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Nyekar Sekardadu Grave as The Formation of Community Collective Memory Coastal

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the tradition of *nyekar makam* Dewi Sekardadu as an element of collective memory in the coastal community of Sidoarjo, Indonesia, focusing on its transformation from a sacred spiritual practice to commercialized cultural tourism. Unlike existing literature, which generally focuses on traditional practices as static cultural artifacts threatened by modernization. This study reveals how the *nyekar* tradition dynamically adapts through economic integration while maintaining community relevance, introducing a new perspective by showing how collective memory sites can serve dual functions as both unifiers and dividers of communities, with some locations claiming authenticity a phenomenon that has been under-explored in Indonesian cultural tourism studies. Using a qualitative approach, this study was conducted in Kepetingan Village (Buduran Subdistrict) and Wunut Village (Porong Subdistrict) in Sidoarjo. Data was collected using in-depth interview with ten informants, consisting of two traditional community leaders and eight local residents who directly participate in the tradition, supplemented by participatory observation. The study shows significant transformations where spiritual values now account for only 15% of the tradition, while entertainment and economic aspects are dominant. This tradition operates as a habitus within the social arena of coastal communities, where various forms of capital (cultural, symbolic, social, and economic) interact and convert within the context of modernization, while the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu has become a contested site of memory, reflecting the complex dynamics of collective memory. This study contributes to an understanding of how collective memory is dynamically reconfigured through the interaction between changing social habitus and evolving economic arenas, representing adaptive mechanisms rather than threats to authenticity in Indonesian coastal communities.

1. Introduction

Indonesian coastal communities, especially fishing communities, have a rich spiritual tradition in relation to the sea. Coastal communities that depend on marine resources for their livelihoods consist of various professions, including fishermen, farmers, traders, fish farmers, and aquaculture farmers. Among these professions, fishermen are the most common and have a direct dependence on the sea to meet their needs (Dhelweis, 2020). These local traditions are essentially expressions of local knowledge and wisdom within a community in responding to their environmental conditions ((Riyadi, 2017). One tradition that is still preserved today is the Petik Laut ceremony held by the fishing community in Kepetingan Village, Sidoarjo. Kepetingan Village, Buduran Subdistrict, Sidoarjo Regency is located on the eastern tip of Java Island, with the majority of the population living on the south coast (Umar et al., 2021).

On the one hand, religion teaches each of its followers to carry out ritualistic activities. This was expressed by Clifford Geertz, who stated that religion can be understood as a cultural system (Geertz, 1976:87). Geertz understands culture as a system consisting of various signs and symbols that have a deep meaning structure. People perform actions related to these signs and symbols, so that they can function in a social system. Analysis of cultural systems cannot be viewed like science that wants to find universal laws, but must be done through interpretation to explore the various meanings contained therein. In interpreting culture, Geertz reminds us that sometimes the interpretation needs to be tested through the perspective of other cultures. According to (Geertz, 1960:90), ceremonies or rituals performed by a society are not merely a reminder of the meaning of religious beliefs. Instead, these ceremonies and rituals serve as a bridge that connects individuals with something that is believed to have hidden powers beyond themselves. The three concepts are: (1) *Abangan*, which represents a group that has a strong influence from the animist aspect, and in Geertz's view includes the farming community; (2) *Santri*, which represents a group with an emphasis on the syncretism aspect of Islam, which consists of the merchant element; and (3) *Priyayi*, a group tied to the Hinduism aspect, which Geertz groups in the bureaucratic element (Geertz, 1957:54). These categories are formed based on the religious practices that the Javanese adapt in their daily lives. The three elements reflect the way Javanese people understand and respond to the situation around them. Meanwhile, community beliefs in the cultural context are also reflected through various ritual activities that appear in traditional ceremonies. Most of the rituals in these ceremonies are the result of acculturation between religion and local culture. Indonesia as a maritime country has a variety of traditions and rituals related to marine life, especially in fishing communities and coastal communities.

