

Commodification and Shifting of Functions in the Tradition of *Ngadatangkeun* in Sundanese Society

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Abstract

This article discusses the shift in functions and forms of tradition in society. One of the essential functions of tradition for society is a symbolic function. This symbolic function is found through community involvement in traditional processions where they find meaning in solidarity and togetherness. However, the symbolic function of the tradition can actually be used to obtain non-symbolic interests such as achieving economic benefits. This research is focused on the *Ngadatangkeun* tradition in the Sundanese people in the Majalengka region, West Java. By using qualitative research methods with data collection techniques through participatory participation, interviews and literature review, this study argues that commodification has changed traditions' form and function from being symbolic to being materialistic. This commodification process has altered the symbolic social exchange in tradition into an economic function in the context of exchanging material (objects). This happens because the traditional procession has strongly emphasized aspects of material gain and private ownership as a form of materialistic attitude. This change is the background for the emergence of a new function in the *Ngadatangkeun* tradition, namely the economic function. However, the combination of symbolic functions and the development of new financial functions of tradition encourages tradition's duality, which complements each other rather than negates these functions.

Keywords: *contractual habit, rural tradition, Contribution, symbolic, function economical*

INTRODUCTION

Donating when attending a celebration party is a symbolic tradition. In ritual, a tradition is identical to the process of exchanging symbols and meanings in society (Dillon, 2014). Donations as a manifestation of the attitude of helping or cooperation are a form of symbolic expression in the donation (*nyumbang*) tradition (Prasetyo, 2017). This is reinforced by the opinion of Camerer (1988) which explains that gifting goods or materials to others is a form of a social symbol (Camerer, 1988). Therefore, people can be considered to be exchanging symbols when donating to an invitation. However, in certain traditions, donation as a symbolic tradition has shifted to a more worldly tradition. The materialistic tradition emphasizes personal ownership, wealth, and material values (Richins, 1994). According to Asrizal et al. (2019), the shift from symbolic elements to materialistic elements in the donation tradition is marked by a loss of voluntary sense and a shift to obligatory and coercive material exchanges (Asrizal et al., 2019). In certain traditions, invitations are more often considered as receivables that have demands to be returned. Thus, the tradition tends to become materialistic and changes its function into a medium for seeking economic gain (Prasetyo, 2017).

In sociological studies, tradition is a social practice carried out from generation to generation with certain functions. One of the traditional functions is symbolic (Sztompka, 2017). Edward Shils (1981), in his book entitled *Tradition*, revealed that the symbolic function in tradition is usually in the form of giving confidence to the group and strengthening primordial loyalty (Shils, 1981). Likewise, the symbolic function in the *donation* is used to maintain the value of mutual cooperation and enhance group collectivity. This function is illustrated by the altruistic nature inherent in the donation tradition (Prasetyo, 2017). Solidarity and social relations are believed to be stronger, especially when people work together and try to guarantee collective interests. However, after the meaning of donation shifted to receivables, the symbol of *gotong royong* (cooperative movement) faded away. The waning of this symbolic function can weaken the aspects of solidarity and collectivity in society. This has resulted in society becoming more individualistic and materialist (Prasetyo, 2017).

The phenomenon of shifting traditional functions from symbolic to materialistic functions, one of which can be found in the tradition among the Sundanese people in the Majalengka region, namely the *Ngadatangkeun* (contributing) tradition. *Ngadatangkeun* has similarities with several traditions in the Tatar Sunda region, such as the *Gantangan* in the Subang area and the *Talitihan* in the Indramayu area. All three apply a reciprocal system in contributing activities in every celebration procession (wedding, circumcision, etc.). The application of this joint system, which results in materials or goods donated by guests who come to the invitation event, are considered as receivables. Because he is a debt, then there is an obligation to be returned. The significant difference between the three traditions lies in the implementation system. The reciprocal process in the *gantangan* and *talitihan* is generally only carried out in the celebration procession, while in the *Ngadatangkeun* carried out outside the celebration procession. *Ngadatangkeun* is a symbolic tradition that grows and maintains solidarity among citizens. *Ngadatangkeun* is intended to express concern for residents who cannot hold a celebration, because they are considered not to have the opportunity to donate. However, at this time the *Ngadatangkeun* looks more like a special event to collect invitations.

