

Cultural Reproduction of Pambiwara in Javanese Traditional Wedding Ceremonies

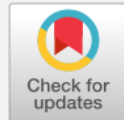
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ABSTRACT

This article explores the efforts of Sanggar Permadani in developing, preserving, and sustaining Javanese culture. The primary focus of the Javanese cultural heritage preserved by Sanggar Permadani is pambiwara, individuals responsible for organizing and guiding traditional Javanese ceremonial events. This preservation is crucial as fewer people are performing traditional Javanese wedding ceremonies and employing the services of pambiwara. This qualitative study employs an ethnographic approach, with data collected through observations, interviews, and documentation. The findings reveal that Sanggar Permadani has successfully preserved Javanese culture by training new generations of pambiwara through annual courses or training sessions held over five months. All participants are of Javanese descent and come from diverse educational backgrounds. To date, Sanggar Permadani has graduated 20 cohorts. The findings align with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and embodied state, which posits that individuals shape their identity based on cultural capital and educational investment imparted from birth.

Keywords: Culture; Javanese; Pambiwara; Preservation; Training

1. Introduction

Indonesia is a country rich in cultural diversity, with each region showcasing its unique characteristics. This diversity encompasses various cultural elements, including language, customs, traditions, beliefs, and more. These cultural practices have been passed down from generation to generation, persisting to this day. However, in practice, understanding and implementing cultural traditions have begun to decline.

One example of cultural tradition in Indonesia is the Javanese traditional wedding ceremony. Detailed and sequential sacred rituals characterize this tradition, each imbued with profound meaning. These ceremonies are conducted according to specific cultural guidelines, and to ensure they are performed smoothly and correctly, an event organizer with a deep understanding of the rituals is essential.

In Javanese traditional ceremonies, the event organizer is responsible for managing, controlling, and narrating the couple's presentation (*nyandra penganten*) and informing attendees about the ceremony's progress. According to Purwanto, effective communication is vital to reassure guests during the wedding ceremony (Harsono, 2020). This role includes announcing the sequence of events, monitoring activities, and signaling the ceremony's conclusion. In Javanese culture, this event organizer is referred to as a *pambiwara*.

A *pambiwara* requires specialized skills, particularly a thorough understanding of the event's structure and the ability to use formal Javanese (*Krama Inggil*). *Pambiwara* is often associated with various Javanese traditional ceremonies, including weddings, funerals, meetings, feasts, religious gatherings, and more. Among these, wedding ceremonies represent the most comprehensive traditional rituals, regarded as grand and sacred processes that demand a deep understanding (Budiyono & Kuncoro, 2021).

The presence of a *pambiwara* is integral to preserving the Javanese traditional wedding culture. A *pambiwara* must possess the necessary skills to organize traditional events, especially the sacred wedding rituals while demonstrating mastery of proper and precise *Krama Inggil* pronunciation. However, the complexity of the skills and expertise required has led to a decline in the number of *pambiwara*. Moreover, modern societal changes have resulted in fewer people conducting full and sequential Javanese traditional wedding ceremonies, further impacting the demand for *pambiwara*.

The decreasing number of *pambiwara* has garnered attention from Sanggar Permadani, which provides a platform to preserve Javanese culture, particularly *pambiwara*. Sanggar Permadani (Persaudaraan Masyarakat Budaya Nasional Indonesia) is a cultural institution established to preserve Javanese traditions and culture as part of the nation's cultural heritage and identity. To achieve this goal, Sanggar Permadani conducts regular cultural activities, including a course titled "Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda." This program offers an opportunity for those interested in learning Javanese traditions, particularly the role of *pambiwara*.

Sanggar Permadani aims to realize the "Tri Karsa Budaya" philosophy, which involves exploring, developing, and preserving cultural traditions. This study examines the efforts of Sanggar Permadani to sustain Javanese culture through these activities.