The term *nyadran* is closely related to Islamic rituals among the Javanese people. In general, *nyadran* can be understood as the result of a cultural assimilation process involving three religions: Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. In the Hindu and Buddhist contexts, *nyadran* is in line with the *sharadda* or *meruwat* tradition, which is the practice of visiting the graves of ancestors. This practice was later adapted by some Islamic missionaries in Java by modifying and scheduling the

pilgrimage to take place at the end of the month of Ruwah, or just before the arrival of Ramadan (Aliyah et al., 2020) In practice, *nyadran* involves a series of rituals that reflect a blend of Islamic values, local beliefs, and traditional Javanese wisdom. There, *nyadran* is a sacred ritual that is usually performed once a year, coinciding with the month of Suro in the Javanese calendar or the month of Muharram in the Islamic calendar. The *nyadran* ceremony is a ritual offered by fishermen to the sea, as a symbol of the source of life (Nurmalasari, 2023). *Larung sesaji* is also a symbol of togetherness among fishermen (Laily, 2022). The community views *nyadran* as a form of gratitude to Allah SWT. This tradition carries a variety of deep meanings and values for the local community and culture. The implementation of *nyadran* is carried out collectively with the spirit of mutual cooperation, so that the values of this tradition not only reflect aspects of tawhid, but also strengthen the social dimension in society (Muttaqin & Fitriansyah, 2022).

Nyadran ceremonies are held almost all over Java, especially in coastal areas. In Balongdowo, Sidoarjo, the *nyadran* ritual is carried out by parading offerings to the sea, which ends with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu to pray together. The tomb of Dewi Sekardadu has historical value that is closely related to the story of the spread of Islam in East Java. The historical narrative of Dewi Sekardadu begins with the Blambangan Kingdom, initially located in the Lumajang area before relocating to the eastern tip of Java island in what is now Banyuwangi Regency. The kingdom, originally led by Minak Jinggo and later by his brother Minak Sembuyu, became the birthplace of the beautiful princess Dewi Sekardadu. The philosophical foundation of her veneration stems from the tragic yet spiritually significant events that followed her marriage to Sheikh Maulana Ishaq, brother of Sunan Ampel, who brought Islam to the Blambangan Kingdom. The community's ritual devotion to Dewi Sekardadu is philosophically rooted in several key concepts: *First*, the philosophy of maternal love transcending death her relentless search for her son, even in her weakened post-birth condition, represents the eternal nature of maternal bonds that continue beyond physical existence. *Second*, the concept of sacrifice for religious conviction her suffering resulted from the religious conflict between Islamic values (represented by her husband and son) and traditional Javanese-Hindu beliefs (represented by her father Minak Sembuyu). *Third*, the philosophy of spiritual purification through suffering her death during the arduous journey to find her son symbolizes the purification of the soul through ultimate sacrifice.

When Minak Sembuyu ordered his grandson to be thrown into the sea for embracing Islam, and Dewi Sekardadu subsequently died while searching for the child (who later became Sunan Giri), the community recognized her as a spiritual figure who embodies the philosophy of love conquering religious and cultural boundaries. Her death on the north coast near Bangil and subsequent burial in Kepetingan village transformed her into a sacred mediator between the earthly and divine realms. The ritual practices thus serve as philosophical expressions of the community's understanding that true devotion whether maternal, spiritual, or religious requires ultimate sacrifice and that such sacrifice generates protective and blessing powers for the community.

They found a hut house by the river and buried Dewi Sekardadu to the east of the house, about one kilometer away. The two royal officials who did not dare to return to Blambangan then continued their journey to Gresik. To this day, Dewi Sekardadu's grave is a place of pilgrimage for the community, especially on Thursday night of Friday Legi and the month of *ruwah* (a month before Ramadan). Although there are four locations claimed to be Dewi Sekardadu's tomb. They are in Kepetingan, Sedati, Gresik and Lamongan, and it is believed that the original tomb was in Kepetingan, which was later ritually (not physically) moved to Gresik by Sunan Giri.