Technically, the existence of the *Ngadatangkeun* shows a materialistic attitude and the pursuit of personal gain rather than an expression of solidarity. This is because the implementation is devoted to withdrawing the material that has been donated. *Ngadatangkeun* shows that *donations* or invitations are only limited to exchanging materials, not symbols. The problem of changing the symbol exchange process into material exchange is hypothesized that it will change the form and function of the tradition, so that the *Ngadatangkeun* which was originally a symbolic tradition, might turn into a materialistic tradition, and lose its symbolic function.

The shift in traditional forms and symbolic functions in the *Ngadatangkeun* motivated by the process of commodification of tradition. Commodification is a social process, which originated from the idea of commodity fetishism belonging to Karl Marx (Ansar, 2019). For Marx, commodity fetishism is the result of a money-mediated exchange system. Marx believed that if society were to commodify, social relations in society would fade and turn into material (material) relationships. Commodity fetishism makes people treat things related to material things as valuable, meaningful, and can give certain qualities to themselves (Marx, 1976). According to Simmel (B. S. Turner, 2011), commodification can also occur when people are highly enthusiastic about profit and understand the money economy. The purpose of commodification in this article is how people turn traditions into profit-seeking tools so that symbolic social relationships turn into material interests.

The application of the reciprocal system is a fact that supports the assumption that the community commodifies the *Ngadatangkeun tradition*. Social relations that originally came from the principle of kinship turned into material relationships to achieve personal economic interests. This condition is also found in similar traditions, namely the *gantangan* and *talitihan*. Aminulloh (2017) mentions that the culture of mutual assistance or mutual assistance in the *talitihan* tradition tends to lead to a culture of consumerism. This is because the form of community cooperation is to hold a festive celebration party. The existence of material benefits is the main factor that encourages people to work together to hold a celebration party (Aminulloh, 2017). Similar results were also found in a study conducted by Sutardi (2018) regarding the *gantangan*. According to him, the *gantangan* originally voluntary and *gotong royong*. However, now the function of the tradition has turned into an individualistic practice to gain material benefits (Sutardi, 2018).

By focusing on the *Ngadatangkeun* as practiced by the Sundanese people in Majalengka, this article aims to investigate the process of shifting the form and function of the tradition from a symbolic role to an economic function that is more profit-and-loss.

METHOD

The research in this article uses a qualitative approach. This research aims to reveal the shift in meaning and function of tradition from symbolic function. This study's data sources are the perpetrators of the *Ngadatangkeun* in the Pilangsari community, Jati Tujuh District, Majalengka Regency. The determination of Pilangsari Village as the research location was based on the results of observations which showed that the *Ngadatangkeun* only discovered in the North Majalengka Regency area, one of which was Pilangsari Village. Data were collected through three techniques: interviews, observation, and documentation. The informants interviewed were determined through a unique selection and withdrawal stage to obtain in-depth information about the *Ngadatangkeun* (Usman & Akbar, 2008). Data were also obtained through observation participation by being directly involved in the *Ngadatangkeun* traditional procession (Siyoto & Sodik, 2015). Analysis of research data was carried out in three stages. First, the reduction stage. Second, the stage of presenting data, and drawing conclusions (Harahap, 2020). To obtain the reliability of the research results, the researchers carried out the steps of checking the validity of the data, using the triangulation method. The triangulation technique used is source triangulation by comparing the data obtained, through different data collection tools and times (Samsu, 2017).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tradition of *Ngadatangkeun*

The word *datang* (comes) from the Sundanese language, which means to bring. The meaning of bringing (*Ngadatangkeun*), referred to in this tradition has the same meaning as that of collecting or attracting. The objects that are imported into the *Ngadatangkeun* are goods or materials. Usually in money, rice, staples, food, and others. These items are imported because they are property savings entrusted to others (saving) through the *donation* at an invitation. This is related to the reciprocal donation system when attending a celebration event. A person who gives or donates material when invited is considered to be saving or entrusting property to the person who organizes the celebration (*shohibul hajat*). Meanwhile, the person who receives the invitation money (*shohibul hajat*) is considered a person who keeps other people's property and is obliged to return it in the future.

The traditions of *Ngadatangkeun* is carried out by the people of Pilangsari, Majalengka, West Java. In this society, receiving and returning invitations has specific rules. Among these rules is that a person can only accept or return donations when attending a celebration (*kondangan*). In this case, the celebration is the only medium of material exchange. The Pilangsari community uses two terms to define the process of giving and receiving goods at a celebration. The activity of donating at an invitation, is usually called *an apprenticeship* (borrowing or investing). While the activity of returning donations is called *nauran* (paying invitations).