Meanwhile, Keraton Surakarta also offers a *pambiwara* training program known as the *Kursus Pambiwara Sasana Marcukunda* (Wilujeng & Samuel, 2018). Although both institutions share the goal of preserving Javanese culture, there is no direct relationship between Sanggar Permadani in Sukoharjo and the Keraton Surakarta program, as they are managed independently. While Sanggar Permadani focuses on preserving *pambiwara* in Central Java, the *Kursus Pambiwara Sasana Marcukunda* emphasizes teaching *Krama Inggil* directly from the palace,

specifically for use in traditional ceremonies, including as a *pambiwara* (Wilujeng & Samuel, 2018).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Javanese Culture

The term *culture* originates from the Sanskrit word *budh*, which means intellect. Over time, this word evolved into *budhi* (singular) and *budhaya* (plural), leading to the interpretation of culture as the product of human thought or intellect. Fundamentally, humans are beings endowed with intellect, morality, and the capacity to generate ideas and creations, such as art, ethics, law, and belief systems. These elements eventually form habits or customs, which are then passed down and taught within a society.

According to Selo Soemardjan and Soelaeman Soemardi, culture encompasses everything produced, experienced, and created by a society (Soekanto, 1990). To survive and dominate their surroundings, societies develop technology and material culture. The essence of the human spirit, or *rasa*, forms the foundation of all social principles and values that govern societal matters. The culture of a nation or community consists of various large and small components that collectively shape its identity.

Many scholars have presented theories about cultural components, but C. Kluckhohn, in his work *Universal Categories of Culture* in 1953, identifies seven universal components of culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1990):

- 1) Language
- 2) Knowledge systems
- 3) Social organization or societal systems
- 4) Tools and technology systems
- 5) Livelihood systems
- 6) Religious systems
- 7) Art

Javanese culture first emerged and developed on the island of Java, which spans over 1,200 kilometers in length and 500 kilometers in width at its widest point. It is located approximately seven degrees south of the equator, within the Indonesian archipelago. Javanese culture integrates elements from pre-Hindu, Hindu-Javanese, Islamic, and animistic traditions.

Numerous elements form the fundamental basis of Javanese culture, including general etiquette, customs, social norms (ethics), literature, art, aesthetics, mysticism, theology, philosophy, and other components that collectively define the essence of Javanese culture. To achieve harmony in life, Javanese people strongly adhere to values and traditional practices. Over time, these practices have evolved into structured rituals that the community is expected to follow.

Javanese traditional ceremonies embody these high moral values, reflecting a structured approach that governs all preparations, actions, and implementations. These ceremonies showcase the deep-rooted values and principles that guide the lives of Javanese people, ensuring that cultural traditions remain integral to their identity.

2.2. Pambiwara

Sutarjo defines *pambiwara* as an individual responsible for managing, organizing, and coordinating events within Javanese society, ensuring that these events run smoothly and successfully (Harsono, 2020). Additionally, the *pambiwara* serves as the authority figure during

the event, acting as a guide to whom attendees defer. The term *pambiwara* derives from the Javanese language, corresponding to the Indonesian word *pewara* and the English term “master of ceremonies” (MC). A *pambiwara* plays a vital role in Javanese community events, as their skill and competence are often seen as the key indicators of an event’s success. This role requires specialized expertise, particularly in understanding event structures and delivering them in formal Javanese (*Krama Inggil*).

According to Sutarjo, becoming a *pambiwara* requires a foundational set of skills, including an understanding of Javanese etiquette, vocal ability, demeanor, focus, appropriate attire, *unggah-ungguh basa* (the hierarchical levels of Javanese language usage), knowledge of Javanese poetic forms (*tembang macapat*), and consistent practice (Harsono, 2020). Sutarjo further elaborates on four linguistic criteria for becoming a *pambiwara*:

- 1) Refined language usage
The use of *bahasa rinengga* (elegant Javanese, also referred to as *Kawi* language) and *bahasa trapsila* (polite Javanese).
- 2) Avoiding colloquial language
Daily conversational Javanese should not be used unless for humorous purposes, which is permissible to create a pleasant and engaging atmosphere.
- 3) Mastery of vocal control
A *pambiwara* must possess excellent vocal skills.
- 4) Proficiency in Javanese literature
In addition to being skilled in Javanese oral literary arts (*paribasan*, *bebasan*, *saloka*, and *pepindhan*), a *pambiwara* must also be knowledgeable in Javanese literary forms, particularly *tembang macapat*.

These linguistic and cultural competencies underscore the intricate role of the *pambiwara*, highlighting the expertise required to preserve and perform Javanese traditions effectively.

