

# HEGEMONY AND RESISTANCE: Case Study of Religious Traditions Socialization in Supporting the Identity of Rural *Santri* Community

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## Abstract

This research used a qualitative approach. The research focus was on daily cultural life, in this case the tradition of respecting the deceased spirits. This research also considers the use of local history in data collection process. The local history showed that the village builds a cultural identity as a "*santri* village". The community strengthen this identity by relies on Islamic religious traditions as a support. The "*tahlilan*" tradition was a tradition to pray for deceased spirits. At that time, some villagers developed a tradition of honoring spirits in another form, namely "*nyepaki*". Therefore, village religious leaders actively socialized the tradition of "*tahlilan*" and Islamic teaching in order the residents would abandon the "*nyepaki*" tradition. There were a number of residents who took action to resist the hegemonization of this cultural "tradition", in the end all residents accepted "*tahlilan*" as the main tradition to pray for spirits, and "*nyepaki*" tradition has really been abandoned. This confirms that hegemony was closer to a cultural and social approach. Influencing it culturally and ideologically will gradually agree with everything that comes from the group it imitates. The process of enculturation of the tradition can take place sustainably. The cultural identity of community was maintained.

**Key words** : hegemony, local history, *nyepaki*, *tahlilan*, resistance.

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## INTRODUCTION:

This study follows up on findings in study by Ridjal et al. (2019) that *santrinization* has a spirit of egalitarianism. Likewise, Ridjal et al. (2021) emphasized that the success of process to transmit cultural values was supported by authority relations, or related to differences in social status between groups of citizens. This research was conducted in Sumberarum village, Jombang Regency, East Java.

The community at this research location have different local cultural identity background. The local identities initially were related to kinship relations and ritual traditions of honoring the deceased spirits. In other words, local identities show which circles individuals come from and what ritual traditions were developed to honor the spirits. There were three types of local identities, namely "*wong njero*", "*wong njaba*" and "*wong mambu-mambu*".

The "*wong njero*" group were village members of kyai family and were considered as descendants of village founder. The ritual tradition to pray for spirits that developed in this group was "*tahlilan*". Members of "*wong njero*" group were treated by villagers as a group that occupies a higher social status compared to other groups. "*Wong njaba*" were community members who do not have any kinship or descent with the village founder. Some members of this group developed a tradition to honor spirits in form of "*nyepaki*". Other residents were "*wong mambu-mambu*" who considers himself to still have a kinship with "*wong njero*".

This grouping was started before Sumberarum was known as a "*santri* village". The identity of this "*santri* village" emphasizes the symbol of Islamic religious identity in tradition, especially the "*tahlilan*" tradition. The study by Ridjal et al. (2024) showed that *santrinization* of Sumberarum relies on its ritual traditions. This can be associated with other terms that appeared much earlier, namely: "*wong loran*" (residents in northern area of village) and "*wong kidulan*". (residents in southern area of village). It seems that *santrinization* of Sumberarum was also a determinant of dominant value orientation of new social order, based on local sub-cultural identity. The members of society were assessed based on their level of *santri - ness*. In addition, differences in group identity may also be influenced by differences in location of residents' residences and social status. This was similar to what was stated by Berry as quoted by Brewer and Yuki (2004) that

cultural differences in social relations arise partly from socio-ecological factors such as geography, social structure, and mobility.

Related to identity construction of "santri village", the differences in local identity groups have changed, or become increasingly blurred. Although, grouping of local cultural identities has not completely disappeared. Culturally, the field reality shows the blurring of background of local identity which was marked by acceptance of "tahlilan" as the only of ritual tradition to respect spirits by almost all villagers. Based on this event, research questions that would be raised in this study was : How do community members accept the tradition of "tahlilan" as an identity support of Sumberarum "santri village"?

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The homogenization of tradition cannot be separated from enculturation and socialization of the tradition itself. The term enculturation as a concept, can literally be equated with meaning of process of "culturation" (Koentjaraningrat, 1986). Enculturation was the process by which humans learn the dynamics of culture around them and acquire values and norms that *were* appropriate or necessary for their culture and worldview (Grusec and Paul, 2007). The process of enculturation, most commonly discussed in field of anthropology, was closely related to socialization, a concept that was central to field of sociology (Poole, 2003).