The tradition *Ngadatangkeun* can technically be categorized as an event on the same level as a celebration. The aspect that distinguishes *Ngadatangkeun* from a celebration is its reciprocal activity. Celebrations usually contain two exercises at once, namely *magangkeun* and *nauran*. Meanwhile, *Ngadatangkeun* includes only one activity, namely *nauran* (returning). Therefore, *Ngadatangkeun* is considered a special event for collecting famous debts. In the Pilangsari community, *Ngadatangkeun* is also

commonly considered as a medium for withdrawing wealth savings. The initial purpose of the *Ngadatangkeun* was to boost the spirit of contributing to every citizen in the celebration event. Generally, a celebration is a party held as a form of gratitude for something such as wedding celebrations, circumcisions, *Maulid*, etc. Such a system makes celebrations exclusive and can only be held by certain people. People who can hold a celebration are called people with *Papangkon* (parents' laps). According to the Pilangsari community, *Papangkon* is a child who is still dependent on his parents. When children reach certain phases, such as old enough to be circumcised or about to get married, parents are usually obliged to celebrate a form of gratitude. Therefore, people who do not have a *Papangkon* have no reason to hold a celebration. As a result of the exclusivity of this celebration, a person will get social sanctions and be considered insane if holding a celebration party for no apparent reason.

The exclusivity of the celebration implies that it creates gaps between communities. This is because not everyone can hold a celebration. For example, a couple who cannot have children (barren). Of course, a person who cannot hold a celebration cannot get his wealth back. This happens because, in Pilangsari Village, *nauran* and *can* only be carried out through celebration events. To minimize economic losses for people who do not have a *board*, they are not required to participate in *magangkeun* activities. However, in some cases this has the potential to cause other problems. This is because the *Nyumbang* is very synonymous with the symbol of *gotong royong*. A person who does not donate (*magangkeun*), will usually be considered unwilling to cooperate or unwilling to be *gentenan* (take turns helping). The community will not believe him in solidarity, especially if the person holding the celebration is the closest person. In other words, whether they have a *Papangkon* or not, the community is still required to donate in every celebration the villagers hold. Problems ultimately became the background for the holding of the *Ngadatangkeun*. The aim is to show community solidarity to residents who do not have a *board*, so they can organize an event to take back the wealth he has donated to others. Thus, the whole community can participate in the tradition of *donating* and will get a turn or opportunity to donate (get material).

Like the celebration, the *Ngadatangkeun* also has certain rules and sanctions. In the previous explanation, the celebration has an exclusive nature, that is, it can only be held by people who have *Papangkon*. tradition *Ngadatangkeun* only be done by people who do not have *Papangkon*. This tradition does not mean it is reserved for residents who do not have children. The meaning of not having a *board* is not to have dependents. This means that people with children are still allowed to hold the *Ngadatangkeun* tradition, provided their children are no longer dependents (already married). If the person who owns the *Papangkon* does this tradition, it will usually become the subject of gossip from the residents in the village. The reason is that they are considered unethical and cannot properly manage economic and financial affairs.

The Process of Implementing the *Ngadatangkeun*

When viewed from the reciprocal material system at the time of the invitation, the *Ngadatangkeun* can be considered a celebration without a party. This is because the procession in the *Ngadatangkeun* is almost similar to a celebration. The difference is if the celebration is a party held to be grateful for something. Meanwhile, *Ngadatangkeun* was just an ordinary event whose purpose was to get back the debt of an invitation. To make it clearer, I will show it in the following scheme,

