so that it is very easily accepted by the local community. The Javanese Muslim diaspora community adapts well with the aim of their culture being accepted by the local Malaysian community, so that there is no cultural conflict that occurs.

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