2.3. The Urgency of Preserving Javanese Culture and Pambiwara

The ongoing evolution of modern times has significantly influenced cultural development in Indonesia. Globalization, with its rapid advancements in information and communication technology, has contributed to the fading efforts to preserve local cultures. One example is Javanese culture, which is gradually being forgotten, especially among the younger generation in Javanese communities (Noviana et al., 2024). A study by Rochayanti et al. explains that the progression of time across generations has not aligned with the preservation of Javanese culture. Today, Javanese culture is increasingly eroding, as evidenced by the declining number of individuals supporting and participating in its preservation. Furthermore, the current younger generation has limited knowledge of Javanese culture (Noviana et al., 2024).

Event hosts in Javanese traditional ceremonies, known as *pambiwara*, require specialized skills to understand event sequences properly and use formal Javanese (*Krama Inggil*). The *pambiwara* plays a critical role in leading, organizing, and controlling events (Budiyono & Kuncoro, 2021). Suwarna, a Professor at Yogyakarta State University (UNY), emphasizes that the *pambiwara* is an essential figure in enlivening events rooted in Javanese traditions. According to Suwarna, the existence of *pambiwara* represents an effort to preserve Javanese culture by encompassing three aspects: intellectual culture, behavioral culture, and material culture (Winduajie, 2023).

The *pambiwara* embodies wisdom in Javanese society, reflecting the local identity of the Javanese people. Thus, preserving this role is crucial for the Javanese community. The more

people use and recognize the Javanese language in public spaces, the stronger the Javanese language will stand as a symbol of cultural heritage, contributing to the identity of the Indonesian nation (Budyono & Kuncoro, 2021).

2.4. Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Embodied Cultural Capital

Embodied cultural capital represents the core of "who we are" and "how we define ourselves." It reflects how individuals identify themselves through cultural capital derived from a lifelong investment in education—whether acquired in school, family, or community settings (Hampton-Garland, 2015). Pierre Bourdieu introduced the concept of "cultural capital," which refers to non-economic assets such as knowledge, skills, education, and other cultural privileges that can provide social status or financial advantages. This cultural capital is passed down from generation to generation and plays a crucial role in shaping power dynamics within society (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu categorized cultural capital into three primary forms: the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state.

1) Embodied State

The embodied state refers to cultural capital ingrained in an individual through knowledge, habits, skills, and ways of thinking acquired via socialization, primarily within family and educational contexts. This form of capital is intrinsic and cannot be directly transferred, as it is tied to one's body and mind. Developing embodied cultural capital requires personal investment, including the time and effort spent learning or acquiring skills.

2) Objectified State

The objectified state encompasses cultural artifacts such as art, books, or musical instruments. These items carry symbolic and economic value, and owning or understanding these artifacts can elevate an individual's social status.

3) Institutionalized State

The institutionalized state refers to cultural capital formally recognized by institutions, such as academic degrees or professional certifications. This form of recognition adds value and legitimacy to an individual's cultural capital, granting them symbolic power within broader social structures (Bourdieu, 1986).

The embodied state is particularly significant, as it includes the knowledge, skills, and habits internalized through prolonged socialization, such as education and life experiences. This form of capital manifests in various attributes, including accents, attitudes, speaking styles, specialized skills, or specific ways of thinking. Embodied cultural capital significantly influences how individuals behave and are perceived by others in diverse social contexts (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu argued that the interplay between habitus, capital, and field explains the reproduction and maintenance of social structures.

- Habitus refers to the mental structures and dispositions shaped by an individual's social background. It encompasses patterns of thought, perception, taste, and actions unconsciously learned and internalized through social experiences, particularly within education, family, and societal environments. Habitus influences how individuals act and think in various situations and how they respond to and adapt to different contexts (Bourdieu, 1986).
- Capital is a resource that individuals or groups use to gain status or power within society. Bourdieu identified several types of capital, including economic, cultural, social, and

symbolic capital. These types of capital are interconnected and can shift in value depending on the social context (Bourdieu, 1986).

- Field refers to the social space or context where individuals interact, compete, and strive for resources and power. Each field has its own rules, norms, and hierarchies that determine how capital is utilized and valued (Bourdieu, 1986).

Through these interconnected concepts, Bourdieu illustrates how cultural capital, habitus, and fields shape individuals' roles within social structures and their ability to acquire power and status. These dynamics provide insights into how societal structures are perpetuated and transformed over time.