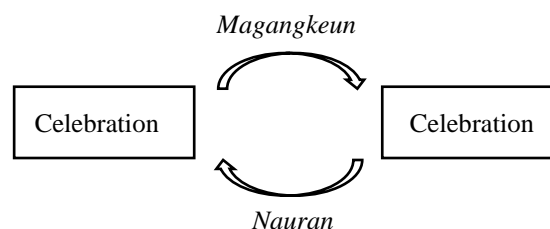


Figure 1. A mutual system of people who has *papangkon*

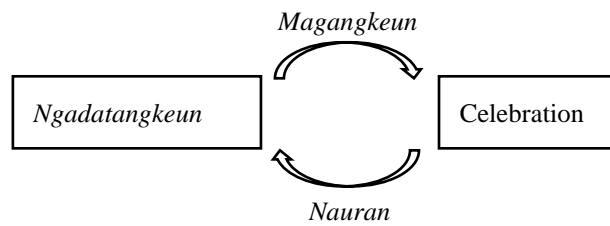


Figure 1. A mutual system of people who has no papangkon

Although the *Ngadatangkeun* has the same level as a celebration party, this tradition cannot be held at any time exclusivity of *ngadatangkeun* is not only measured by the aspect of the organizer (individual), but is also bound by time. In addition to not being done by just anyone (only those who do not have a *Papangkon*), the *Ngadatangkeun* also should not be done at any time tradition *Ngadatangkeun* usually only carried out once every ten years, or once in a lifetime for residents who do not intend to do *apprenticeship* again (generally because they are old). This is because the goal is only to collect invitations. In order to organize the *ngadalamkeun*, the community must go through several stages of certain activities.

First, a person who wants to hold an invitation to attend an event *must* have a large amount of savings from the proceeds of donating at the invitation of *Magangkeun* activities *apprenticeship* for years at every celebration such as weddings, circumcisions, building houses, etc. Organizing the *Ngadatangkeun* can be likened to harvesting bananas; the riper the fruit, the better it will be to harvest. It's the same with bananas, the more treasures that are donated (*pagangkeun*), the more profitable they are when they are *brought back* (withdrawn), tradition *Ngadatangkeun* is not held too often, and it is not easy to predict when it will be held.

Second, any assets that are donated (*pagangkeun*) must always be recorded. This is to avoid mistakes in billing and returning assets when the *wedding ceremony* is held. The recording process is usually carried out by both parties, both those who donate and those who receive donations (*shohibul hayat*). Notes are also useful as an archive that can show the amount of treasure that has been collected.

Third, must have a clear motive. This stage is not really that important. The people of Pilangsari usually don't really question why someone holds a *ngaunjukkeun* (show up) program. However, having a clear motive will usually have a more positive effect on the organizers. A clear implementation motive will minimize citizen speculations about a person's inability to manage finances. The reasons for organizing *ngaikutkeun* (to follow) found in the Pilangsari community are usually the need for funds for business capital, wanting to stop *internships*, pension funds, and others.

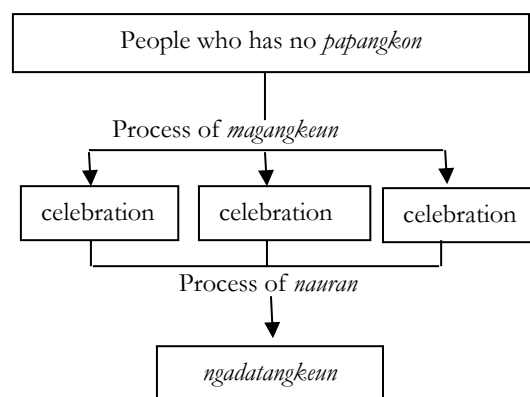


Figure 3. A process of donation to perform the program of ngadatangkeun

After having a large amount of savings and a clear motive, residents who do not have a *Papangkon* will be considered reasonable if they hold an *ngamintakeun*. In the Pilangsari community, the process of carrying *ngadalamkeun* is 80% similar to the process of holding a celebration party. The difference lies only in the reasons for the implementation and the reciprocal activities in it. As mentioned earlier, the *Ngadatangkeun* only contains one activity, namely *nauran* and the motive for its implementation is to collect invitations from invitations, not to get married or organize a thanksgiving party. Because it is not done to be grateful for precious moments, the *wedding ceremony* usually takes place normally and is far from being festive. Apart from the motives for organizing, reciprocal activities, and elements of festivities, the details of the *ngadatangkeun* are very much in line with the celebration.

First of all, someone who is going to organize an event *will send* out invitations. The form of distributed invitations is usually in the form of a sachet flavoring that is attached with a piece of it paper, which contains information in the form of the debtor's name, the form of the material, and the amount of material donated. Information regarding the date and place of implementation is usually conveyed orally when invitations are distributed from house to house (not included in the invitation). On the day of the event, residents who have been invited will come to bring materials that match the type and amount of material listed on the invitation they receive. The phenomenon of the arrival of residents with materials is the reason why this tradition is called *ngadatangkeun* (bringing). The materials brought will go through a process of checking or adjusting to the data listed in the invitation notes of the invitees (organizers). After the material brought matches the invitation notes, then the organizer (the person who *attends*) will give a gift as a token of gratitude to replace the buffet system (banquet) and invite *beseke* (*blissing*).