Enculturation refers to process by which culture was transmitted from one generation to next. In process of "culturation", enculturation and socialization cannot be separated, because culture was transmitted through the process of learning. Because of unique ability of humans to learn, socialization process was generally very important. According to Sanderson, et al (2011) socialization was a process in which humans try to absorb the contents of culture that develops in their place of birth. Clausen (1968) was of view that socialization was the process of internalizing the norms and ideologies of society. Macionis (2013) stated that socialization includes learning and teaching and "a means through which social and cultural continuity can be achieved". Therefore, process of enculturation and socialization cannot be separated for survival of traditions that live and develop in culture of society. Most social scientists believe that through this process the older generation spends a lot of time to transmit culture to next generation, and next generation usually receives a lot of impressions from various teaching efforts.

Regarding the culture transmission between generations, Kleden (1986) stated that relying on tradition and integration, a culture would maintain its identity, ensuring its continued existence. Green (1997) argued that tradition was a system of beliefs or behavior (folk customs) inherited in a group of people or society that has a symbolic meaning or special meaning from the past. The tradition can be interpreted as "the preserved past". Putra (2018) who quoted Piotr Sztompka's opinion emphasized that tradition can be interpreted as a true heritage or past heritage. However, the repeated traditions were not done by chance or intentionally. According to Shils (2006) and also Langlois (2001), tradition was everything that was inherited from the past to present. Therefore, process of tradition socialization was related to background context of tradition production itself, both in terms of its temporal and spatial nuances. Markus and Hamedani (2007) stated that cultural context was identified and maintained not only through shared subjective elements but also certain ways of acting and interacting in repeated episodes of everyday life.

The tradition survival as a "preserved past" was highly depend on socialization. Tradition in practice was actually an expression of restrictions and pressures that were hegemonic and dominant. Therefore, hegemonic ideology was a system of ideas that dominates the thinking patterns of society, but, usually, originates from, and benefits the upper class of society. The hegemony thesis by Gramsci as stated by Bocoock (1986) showed that control mechanism used by ruling group to maintain its superiority was not only limited to control over the means of production, but more importantly was control through ideological hegemony. Based on this view, then through ideological hegemony obedience could be forced and resistance could be broken or eliminated by ruling group. This thesis holds that a ruling group could become the most influential group only when the ideology can accommodate, and make room for, culture and values of opponent groups.

Based on the view, hegemonic process was never perfect by itself, but was always negotiated. The ruling group seeks to win hegemony, while the ruled group seeks to survive through counter-hegemony. Included in cultural context, efforts to homogenize tradition could cause natural reactions to a series of transitions or shifts in cultural environment into new situations - language, customs, traditional procedures, signs, and symbols. The tradition that previously helped in understanding the surrounding environment, suddenly no longer has meaning or has changed. The occurrence of such a situation - even though it occurs at local level of a village or community -- was termed culture shock. In this case, a number of individuals feel surprise, anxiety, and worry when faced with new traditions that were different from the traditions inherited from their ancestors. Oberg (1960) stated that culture shock is a normal process in adapting to a new culture. A person who experiences culture shock will aware to differences and/or conflicts in values and customs between their native traditions and new traditions.

Turner (2005) defined cultural conflict as a conflict caused by "differences in cultural values and beliefs" that put people at odds with each other. This could happen because in a society's culture there was a sub-culture, namely a group of people in a cultured society that distinguishes itself from the conservative values and standards, they often maintain some of its basic principles. Furthermore, Arnett (2023) added that cultural identity could also become a marker of difference that requires sensitivity. The people usually internalize their beliefs, values, norms, and socio-cultural practices and identify themselves with that culture. In turn, Lustig (2013) emphasized that culture becomes part of their self - concept.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted in Sumberarum village, Jombang Regency, East Java Province. This village has a local history about the founding of village which comes from stories or verbal expressions of community members. Such history was more of a *folklore*, a term first put forward by British historian William Thoms in a letter published by London Journal in 1846 (Georges and Owens, 1995). Folklore was also a means of spreading various cultural traditions. Regarding the local history of village's establishment. This village development has been constructing the village's identity as a "*santri* village". This was based on oral history that was alive and maintained in Sumberarum.