2.5. Social Identity and Cultural Identity Theory

In his research, Tajfel defines social identity as the knowledge possessed by an individual about their membership in a particular social community, accompanied by emotional significance and principles that are essential to those within that community (Tajfel, 1974). However, according to Lam et al. (2010), social identity refers to a person's self-perception shaped by their relationship with a specific social group. Social identity theory posits that individuals categorize themselves into social groups based on factors such as age, gender, economic status, interests, skills, and other attributes (Tajfel, 1981).

The concept of social identity pertains to an individual's self-concept derived from their membership in one or more social groups and the evaluation associated with those groups. The "self" in social identity consists of group affiliations and personal identity, which is based on unique individual characteristics. Additionally, Postmes, Haslam, and Jans (2013) argue that social identity refers to a shared sense of group cohesion, encompassing membership, standards, and relationships with out-groups. A person's social identity is defined by how much they feel they belong to a specific group.

According to Tajfel, social identity is a component of one's overall identity. The self-concept evolves into a collective group self-esteem derived from understanding gained through interactions within their social group, fostering a sense of worth and emotional connection. Individuals must also strengthen both their social and personal identities (Tajfel, 1981).

Cultural identity theory, in its simplest definition, refers to the distinctive characteristics of a culture shared by a group of people, which can be identified and compared with the traits of other cultures (Liliweri, 2002). According to Ting-Toomey, cultural identity is defined as the sense of belonging or affiliation with a particular societal culture. When societies are divided into groups, each member of a group perceives themselves as representatives of that culture.

Cultural identity can be observed through the native lifestyle, such as how local people conduct traditional ceremonies, commemorate life-cycle events and other unique practices that serve as *cultural impressions*, representing cultural identity. For instance, to understand the identity of the Javanese people, one can observe their distinctive traits, such as language, customs, body movements in traditional dance, and traditional clothing (Suryandari, 2017).

According to Liliweri, cultural identity has three defining characteristics:

- 1) Cultural identity shapes an individual's personality traits.
- 2) Cultural identity endures within a constantly changing social environment.
- 3) Cultural identity is multifaceted and multidimensional (Liliweri, 2002).

3. Research Methodology

This article employs qualitative research with an ethnographic approach (Werdingasih & Abdul Hamid, 2022). The objective of qualitative research is to explore and analyze phenomena experienced by the research subjects through empirical facts and relevant arguments. Ethnographic research is a qualitative design that describes and interprets patterns of behavior, values, beliefs, and language within one or more cultures. Ethnography serves as a method to study the culture of a group within society as a process, necessitating prolonged direct observation (Werdingasih & Abdul Hamid, 2022).

This study relies on both primary and secondary data collected by the authors. Data were gathered through observation, interviews, and documentation. The observational phase at Sanggar Permadani and the data collection process lasted for four months, from March 2024 to July 2024. The data included the collection of internal documents required for the research, interviews with the management and course participants at Sanggar Permadani, and direct observations.

The research was conducted at the Sanggar Permadani Secretariat, located at Jalan Nanas No.1, Gayam, Sukoharjo Regency, Central Java. According to 2024 data, Sanggar Permadani had 29 administrators and a total of 66-course participants in 2024, with diverse educational backgrounds ranging from elementary school to undergraduate degrees. In addition to its administrators, Sanggar Permadani also involves cultural experts and practitioners as instructors for the “*Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda*” course.

4. Results and Discussion

Each region in Indonesia possesses unique and diverse cultural traditions, making it imperative to preserve and sustain these cultural heritages passed down from ancestors. Javanese traditional wedding ceremonies remain one such cultural practice still observed today. These ceremonies, characterized by their elaborate and detailed rituals, require the presence of a *pambiwara* (master of ceremonies) to guide and oversee the event, ensuring it is conducted in a sacred and proper manner. However, many people have begun abandoning traditional Javanese wedding ceremonies in favor of modern wedding styles, which tend to avoid lengthy processes. Consequently, the role of the *pambiwara* in Javanese traditional weddings has diminished over time.

Today, Javanese culture itself is gradually fading within Javanese society. This includes the use of the Javanese language in daily life, which is steadily declining, especially among younger generations who can no longer speak Javanese properly, particularly its hierarchical forms (*Krama Inggil*) (Wilujeng & Samuel, 2018). A survey conducted by Indonesia’s Central Statistics Agency (BPS) indicates a 0.8% decrease in the number of Javanese language speakers, now numbering approximately 80 million people. According to Ken Widyawati, a Javanese language expert at Diponegoro University, around 73% of native Javanese speakers still use the language within their families, while 27% no longer do so (Utomo, 2023).