This gives an additional spiritual dimension to the practice of *nyekar* performed at the tomb. The *nyekar* tradition is not only seen as a form of religious ritual, but also a symbol of respect for local history and culture. Modernization and changes in people's mindsets have begun to influence the way this tradition is viewed. This research will explore how *nyekar* is maintained by the community in a dynamic social context. Social solidarity is one of the important values reflected in the implementation of the *nyekar* tradition. Pilgrimage to the grave together creates a space to strengthen relationships between groups in society. The role of traditional leaders and tomb managers is crucial in maintaining cultural values passed down from generation to generation (Maharani, 2024). This tradition is also a means of informal education that introduces modern society to their cultural roots and ancestral identity. Through this tradition, people not only maintain spiritual relationships but also strengthen intergenerational connections. This study aims to analyze how the practice of *nyekar* operates as an inherited habitus, showing how social agents negotiate cultural and symbolic capital in a changing social terrain, thus enabling the reproduction and transformation of traditions amidst the dynamics of modern society. Modern society avoids losing interest in this cultural practice because it is considered less relevant to their lives. In addition, the lack of education about the meaning and values contained in this tradition has led to a decline in community participation in the *nyekar* ritual. The practice of *nyekar* at Dewi Sekardadu's grave represents the collective habitus of coastal communities that has been passed down across generations. In the context of social change, this tradition faces challenges to maintain its relevance in modern society. Adaptive strategies that integrate technology without eliminating the core values of the *ritual* are needed to build more effective cultural capital inheritance strategies through approaches that bridge generational gaps. This can be done by involving the younger generation in decision-making processes related to the implementation of traditions, creating spaces for dialogue between cultural authorities (such as traditional and religious leaders) and the younger generation, and integrating technological elements that can enrich the spiritual experience of the *nyekar* and *melarung* offerings rituals. For example, documenting the philosophical and historical values of these sacred practices in the form of digital media that is easily accessible and understood by modern society.

The phenomenon of religious tourism has become an important manifestation of the fusion of spiritual values, culture and economic activity in Indonesian society. The tombs of revered spiritual figures or heroes not only serve as places of

pilgrimage and religious practice, but have also developed into dynamic center of socio-economic activity. This development creates a unique ecosystem where sacred and profane values interact and influence each other. Historically, religious sites such as tombs of saints, historical figures, or legendary figures have been the center of community activities for centuries. However, in recent decades, social and economic changes have driven significant transformations in the characteristics of these sites. Modernization of infrastructure, increased population mobility, and changes in people's consumption patterns have contributed to the growing economic dimension of traditional pilgrimage practices. Given that the condition of Mbah Sayyid Wali Punden Tomb and Dewi Sekardadu Tomb tends to be quiet, it is imperative to make an integrated effort to build a positive image of these locations. Branding can be an effective strategy to create character, differentiation, and excellence of products or services in the tourism sector (Pujianto et al., 2022). Currently in various regions in Indonesia, including in East Java, religious sites such as the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu have undergone a transformation process from just a place of spiritual rituals to a religious tourism destination that is visited by many people. One interesting tourist destination is a boat trip to the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu located in Kepetingan Hamlet, Sawohan Village, Buduran District (Fitrianah et al., 2025). Then there is the marketing of milkfish frozen food nuggets carried out by UD Andri Jaya, which can be an option for tourists looking for souvenirs typical of the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu (Wijaksono et al., 2022). The tomb of Dewi Sekardadu, mangrove forest, and access to the sea make this village a promising tourist destination. This tourism potential can be further developed to increase community income and the regional economy. By involving local products in the development of tourism objects, the attractiveness of tourism can be increased and provide greater economic benefits for the community (Usman et al., 2023). This process not only changes the physical characteristics of the location through the construction of supporting facilities, but also creates new economic spaces that are utilized by the local community.

Local economic growth around religious tourism sites generally starts with simple trading activities that provide the needs of pilgrims, such as flowers and *ritual* supplies. Over time, these economic activities have become more diverse, including the sale of food, souvenirs, transportation services, and accommodation. This increase in economic activity has a positive impact on the welfare of the surrounding community, creating jobs and opening alternative sources of income. In addition to the economic aspect, religious tourism also brings changes to the social dynamics of the local community. Zulgani's et al. (2023) indicate that there are several factors that determine the success of the tourism industry. One important aspect in tourism development is the potential of natural tourism, which refers to the attractiveness of the natural environment for visitors. Accessibility and product quality also play a crucial role, as tourists tend to be more attracted to high-quality products that are easily accessible. An example can be seen in one of the religious tourism destinations in Sidoarjo, the Tomb of Dewi Sekardadu. This tomb has a difficult accessibility level because it is located on the coast of Sidoarjo, which is bordered by rivers and ponds. As a result, visits to the tomb are limited to certain times, such as during holidays or