This study used a qualitative approach based on the direction of Yin (2011), Tracy (2013), and Miles et al, (2014). Ridjal (2003) argued that the studies like this have the aim to explore or building a proposition or explaining the meaning behind reality. Furthermore, Ridjal et al. (2024) added that meaning of social phenomena - through the *self-intersubjectives method* - was emphasized, but the objective conditions of socio-cultural life were not set aside. Anderson and Jack's statement (1991) noted that the nature and extent of community was about individual definition. Therefore, the data collection was focused on the comprehension or meaning of individual members of society relate to the development of village history, and more emphasis on oral history (Ritchie, 2004).

The field data consistency and congruence techniques have attention in data collection. Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Merriam (1995) gave the term congruence to internal validity, and consistency or dependability to data reliability in qualitative studies. The field data collection process involved informants. The collected data was interpreted by considering the informants comprehension. To achieve a high level of congruence and consistency, Adler and Adler (1994) strategy of "dual observer" was used in data relevance tests through discussions with colleagues, using various data collection techniques from various sources and being involved in study location situation. Data analysis used model from Miles and Huberman (1994), namely data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and verification which run simultaneously, or take place at same time as the data collection process.

## DATA AND DISCUSSION

Social reality was more accepted as multiple realities rather than just a single reality. Berger (1966) viewed the reality as two parts: objective and subjective. Dharma FA (2018) added that Berger was consistent with Karl Marx's anthropological assumption about the objective reality of humans as socio-cultural products. However, the subjective reality of humans was an organism that has certain tendencies in society and was interpretive. To understand what was real for society, Berger and Luckman (1966) formulated their theory of reality construction in three stages: externalization, objectification, and internalization.

The reality of everyday life has objective and subjective dimensions. Humans were the creators of objective social reality through the process of "externalization", the objective reality influences humans back through the process of "internalization" (which reflects subjective reality). Berger and Luckman(1966) stated "..... all reality was in a dialectical process, namely the dialectic between *self* and *body* (or between organism and identity), and dialectic between *self* and socio-cultural world". The dialectical process consists of three stages, namely: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Internalization occurs through the socialization process. Through externalization, society was a human product. Through objectivation, society becomes a reality. Through internalization, humans were a product of society.

The ability to think dialectically creates thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Berger viewed society as a product of humans and humans as a product of society. The dialectic takes place in a process with three simultaneous "moments", namely: "externalization" - adjustment to socio-cultural world as a human product, "objectivation" - social interaction in intersubjective world institutionalized or undergone a process of institutionalization, and "internalization" - individuals identify themselves with social institutions or their social organizations.

Above thinking showed the relationship between humans (as producers) and social world (as their products) as dialectical relationship. Humans (in their collectivities) and their social world interacts each other. The product in turn influences its producer. Externalization and objectivation were moments in a sustainable

dialectical process. The third moment in this process was internalization, where the objectified social world was reinserted into consciousness during the socialization.

The essence of socialization process was to make individuals to become members of society. Socialization involved learning and teaching and was thus "a means where social and cultural continuity could be achieved". However, socialization process in a community group involve power relations that not always take place voluntarily. The socialization process - usually carried out formally - could take place in form of "oppression socialization" or "overt coercion" (Glasberg and Shannon, 2011). Gertrude Jaeger, cited by Uri Bronfenbrenner and Melvin L. Kohn, stated socialization pattern could be divided into two, namely; repressive socialization and participatory socialization (Sunarto, 2004).

Tischler (2011) stated that socialization experiences gave children a chance to learn the society culture where they were born. Conklin (1984) stated that members of society learn the culture through the socialization process and participating fully in that society. Related to this idea, socialization of Sumberarum residents was also related to socialization process of traditions of its community members. Relying on traditions that support the identity symbol, the "santri village" symbol of Sumberarum as a "santri village" identity could be maintained. Rochayanti *et al.* (2012) identified that Javanese families try to socialize local culture.