The administrators of Sanggar Permadani believe that although there is a decline in Javanese language speakers, the language will not disappear as long as there are Javanese people who care about preserving it. Sanggar Permadani, a community dedicated to preserving Javanese culture, contributes to these efforts by organizing *pambiwara* training courses. This initiative aligns with the government’s efforts to preserve local cultural traditions.

Sanggar Permadani has taken proactive steps to address the decline in *pambiwara* by conducting courses for individuals interested in preserving Javanese culture. Known as the Brotherhood of National Cultural Society of Indonesia, Sanggar Permadani aims to support the

government in realizing the “*Tri Karsa Budaya*,” or the three cultural aspirations: to explore, revive, and preserve culture, particularly Javanese culture, as a foundation of national identity. The creation of Sanggar Permadani stems from the desire to assist the government in developing and preserving Javanese cultural heritage.

The “*Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda*” course offered by Sanggar Permadani is seen as essential for Javanese society, given the prevalence of traditional ceremonies marking various life stages – birth, adolescence, marriage, and death. Becoming a *pambiwara* is viewed as a strategic effort to promote and disseminate Javanese culture within contemporary society.

The course not only trains participants to conduct traditional Javanese ceremonies but also imparts lessons in etiquette, the use of *Krama Inggil*, traditional Javanese attire, and more. One of the topics taught is “*Babakan Baku Pawiyatan Pranotocoro Pemedha Sapto*,” delivered by Sanggar instructors led by Dwijo.

Sanggar Permadani collaborates with government institutions and village officials across Sukoharjo Regency to promote the course. Flyers are distributed to 167 villages and sub-districts in the region, providing information about the program. The course is open to the general public without any selection process, inviting anyone interested in learning and preserving Javanese traditions. In 2024, 66 participants enrolled in the course, with diverse backgrounds ranging from students and professionals to individuals with educational levels spanning from elementary school to university graduates. There is no age restriction, and in 2024, the youngest participant was a fifth-grade student.

According to Sanggar Permadani, the only prerequisite for joining the course is a strong desire to learn. The classes are flexible and accommodating. However, not all participants complete the program. Graduates must pass two examinations: a written test (40% weight) and a practical test (60% weight). Those who graduate, referred to as *Bregada* from *Pawiyatan Pamedhar Sabda*, are expected to participate in community events, particularly as *pambiwara* actively.

Sanggar Permadani independently establishes partnerships with makeup artists, event decorators, and catering services to connect stakeholders or individuals requiring *pambiwara* services. If Sanggar Permadani secures a job request for a *pambiwara*, the earnings are shared equally between the institution and the *pambiwara*.

The training sessions are conducted by instructors who possess the necessary skills and expertise to teach these courses. These instructors volunteer their time without receiving financial compensation, as their work is seen as a form of community service. This aligns with the Sanggar Permadani’s motto, *Tri Niti Yogyo*. *Tri* means “three,” *niti* means “actions,” and *yogyo* means “virtuous.” The three virtuous actions are (1) *Pemayu hayuning sasomo*, meaning to do good for fellow human beings; (2) *ingkang sae*, serving the community and helping others; and (3) *pakaryan ngremenaken tiyang sanes*, meaning all actions should bring happiness to others. This philosophy guides the administrators, members, and instructors of Sanggar Permadani in offering their services selflessly and sincerely as part of their commitment to the community.

Initially, the organization’s guiding philosophy was *legan nggolek momongan*, which translates to someone who is already successful and living comfortably but seeks additional burdensome work. Over time, this shifted to *legan nggolek ganjaran*, meaning someone who is already successful and living comfortably but seeks rewards in the form of good deeds. This change reflects the willingness of the administrators and instructors to carry out their roles wholeheartedly.

Instructors are not selected through a formal process but must be members of Sanggar Permadani and willing to become permanent instructors. Guest lecturers, however, can come

from external sources as long as they possess the requisite expertise. Sanggar Permadani also seeks to nurture members and course participants who show potential to become instructors. Those identified are offered the opportunity to teach, and if no one volunteers, the organization directly appoints suitable candidates.