Commodification of Traditions

Tradition of *Ngadatangkeun* has been going on for many years in Pilangsari Village. This tradition is still interpreted as an expression of solidarity and togetherness among citizens. Despite the fact that the *Ngadatangkeun* today is not infrequently used as an excuse as well as a tool to accumulate wealth. It is intended to get multiple benefits. tradition *Ngadatangkeun* further encourages the emergence of materialistic traits in donating activities when attending wedding invitations.

The materialistic nature of the residents arises because in the implementation of the *Ngadatangkeun* a commodification process takes place. According to Marx, commodification refers to the process of changing an abstract social object into a commodity that has economic value (Evans & Smith, 2004). The commodified object can be a quality or a sign (Pradjanparamita, 2012). In the *ngadatangkeun*, this commodification occurs in the process of changing the meaning of the tradition from the media of social relations between citizens and symbols of solidarity, into an arena of exchange and transactions to gain profits in the form of certain goods. This is indicated when people view donations as saved assets, receivables, or investments. What should be underlined in this phenomenon is that when people donate or invite invitations, they not only intend to strengthen their social relations, but also to accumulate wealth.

The process of commodification of traditions carried out by the Pilangsari community is motivated by the existence of commodity fetishism. Marx views commodity fetishism as a form of human worship of the commodities they produce themselves, because of the noble and valuable nature inherent in them (Ritzer & J. Goodman, 2004). Commodities become an objective reality that stands alone and is independent of the people who produce them (Ritzer & J. Goodman, 2004). For example, rice donated by someone at a celebration. People view rice as having use value, exchange value, and symbolic value at the same time. This makes rice have a high quality of value in the eyes of the community, so that it becomes a highly valued commodity. The three qualities of value attached to rice are clearly the main reasons that encourage the use of rice as a donation when attending a celebration party.

As an illustration, rice has *ause valueto* meet human physical needs (Farihah, 2015). The people of Pilangsari donate rice with the assumption that the rice can be cooked and used as a banquet for invited guests who attend the celebration party. In addition, at the celebration procession in Pilangsari Village, people who donate rice will usually get a *blissing* (*beseke* celebration), namely food parcels to take home. The context shows that rice has an *exchange value*. Rice also has a symbolic value (*symbolic value*) which has another meaning when used (Bakti *et al.*, 2019). The people of Pilangsari usually view people who donate large amounts of rice as rich people. Meanwhile, someone who gets a large amount of rice during a celebration is a person who likes to save or donate (*internkeun*). These values also apply to

materials or other items used as donations. Commodity fetishism due to the values attached to the invitation material can be seen from several attitudes of the Pilangsari people in the tradition of donating.

First, the Pilangsari community has a possessive attitude (sense of ownership) towards material things and places great emphasis on the element of private ownership. This attitude causes people to continue to regard the donated material as personal property that must be returned. To satisfy the attitude of ownership of private property, the community uses a reciprocal system in the tradition of donating at invitations. Thus there will always be a guarantee that all the material released will come back to yourself.

Second, society accumulates wealth. This is done by changing the meaning of donations into savings or receivables. The reason is because the symbolic value of an item donated is usually determined by the quantity of the item itself. A person who has a lot of wealth will be seen as a rich person. While people who have little wealth will be looked down upon and deprived. That is, the material will be more valued when the quantity increases and vice versa. The pursuit of the symbol of wealth is what drives people to change the meaning of donations into savings or receivables.

Third, the community has an attitude of not wanting to lose. The community expresses an attitude of not wanting to lose by including a recording system in every *donation*. This further raises the element of absoluteness in the calculation of the material. For example, if someone has a debt of invitation or donations worth Rp. 5000, then they will return it (*nauran*) with the same amount regardless of the aspect of being appropriate or inappropriate. This is because, the purpose of *Nauran* is to restore. Thus, the community considers that there is no need to increase the amount of material during the *nauran*. In addition, the community will consider themselves to be experiencing a loss if they return it with a more significant amount. This commodity fetishism makes the calculation of profit and loss more important than a sense of reluctance and solidarity.

In addition to commodity fetishism, people commodify social relations and symbols in tradition because of the desire to gain profit. This relates to Simmel's earlier ideas about the money economy and the spirit of accumulating profits. The profit-seeking process can be seen from the considerations made by the community before they donate. Some Pilangsari residents, especially women, are usually reluctant to donate with money alone. The consideration is that money is an exchange item with inflationary properties because it is considered detrimental. Therefore, people typically combine the types of goods they donate by donating rice, money, food, and others simultaneously.