This study also considers the use of oral history or local history that was alive and maintained at research location. Abdullah (1985) said that local history only means the history of a place, a locality, whose geographical boundaries could only be a village. Furthermore, Abdullah added that local history could be simply formulated as the past story of a group or groups of people in a limited geographical area. There was more specific definition of a limited or boundary area of a community (Finberg and Skipp, 1967). Therefore, geographical spatial boundaries of local history confront humans directly and intimately as actors. Although derived from oral expressions, local history contains important meanings, namely as a reflection of social system of society and confirms the cultural identity of community. Vansina (1973) stated that oral tradition was a reflection of reality. Furthermore, Abdullah (1985) emphasized this reality was actually a cultural formation. In turn, local history could help shape the cultural identity of a community, and could also help people identify and reconstruct local identities while taking cultural elements into account.

Local history was a story told orally from generation to generation. Abrams (2010) argued that "... almost all interviews conducted with an individual could be labeled 'oral history'. Therefore, oral history could be conveyed through oral tradition. Writing history, especially local history, needs to consider oral tradition. Most local sources use oral sources, both oral tradition and oral history. And, oral history and religious ritual traditions studied in this research were forms of cultural inheritance, namely in form of intangible cultural heritage. This "intangible cultural" heritage was passed down from generation to generation, which was continuously recreated by communities and groups in response to their surroundings, their interactions with nature and their history, and providing a sense of ongoing identity, to appreciate cultural differences and human creativity.

Cultural heritage was tangible and intangible assets from a group or society inherited from previous generations. The previous generations were not always providing "legacy"; rather, heritage was a product of selection by society (Logan, 2007). This includes heritage of a cultural value system. In turn, culture was a social system that shares a set of common values, where these values enable social expectations and collective understandings of good, beautiful, and constructive.

Rose *et al.* (1982) explained the values as ideas that were considered important by members of society, and were manifested in ethical codes of society. Benedict (1934) stated that dominant values of a particular society were reflected in the cultural patterns. Adisubroto (1996) with Kluckhohn's value theory explained that values were a conception that implicitly or explicitly distinguishes individuals and groups and has a specificity that could influence the way individuals or groups achieve a predetermined goal. Koentjaraningrat (1974) emphasized that value system was a manifestation of cultural ideals. Meanwhile, Oyserman and Packer (1996) stated that the ideal form of culture was brought to life in practices, norms and institutions in everyday life.

The tradition survival as "preserved past" was depend on socialization. In other words, tradition was a system of beliefs or behaviors (folk customs) that were inherited in a group of people or society with symbolic meaning or special significance with origins in past (Shill, 2006). Or, tradition was defined as something that has been done since ancient times and has finally become part of life in a community group, which was passed down from generation to generation, orally or in writing (Alviyah *et al.*, 2020). The tradition creates an order of thought or symbolic mind of individuals as members of society. Kartodirdjo (1984) stated that symbolic mind was a form of legitimacy. The tradition internalizes the identity persists in individuals lives as members of society. Tradition as "the past maintained" showed the function of socialization in transmitting cultural values from one to generations. Preserved tradition could also maintain the identity.

Friedman (1995) viewed the identity and authority play a major role in the socialization function. Therefore, socialization was an effort by a dominant generation or group authority to construct its cultural identity to other groups or the next generation. The issue of identity and authority was related to social structure

of society and hierarchy of power. It was better to use the concept of elite related to requirements for mastering values. Laswell and Kaplan (1951) stated that elites succeed in having the most values because of their abilities and personality traits. Furthermore, Soemardi (1991) argued that these values may power, wealth, honor, knowledge, and others. Those who succeed in having the most were called elites.

Santrization or homogenization of tradition in Sumberarum seems to be accompanied by efforts to deculturate the traditions of subordinate groups by dominant group. This could be seen from the resistance actions of members of other community groups in an effort to maintain traditions inherited from their ancestors. The values orientation of each group in Sumberarum community was very strikingly manifested in differences in ritual ceremonies to honor the spirits of ancestors or die people. The traditions of these religious rituals stay between “*tahlilan*” and “*nyepaki*”, which manifest the symbols of cultural identity of certain groups. Based on local history of village establishment and its development, *tahlilan* tradition was seen as a manifestation of symbol of identity of “*wong njero*”, and “*nyepaki*” was considered a manifestation of identity symbol of “*wong njaba*”.