The teaching methodology involves lectures followed by hands-on practice. Despite participants coming from diverse educational backgrounds, ranging from elementary school students to professionals, there is no differentiation or classification of materials by age or level of education. All participants receive the same content and instruction.

In addition to government operational support, Sanggar Permadani collects a small fee to sustain the courses. Sukoharjo Regency offers the training at the most affordable rate, only IDR 50,000 per month. Over the six-month course, participants pay a total of IDR 300,000, which is significantly lower than the training fees in Klaten, which average IDR 1,750,000 per course. Upon graduation, participants become members of the organization and no longer have to pay any additional fees.

The training is conducted twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, over five months, comprising a total of 36 sessions or 90 hours. These days were chosen to accommodate the diverse schedules of participants, which include students, university attendees, and working professionals. Initially, the sessions were held on Tuesdays and Fridays, but this schedule proved inconvenient for many participants who were still in school or at work. The revised schedule was decided collectively by the administrators and participants.

The start of the training program is also determined with careful consideration. In 2024, training began in February with the goal of concluding in August, allowing for a graduation ceremony before the rainy season. This timing ensures that all participants can attend the graduation without weather-related disruptions.

The course participants span across generations, including children, teenagers, and adults. There are no specific requirements for joining the course; the only prerequisite is a strong determination and willingness to learn. Participants are not subjected to a selection process but are expected to commit to the training and complete it successfully.

The training equips participants with the ability to speak and embrace Javanese culture. No element of coercion is involved, and participants willingly take part in classroom activities, written exams, and practical tests as prerequisites for earning certification from the Central Board of Sanggar Permadani. To date, Sanggar Permadani has graduated 20 cohorts of participants from the *Pawiyatan Pamedhar Sabda* program, known as *Bregada*. Graduates can pursue roles as *pranatacara* or *pambiwara* for Javanese traditional ceremonies.

Sanggar Permadani collaborates with external parties requiring *pambiwara* for traditional ceremonies, further promoting the role and significance of this cultural practice.

The activities carried out by Sanggar Permadani align with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and embodied state (Bourdieu, 1986). Embodied cultural capital refers to education and skills ingrained in individuals from birth, influenced by local culture and traditions. This is reflected in traits like education, talent, and cultural proficiency shaped by one's environment. Javanese culture remains deeply connected to the community through its customs and traditions, which have been preserved over generations.

However, with modern advancements, Javanese culture and traditions are gradually eroding. To counteract this, Sanggar Permadani offers training in Javanese ceremonial roles, such as *pambiwara*, as a strategic effort to sustain and promote Javanese cultural heritage.

Among the many events that incorporate Javanese cultural traditions, the Javanese traditional wedding ceremony is the most elaborate and complex (Ambarwati & Mustika, 2018).

This complexity arises from the deeply philosophical values embedded in its rituals. These ceremonies cannot be performed casually or merely as formalities without understanding their profound cultural meanings. Below are the stages and philosophical meanings of the rituals involved in a Javanese traditional wedding:

- 1) *Siraman* – A ritual of self-purification before the wedding.
- 2) *Midodareni* – Symbolizing an auspicious night for family bonding.
- 3) *Injak Telur* – Represents hope and loyalty.
- 4) *Sikepansindur* – A symbol of unbreakable love and unity.
- 5) *Pangkuan* – Encourages the couple to share affection equally.
- 6) *Kacarkucur* – Represents prosperity within the household.
- 7) *Dulang-Dulangan* – Symbolizes mutual support and harmony between the couple.
- 8) *Sungkeman* – A gesture of respect and gratitude to parents or elders.
- 9) *Janur Kuning* – Represents the hope for enlightenment and blessings.
- 10) *Kembar Mayang* – Symbolizes good wishes for a harmonious married life.
- 11) *Tarub* – Represents prosperity and hope for a successful future.

These rituals are preserved to sustain the cultural heritage passed down by ancestors. A Javanese wedding ceremony carries profound sacredness and meaning, and its execution involves the use of *Krama Inggil*, the highest form of the Javanese language. Mastery of this language, along with an understanding of the rituals, requires extensive knowledge and training. As the ceremonies are intricate and demand deep cultural knowledge, the role of the *pambiwara* (ceremony master) is crucial in guiding and ensuring the event runs according to tradition. Preserving both the Javanese wedding tradition and the role of *pambiwara* is vital, as they are deeply interconnected and integral to Javanese society.