The process of commodifying social relations and symbols in the *Ngadatangkeun* occurs in two stages. The *first stage*, the community, reified the immaterial social forms. Referring to Marx's view developed by Lukacs, reification is a process of "substituting" social conditions (Lukacs, 1968). When the significant thing happened, social relations will turn into absolute objects with natural and universal properties (Ritzer & J. Goodman, 2004). In simple terms, reification is believing and treating something abstract as an object with a solid physical form.

In the *ngadatangkeun tradition*, the community reifies solidarity, a symbol of cooperation, the principle of kinship, and so on, into an object that can be exchanged (commodity). The reciprocal activity between materials during the apprenticeship process *nyumbang* (donating) and *nauran* (returning), is an exchange between rice as a real material and solidarity among others as objects or commodities resulting from reification. Both are seen and believed to be objects, whether rice or social relations and symbols. The process of changing abstract social forms into objects ultimately changes social relations between people into relationships between objects. In the end, social relations that turned into relations between objects also changed the symbolic tradition into a materialistic tradition.

In the second stage, after the reification process, the community begins the naturalization process. Naturalization is the process by which something is accepted as natural or normal. According to Lukacs, if abstract social forms are considered natural or normal, society will lose control over it. Both relations or social structures will be considered as something that "should be" and will be *taken for granted* (Sherlock, 1997). In the Pilangsari community, naturalization has implications for the emergence of normal standards and social sanctions. The Pilangsari people consider that the reciprocal system in invitation is a common thing (*Sundanese : already used*) or is common for them.

This *general* concept leads people to think that seeking profit in social-symbolic activities such as donating can be considered normal or natural. element *general* eventually becomes the standard of normality imposed in the *donation* or invitation tradition. These normal standards are also strengthened through social sanctions so that people always keep themselves within these limits. When people pursue

profit and make symbols of solidarity as commodities, they will not consider themselves materialists because it is considered normal. On the other hand, people who are rarely invited will be considered abnormal and will receive social sanctions in the form of gossip or ridicule.

After going through the process of reification and naturalization, symbols of solidarity and social relations become commodities that have an *exchange value*. It's the same with the concept of trading, a symbol of solidarity and social relations as a commodity can be exchanged for other objects or materials such as money, rice, or others. This can be seen from the emergence of names of solidarity for residents who donate and the strengthening of social relations after they exchange materials in celebration events. A person who donates material will get a title as a person who is solid and likes to help, which in turn strengthens his social relationship with the people who donated (*shohibul hajat*). This means that the nature of solidarity and social relations is not obtained through a process of symbolic exchange, but rather material exchange.

Commodity Circulation

In essence, commodities are produced by the community with the aim of obtaining benefits and benefits either for themselves or for others around them (Ritzer & J. Goodman, 2004). In the case of donating activities At the time of the invitation, the commodified form of social solidarity was not enough to provide benefits for the community. This is because in the process of *nauran* and *apprenticeship*, the exchange between matter has fundamental properties (no subtraction or addition). This means that what is issued with what is obtained will be the same in value, so it is considered that there is no profit. Although symbolically, solidarity is getting stronger, the community has not benefited materially.

To get material benefits, the community must be able to accommodate the commodities they have. tradition *Ngadatangkeun* is a tool used by the community to do this tradition *Ngadatangkeun* role in accumulating commodities so that when they are withdrawn, the amount of material that has been issued will increase because they have accumulated. The role of *Ngadatangkeun* in ensuring that the commodified social relations can generate benefits for the community as donors. In Marx's concept, the tradition of *ngasaatkeun* (drowning) can be considered as a device for circulating commodities.

In addition to commodities, the community also needs other tools to collect as much profit as possible. The symbol of solidarity and commodified social relations will be wasted if the community does not have a device that can accommodate commodities. Communities need media or tools to distribute and circulate the commodities they have. The need for tools to accommodate commodities encourages the creation of a well-established economic ecosystem, namely the production, distribution, and circulation stages. In the *Ngadatangkeun* applied in Pilangsari Village, commodification is analogous to the production stage, and relations and symbols of social solidarity are considered products. The celebration party can be considered a market or a place for distributing products, while the *Ngadatangkeun* serves as a bank or circulation medium to collect profits. Furthermore, in a celebration (distribution stage), *shohibul hajat* can be analogized to a seller. While the person who donated at the invitation as a buyer.