“*Tahlilan*” was a ritual to send prayers for spirits of ancestors or family members who have passed away. This tradition has an Islamic religious nuance, started by reading *tahlil* sentences, verses of Qur'an and ending with a prayer in Arabic. This religious tradition was held at night, usually after Isha. The “*tahlilan*” tradition was held with presence of neighbors - usually in form of a “communal pray” - to pray together for spirit to be given safety, through the “*tahlilan*” tradition. This activity was held for seven consecutive days, starting from the first day to seventh day of death.

The “*nyepaki*” was a tradition of respecting the spirits of ancestors or family members who have died in another form. This tradition involves preparing drinks (usually water) and simple food (usually market snacks) placed on a table in the house. The offerings were presented for a full day - from morning to next morning or from evening to next evening. The time of implementation was usually adjusted to day “*pas geblake*” or the “death day”. For example, if the death occurs on a “Saturday Wage”, then every “Saturday Wage”, they perform “*nyepaki*”. This lasts for a maximum of one year. However, usually they only perform this ritual tradition once on next seven day after the death.

The other differences in traditions of rituals to respect for spirits between “*wong njero*” and “*wong njaba*” were the ability to master religious knowledge or education (Ridjal et al., 2021) and ability to lead religious ritual events (see Ridjal et al., 2022). Therefore, members of “*wong njero*” circle occupy a higher social status in society, and were considered to be local cultural controllers. This social position drives them to label Sumberarum's identity as a “*santri village*”. Along with that, “*wong njero*” circles - as a socialization agent - carries out socialization and supports the enculturation of *tahlilan* tradition to all village residents. Traditional practices with religious overtones - including *Tahlil* - which supports the identity of “*santri village*” was seen as a “culture of control” for residents of Sumberarum.

There were differences between the traditions of ritual respect for deceased spirits among the “*wong njaba*” with “*wong njero*” (and “*wong mambu-mambu*”) in period before the santrization of Sumberarum. The “*wong njero*” do this with *tahlilan* (or reciting the Koran). The “*wong njero*” believe that the spirit do not need food and drink deliveries like when they were alive, but they need pray. On other hand, a number of “*wong njaba*” circles do it in *nyepaki* tradition, in form of offerings or giving offerings in form of food and drink which, sometimes, were accompanied by puffs of smoke incense.

The “*wong njero*” group as agents of socialization and religious figures has many opportunities to convey to village community about religious understanding - through “*pengajian*” (Islamic religious teachings), and also supporting traditions - one of which was through *tahlilan* activity. This was consistent with Agustin (2017) that religious figures play a dual role, namely as leaders in terms of spiritual roles, and as figures involved in religious traditions. In turn, sustainability of this traditional practice was strongly supported by community beliefs. the belief was considered to be true so that it was believed and followed because of values of goodness and truth for society (Mardiana, et al., 2022). In other words, belief arises because of something that carried out continuously and has meaning, so that it forms a culture in society (Fitriani, 2020).

Faucoult (1994) said there was power and resistance. The process of tradition homogenization was very likely creates rejection or local resistance to dominant cultural tradition. Scott (1985) argued that everyday resistance from subaltern groups shows that they do not agree with domination. Lilja and Vinthagen (2018) argued that, regardless of its type, resistance was largely related to power, and type of power influences the type of resistance and the effectiveness of various resistance practices : violent or non-violent, overt or covert, organized or individual, conscious or unconscious, and so on. In other words, resistance often takes form of actions or patterns of actions, which may weaken or negotiate different power relations. However, it usually ends up reproducing and strengthening relations of domination. The latter was a pattern often seen when power holders mobilize their power to suppress resistance, thus creating 'irrationality' in resistance. Meanwhile, resistance referred to in this study includes the type of everyday resistance. Scott (1989) stated that everyday resistance was one of many types of small-scale or individual resistance practices.