Sanggar Permadani not only collaborates with various stakeholders to support the graduates of its “Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda” course but also receives recognition and support from the local government. In 2020, the Regent of Sukoharjo, H. Wardoyo Wijaya, attended the XVI graduation ceremony of Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda and commended Sanggar Permadani for its efforts in preserving Javanese culture through the training programs (Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Tengah, 2020). The Regent also acknowledged Sanggar Permadani’s active role in Sukoharjo’s cultural development.

In 2022, the Deputy Regent of Sukoharjo, Agus Santosa, instructed village officials and *modin* (religious leaders) from 167 villages/sub-districts to participate in the *pranatacara* (master of ceremonies) training organized by Sanggar Permadani. The program is coordinated with sub-district governments to manage the training schedule (Wicaksono, 2022). Sanggar Permadani has successfully trained dozens of *pambiwara* annually, attracting not only adult participants but also younger generations, including elementary and middle school students, ensuring a future generation of *pambiwara*. Graduates of the program are also given opportunities to become trainers for future courses, ensuring the transmission of knowledge and skills.

Embodied Cultural Capital, as defined by Pierre Bourdieu, refers to attributes that contribute to an individual’s success. Unlike transferable assets, embodied cultural capital is acquired over time through conscious effort and passive inheritance, often within familial and cultural settings. This capital reflects one’s character and way of thinking, shaped by education, traditions, and the surrounding environment (Bourdieu, 1986). It emphasizes “who we are” and “how we define ourselves,” derived from lifelong investments in education at school, within the family, and in the community (Hampton-Garland, 2015).

Bourdieu's theory aligns with the traditions and rituals naturally present in Javanese life, which influence the character and personality of individuals in the region. This is evident in practices such as *mitoni* (seven-month pregnancy ritual), *procotan* (childbirth), *separasan* (baby's fifth-day celebration), *supitan* (circumcision), *midodareni* (pre-wedding night), *nembung* (proposal), wedding receptions, and death ceremonies. These traditions, ingrained from birth to death, demonstrate the enduring influence of Javanese cultural practices.

Sanggar Permadani's open enrollment for *pambiwara* training reflects this theory, welcoming participants regardless of age or educational background. Participants range from elementary school students to working adults. According to Bourdieu, identity formation occurs not only through formal education and family influence but also through community engagement. By fostering this cultural education, Sanggar Permadani has successfully preserved, developed, and transmitted the tradition of *pambiwara* in Javanese ceremonies.

The annual "Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda" course continues to produce *pambiwara* graduates, ensuring the tradition thrives through generational renewal. In 2024, the 66 participants were all Javanese, primarily from Sukoharjo Regency, with others hailing from Klaten, Wonogiri, Magetan, Madiun, Boyolali, and Karanganyar. Course information is disseminated through official letters sent to 167 villages/sub-districts in Sukoharjo rather than through online platforms. For publicity, Sanggar Permadani relies on YouTube accounts managed by its members, as the organization does not maintain dedicated social media accounts.

According to Sanggar Permadani, approximately 90% of course graduates pursue a career as MCs, and the organization firmly believes that their skills provide value to the community. As long as these skills are honed and applied, their proficiency will continue to improve. However, not all participants aim to become *pambiwara*. For example, village and sub-district officials benefit from the *pambiwara* training by gaining knowledge and hands-on experience in hosting events, welcoming guests, and delivering speeches using *Krama Inggil*, the formal level of Javanese language. This is why the Sukoharjo Regency government actively encourages village officials and *modin* (religious leaders) to participate in the "Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda" training and works with sub-district authorities to schedule their participation.

Graduates of the *Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda* training not only serve their communities as *pambiwara* for Javanese traditional ceremonies but also participate in formal and informal events related to language, literature, and the arts.

Bourdieu's theory of Embodied Cultural Capital explains that the interaction between habitus, capital, and field drives the reproduction and maintenance of social structures. Habitus determines how individuals acquire and utilize capital, while the field provides the framework where capital can be invested and exchanged. In the context of reproducing *pambiwara* culture in Javanese traditions, participants of the *pambiwara* training at Sanggar Permadani inherit a habitus tied to Javanese culture through their social environment, such as family and community. This habitus encompasses the knowledge and skills required by *pambiwara* for Javanese wedding ceremonies and their significant roles in these events. Sanggar Permadani plays a critical role in strengthening and deepening this habitus by providing training accessible to individuals regardless of age, gender, or educational background.