The celebration party as a place for the distribution process to take place serves to bring together sellers and buyers, where they can carry out economic transactions. *Shohibul Hajat* will offer social relations (solidarity, kinship, mutual cooperation, etc.), as a product to sell. Meanwhile, people who donate (*magangkeun*) are considered to have bought these social relations. By buying social ties, someone who donates will get called a "solidarity person". The material gain from each exchange between social relations as a commodity and the material donated, collected and accumulated in a bank (circulation media), namely the *Ngadatangkeun*.

Shohibul intends to exchange social relations for other objects, such as money or famous rice and gain profits from selling these commodities directly (Ritzer & J. Goodman, 2004). The process carried out by *Shohibul Hajat* is a type of non-capitalist commodity circulation (Marx, 1967). The form of rotation is a commodity (C1), into money (M), and turns into a commodity again (C2). The description is as follows:

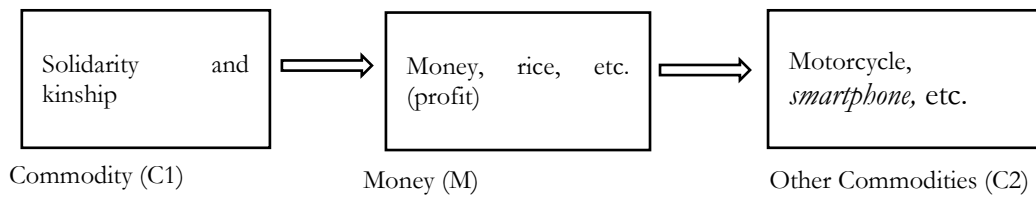


Figure 2. Circulation of non-Capitalist commodities to the procession of celebration

On the other hand, the people who donate (*internkeun*) and collect them in the *Ngadatangkeun*, have the type of capitalist circulation tradition *Ngadatangkeun*, a tool for accumulating profits so that the amount of money earned will be much more significant than the money donated. The description is as follows:

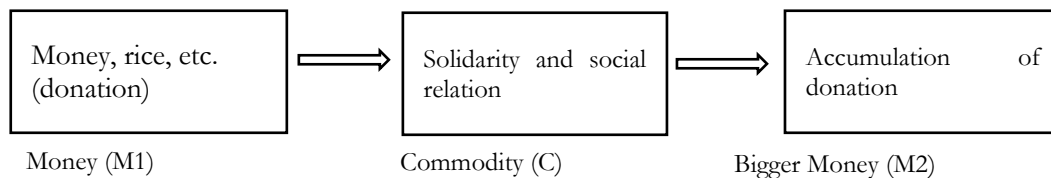


Figure 3. Circulation of Capitalist type commodities to the tradition of *ngadatangkeun*

Tradition of *Ngadatangkeun*, through the explanation above, clearly emphasizes the materialistic side more than the symbolic side. This is because the commodification process of relations and symbols of social solidarity results in social relations turning into material (material) relationships. Second, the *Ngadatangkeun* used as a tool to collect wealth and material gains. The commodification and circulation of commodities in the *Ngadatangkeun* can be a strong factor that changes the shape of the tradition. Tradition of *Ngadatangkeun* no longer in the form of a symbolic tradition, but has turned into a materialistic tradition. This is because the search for material benefits and material exchange is more prominent than the exchange of symbols and values of citizen solidarity.

Coexistence of Individuality and Collectivity

In the previous discussion, commodification of abstract social forms and the accumulation of profits through commodity circulation has changed the form of the symbolic tradition into a materialistic tradition. The change in the form of the tradition was initially assumed to shift the symbolic function in the *Ngadatangkeun*. However, based on the conditions of the people in Pilangsari Village, the change in the form of tradition from a symbolic tradition to a materialistic tradition does not shift the symbolic function, but adds another function to the tradition, namely the economic function.

The addition of this traditional function of course affects the behavior pattern of the community. On the one hand, as explained by Shils (1981), the symbolic function strengthens the quality of mutual trust and primordial loyalty (Shils, 1981). On the other hand, the economic function encourages people to carry out economic processes such as producing commodities (commodification), distributing them through celebration events, and circulating them so as to obtain material benefits. The symbolic function helps maintain the collectivity and solidarity of society, while the economic function creates individualistic characteristics and influences people to seek material gain. The combination of the symbolic function and the economic function in the *Ngadatangkeun* has implications for the creation of coexistence between collectivity and individuality within the Pilangsari community.