The process of socializing tradition depend on right strategy. The certain strategy choices can cause discomfort to members of society - in this case, there was a difference between ancestral traditions and new traditions socialized by other groups. In fact, a situation like this could trigger an “acculturation reaction” in form of resistance. The new traditions were felt to dissonance the “establishment” of cognitive structures of individual members in society. In turn, they seek to maintain or save the stability of their cognitive structures. Harmon-Jones (2019) said that someone who experiences internal inconsistency tends to feel psychologically uncomfortable and was motivated to reduce cognitive dissonance. This was based on Festinger's (1957) view that humans strive for internal psychological consistency in order to function mentally in real world. Mills (2019), Festinger's findings have helped understand a person's personal biases, how people change situations in their heads to maintain a positive self-image, and why someone might engage in certain behaviors that were inconsistent with their judgments when they seek or reject certain information.

Efforts to maintain stability of cognitive structures have risks. They were aware of consequences of “selective incentives” - a term developed by Lichbach (1995) - on their choice of acculturative reaction. Their choice of action was more detrimental to themselves in changing life of “tradition”. They feel they will get satisfaction by developing the concept of thinking by sticking to their traditional ideology. By choosing their actions, at a minimal level they have saved their cognitive structure. Therefore, acts of resistance were also triggered by choice of action to restore the stability of cognitive structure in dissonance. This dissonant thinking was a result of external forces' efforts to implement a strategy to change the traditions that disruptive to their cognitive stability in understanding the daily lives of society.

The socialization process and enculturation of tradition was a form of hegemony. The ruling group tries to win hegemony, while the ruled group tries to maintain it through counter-hegemony. This was also happened in early days of Sumberarum santrinization when the identity symbol of “santri village” was stated first. Some people from among the “wong jaba” carry out acts of resistance against efforts to socialize *tahlilan* in their environment. Their form of resistance was covert - identical to everyday resistance (Scott, 1985). One form of resistance was to spread information about the existence of *gendruwo* or wandering ghosts that appear every night after Maghrib. This information was deliberately created to scare residents so that they do not attend the *tahlilan* event which was usually held at night.

The “wong njaba” group chooses counter-enculturative actions or covert resistance, these were identical to selective incentives (Lichbach, 1994). Their choice of action actually harms them. In turn, strengthening the identity of “santri village” through “*pengajian*” and socialization of “*tahlilan*”, gradually resulting in disappearance of old traditions and being replaced with new traditions. The case was the disappearance of old tradition (*nyepaki*) and replaced by a new tradition (*tahlilan*). Or, there was marginalization of *nyepaki* tradition that previously lived and developed among the “wong njaba”. In turn, “wong njaba” were increasingly marginalized. The existence of *gendruwo* further strengthens the assessment that members of “wong njaba” circle were truly far from the radiance of identity of a “santri village”.

The rejection by “wong njaba” community makes the “wong njero” were encouraged to actively socialize “*tahlilan*” and “*pengajian*” (Islamic religious teaching). The village *kyai* who came from “wong njero”, told the villagers that ghost was afraid of sound of “*azan*” (call to congregational prayer in mosque or musholla) and recitation of verses of Qur'an. In end, more and more people - especially children and teenagers - from among the “wong jaba” who diligently went to mosque to pray in congregation and learning to recite the Qur'an. Likewise, men, especially adult women, were actively involved in “study” groups. Gradually, tradition of “*nyepaki*” was abandoned by residents of “wong njaba” community. Almost all residents of Sumberarum village have received “*tahlilan*”, as a ritual tradition to pay respect to deceased spirits. Residents from the “wong njaba” community voluntarily abandoned the “*nyepaki*” tradition inherited from their ancestors. Furthermore, “*nyepaki*” tradition no longer appears on surface.

The acceptance of almost all villagers towards the tradition of “*tahlilan*” was a product of internalization cultural values process - through ongoing socialization - which was originally transmitted by “wong njero” circles, as socialization agents and religious figures in village community. Furthermore, such a process continues to take place continuously. This confirms Wardani statement (2019) that process of cultural socialization was not always conscious and deliberate. In addition to educational and teaching efforts, indoctrination, and advice in community, it turns out that socialization process was always carried out by every individual in society without realizing it. Sometimes without knowing the reason someone was doing socialization.