Cultural capital in this context consists of the knowledge, skills, and values associated with Javanese wedding traditions imparted to and developed by the participants at Sanggar Permadani. This cultural capital is embodied, where the skills and knowledge of a *pambiwara* become integral to an individual's identity and abilities. The educational investment provided

through this training reinforces the participants' cultural capital, enhancing their status within the community and enabling them to play a vital role in preserving Javanese culture.

In this framework, the field represents the social space where Javanese culture, specifically *pambiwara* and traditional wedding ceremonies, is practiced, developed, and preserved. Sanggar Permadani serves as the arena where participants compete, learn, and cultivate their cultural capital.

The reproduction of *pambiwara* culture within Javanese wedding traditions, as explained by the theory of Embodied Cultural Capital, is rooted in Sanggar Permadani's efforts and the participants' commitment to fostering Javanese cultural habitus. The "*Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda*" training is open to all, regardless of age, gender, origin, or educational background, demonstrating Sanggar Permadani's dedication to preserving Javanese culture. This habitus is passed down through generational training and practice.

After graduating from the course, participants remain connected to the organization as members, ensuring their continued relationship with Sanggar Permadani. The sanggar also contributes to shaping the character of its participants by instilling the values upheld by the organization, known as *Tri Niti Yogyo*.

- *Tri* means three, *niti* means actions, and *yogyo* means virtuous.
- The three virtuous actions are:
 - 1) *Pemayu hayuning sasomo* - Doing good for others.
 - 2) *Ingkang sae* - Serving and helping the community.
 - 3) *Pakaryan ngremenaken tiyang sanes* - Ensuring that one's actions bring happiness to others.

These values are particularly impactful for younger participants as they learn to respect (*unggah-ungguh*) and virtuous principles, which benefit their lives in the community. The knowledge imparted helps shape participants into culturally aware individuals with strong moral character and a deep understanding of Javanese etiquette and values.

5. Conclusion

Although the number of Javanese language speakers decreased by 0.8% in 2023, according to Indonesia's Central Statistics Agency (BPS), Sanggar Permadani firmly believes that the language will not become extinct as long as there are Javanese people who care about its preservation, currently, fewer people practice Javanese traditional wedding ceremonies and other events associated with Javanese customs and traditions. This has led to a decline in the number of *pambiwara*, or traditional Javanese ceremony hosts. To address this, Sanggar Permadani was established and initiated the "*Pawiyatan Panatacara tuwin Pamedhar Sabda*" course as a strategic effort to preserve Javanese culture.

The flexible and affordable nature of the course, its open registration with no specific requirements or participant selection, and widespread promotion across 167 villages and sub-districts in Sukoharjo Regency are key strategies employed by Sanggar Permadani to attract participants. By the 21st cohort, 66 participants with diverse educational backgrounds had enrolled, including the youngest participant, a fifth-grade student. Notably, all participants hailed from regions within Central Java. These efforts represent a deliberate initiative to reproduce the tradition of *pambiwara* in Javanese wedding ceremonies.

This aligns with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and embodied state, which describes cultural capital as a form of education, skills, and cultural awareness acquired from birth. This study demonstrates that Sanggar Permadani serves as a platform where courses

shape and strengthen the participants' habitus. The cultural capital gained through this process not only helps participants reinforce their cultural identity but also plays a critical role in preserving Javanese culture in the modern era.

Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field interact to shape and maintain social structures, which aligns with the cultural reproduction process explored in this study. Based on these theoretical foundations and field observations, Sanggar Permadani has successfully nurtured a new generation of *pambiwara* through cultural education targeted at Javanese descendants.

This research highlights how Sanggar Permadani has leveraged participants' cultural capital and habitus to sustain and preserve Javanese traditions, particularly the role of *pambiwara* in traditional wedding ceremonies, through its courses. This approach reflects Bourdieu's understanding of how continuous educational and social practices contribute to the reproduction of social and cultural structures.

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7. Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors have declared no potential conflicts of interest concerning this article's research, authorship, and/or publication.

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