The coexistence between individuality and collectivity in the Pilangsari society can be simplified through the concept of the duality of human nature. According to Durkheim, humans have two opposite

sides but are connected to each other, namely themselves as individual beings and themselves as social beings (*homo duplex*) (Durkheim, 1973). As individual beings, humans tend to pursue ego and desires for their personal interests so that they tend to be more individualistic. Meanwhile, as social beings, humans have a collective consciousness that leads them to collectivity, social solidarity, and the achievement of common goals. In the Pilangsari community, these two aspects can be illustrated by the two double meanings used to define the *Ngadalamkeun*. In the individual realm, the Pilangsari community interprets donations as receivables and *nga comeskeun* as an event to collect or withdraw these receivables. Meanwhile, in the collective realm, the community interprets donations as a symbol of solidarity and *ngadatangkeun* as an expression of concern for people who do not have a *board*.

The economic function is tasked with presenting ethical rules for each individual's personal needs fulfillment activities. With the economic function in a tradition, people become aware of ways to control commodities, set prices, and determine ways of exchange. The economic function in the *Ngadatangkeun* very prominent, especially in the early stages of commodity accumulation, namely when *apprentices keun* (donating) while attending a celebration party (invitation). The community regulates commodities by accumulating donated materials through a recording scheme. The pattern of exchange can be seen from the determination of the rules of reciprocity of material, namely through the rules of *nauran*.

The *apprenticeship* also very full of aspects of pricing. For example, the more material that is donated, the more it will indicate the close relationship between the donor and the donor (*shohibul hajat*). The closeness of this relationship can come from blood relations (relatives), or proximity to residence (neighbors). With the economic function, the values of solidarity and social relations in society will be easier to identify. The higher the value of the contribution given (the price set), the higher the strength of solidarity and social relations between citizens. Meanwhile, the symbolic function in the *Ngadatangkeun* to be a tool that controls the economic actions of the community so that they are not too materialistic, individualistic, and selfish. According to Durkheim, collective rituals will control economic behavior by providing moral rules with binding social forces (Durkheim, 1957). In the *Ngadalam keun* these moral regulations are embodied in the norms of tradition administration. Among them is that it can only be done by people who do not have a *Papangkon*, done within a certain period of time, has a motive, and others.

Morality and moral power is something that is considered beyond the individual (Durkheim, 1957). So that the existence of regulations that have moral power, can control the community when carrying out economic activities. Although individually the community views donations as savings for personal property, collectively the community still has the intention to work together and help others when donating. This shows that the symbolic function controls the economic function and vice versa. People do not forget themselves as individuals with their own needs and thoughts, but also ignore that they are part of a group.

Thus the process of commodification in traditional social domains encourages the creation of ideal conditions for society. At the individual level, humans fight for their personal interests, but in the collective realm they do not forget the ideals of the group and its entities as social beings that are communal. In the *Ngadalamkeun* both individual and group rights are fought for. In the end, both individual needs and group interests are met simultaneously by collaboration between the economic function and the symbolic function in the *Ngadatangkeun* a solidarity amid an independent society (Tole, 1993).

CONCLUSION

In the *Ngadatangkeun*, a commodification of tradition in the transformation of abstract social objects such as solidarity, cooperation, and social relations into objects or materials of economic value (commodities). Commodification is carried out through two stages, namely reification and naturalization. As a result, the exchange of symbols in implementing the traditional procession turned into a discussion of materials. This implies a shift in form, from a symbolic tradition to a materialistic tradition. In addition to commodification, the Pilangsari community also creates an economic ecosystem by changing celebrations as a distribution medium (a place for distributing goods) and the *Ngadalamkeun* as a commodity circulation medium.

The process of commodification in the *Ngadatangkeun* not eliminate the existence of a symbolic function but presents a new function, namely the economic function. The economic function works in the individual domain, encouraging individuals to pursue personal needs and maximize profits. Meanwhile, the

symbolic function controls the performance of the economic function so that people do not forget the collective elements within themselves. The economic function embodies an individualist and materialistic society, while the symbolic function maintains society's communal statuses and collectivity. The emergence of economic processes due to commodification actually creates a coexistence between individuality and collectivity. As a result, the Pilangsari community has become an ideal society individually and as a social being.

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