The acceptance of “*tahlilan*” as traditions supports the identity of “santri village”, villagers experience homogenization of tradition. Homogenization of tradition was inseparable from the socialization of tradition itself. By relying on tradition and integration, a culture will maintain its identity, ensuring its survival. The tradition practice was an expression of restrictions and pressures those hegemonies and dominates. The hegemonic process was never perfect, but was always negotiated. The ruling group seeks to win hegemony,

while the dominated group seeks to survive through counter-hegemony or resistance, because, "where there was power, there was resistance".

The socialization of "*tahlilan*" tradition was to build the living conditions of community within framework of monoculturality, namely maintaining and preserving the identity of "*santri* village". The core of socialization process was individuals learn culture and participate fully in that society (Conklin, 1984). In relation to this idea, monoculturality was related to homogenization of tradition. Through traditions the survival of a community's cultural identity could be built and maintained.

The acceptance of "*wong njaba*" community towards the *tahlilan* tradition shows that "*wong njero*" community has won the process of traditional hegemony. Through the continuous socialization and enculturation of "tradition", by socialization agents who have power, process of traditional hegemony results in homogenization of tradition. Society imitates and accepts the socialized "*tahlilan*" tradition. Slow transfer of power was also not felt. The enculturation process of "*tahlilan*" tradition could take place sustainably. Sumberarum's identity as a "*santri* village" was maintained. By following Gramsci's thinking, Makhsun (2021) said that hegemony was closer to a cultural and social approach, namely by simply influencing it culturally and ideologically, so that gradually it will agree with everything that comes from the group it imitates.

## CONCLUSION

Tradition and identity were related dialectically. Relying on tradition and integration, a culture will maintain its identity and ensure its continued existence. Tradition was a "preserved past", so its survival is highly depend on socialization and process of transmitting values between generations. Identity and authority play a major role to carry out the function of socialization. Therefore, socialization was an effort by a dominant generation or group that has the authority to transform its cultural identity to other groups or the next generation. The issue of identity and authority was related to development of hierarchy of power. Specially power has cultural legitimacy.

The transformation of cultural traditions that was directed to building the homogenization of traditions that very dependent on socialization of traditions themselves. Cultural traditions in practice were actually expressions of restrictions and pressures that were hegemonic and dominant. In hegemony thesis, control mechanism used by ruling group to maintain its superiority was control through ideological hegemony. Through ideological hegemony, obedience could be forced and resistance could be broken or eliminated by ruling group. The ruling group seeks to win hegemony, while the ruled group seeks to survive through counter-hegemony, because "where there was power, there was resistance".

The tradition socialization process was directed to create conditions of monoculturality, in order individual members of society learn culture and participate fully in that society. In relation to this idea, monoculturality was related to homogenization of tradition. Through tradition, continuity of identity could be built and maintained. By relying on tradition and integration, a cultural identity could be maintained, its continued existence guaranteed. Although, its further development was not guaranteed. Therefore, ongoing socialization and enculturation were actually also a process of hegemony, namely in an effort to maintain and defend the cultural identity of community.

The acceptance of community towards the socialized tradition shows that tradition homogenization process has succeeded in strengthening and maintaining the cultural identity of community. Through the socialization of tradition and continuous enculturation - by socialization agents who have authority - the hegemony process of cultural "tradition" results in homogenization of tradition. The community imitates and accepts the socialized tradition, without significant resistance. Therefore, transfer of power was also slow and unnoticed. The process of enculturation of tradition could take place sustainably. The cultural identity of community could be maintained and preserved.

## GLOSSARY

<i>Gendruwo</i> :	Ghost that similar with strong and big monkey.
<i>Nyepaki</i> :	Preparing favorite food for deceased spirit
<i>Santri</i> :	Islamic student
<i>Tahlilan</i> :	Pray to respect the deceased spirit
<i>Wong njero</i> :	The descent of the village founder.
<i>Wong mambu-mambu</i> :	Community members who have a kinship with <i>wong njero</i> .
<i>Wong njaba</i> :	Community members who do not have any kinship with the village founder

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