religious rituals (Hariyanto et al., 2020). The interaction between local residents and pilgrims from different regions creates a dynamic exchange of culture and values. This often leads to changes in social interaction patterns, value systems, and the collective identity of the community. In some cases, these changes are seen as positive because they open up insights and enrich the local cultural treasures. However, in other cases, these changes can be perceived as a threat to the authenticity and purity of local traditions. Socio-economic development in the context of religious tourism is also inseparable from the role of various stakeholders, including local governments, religious leaders, business actors, and the community itself. The interaction between these various groups forms a complex dynamic that influences the direction of religious tourism development and its impact on local traditions. Government policies, for example, can encourage the development of infrastructure and promotion of religious tourism, while religious leaders play a role in maintaining spiritual values and local wisdom.

This study introduces significant theoretical and methodological innovations by applying Pierre Bourdieu's comprehensive sociological framework (habitus, capital, field, and symbolic violence) to analyze the practice of *nyekar* at the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu, which is a substantial shift from previous studies that mostly used Max Weber's theory of rationality. (Winisudo & Fauzi, 2021), Soedarsono's theory of the function of performing arts (Hasanah & Juwariyah, 2022), or a basic qualitative phenomenological approach. Unlike existing literature that focuses on single aspects such as thanksgiving ceremonies, cultural preservation, or religious-artistic expression, this study uniquely explores the conversion, accumulation, and transmission of various forms of capital (cultural, symbolic, social, and economic) simultaneously, while investigating intergenerational transmission mechanisms and capital conversion processes that have largely been overlooked in studies of grave pilgrimage. The main contribution of this study lies in conceptualizing *nyekar* practices as a symbolic battlefield where traditional and modern values compete for dominance, analyzing the hysteresis effect that creates a mismatch between inherited habitus and contemporary social conditions, and analyzing the unspoken assumptions (doxa) underlying the tradition and how traditional orthodoxy negotiates with modern heterodoxy – analytical dimensions that are entirely absent in the previous literature on the Dewi Sekardadu tradition. Methodologically, this research is innovative in treating *nyekar* as a practice embedded in the body rather than merely a ritual activity, exploring how dispositions are embedded in the cognitive and social structures of coastal communities, while addressing a significant gap in Indonesian cultural studies by applying European sociological theory to Javanese coastal traditions and bridging Western social theory with Indonesian ethnographic realities. This approach goes beyond the descriptive focus of previous studies that emphasized historical narratives (Yulita & Dendy, 2020; Mashuri & Jauharoti, 2020), religious syncretism (Dewana, 2024), art performance (Hasanah & Juwariyah, 2022), disaster preparedness (Hapsari & A'yun, 2024), and cultural documentation (Rahma, 2024). Instead, it offers sophisticated sociological analysis of the reproduction of traditions, the dynamics of power in cultural transmission, symbolic violence in the inheritance

of traditions, and a systematic examination of how these practices negotiate with contemporary social fields while maintaining their cultural significance.

2. Method

This qualitative research was conducted in two main locations, Kepetingan Village, Buduran Subdistrict and Wunut Village, Porong Subdistrict, Sidoarjo Regency, East Java, which were chosen because of their significant involvement in the *nyekar* tradition at Dewi Sekardadu's grave and the contestation over different versions of collective memory. The study uses phenomenological perspective integrated with Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory and Maurice Halbwachs' collective memory theory to reveal the essential structure of lived experiences related to the *nyekar* tradition.

This study involved ten informants selected through purposive sampling and categorized into four distinct groups to capture the multidimensional aspects of the *nyekar* tradition and its socio-economic implications. The informants were systematically selected based on their specific roles, experiences, and generational perspectives, ranging from 21 to 79 years to represent different temporal layers of collective memory formation and transmission. The *first* category consists of traditional community leaders and cultural custodians, represented by Pak Soekarno (79 years), who serves as a traditional community leader (*tokoh masyarakat adat*) and direct participation in ritual implementation and has extensive knowledge of Dewi Sekardadu's history. His involvement in the tradition makes him a crucial repository of collective memory and embodied cultural capital, representing the orthodox understanding of the *nyekar* practice. The *second* category encompasses economic actors within the religious tourism ecosystem, including Mr. Tedy (55 years), a local resident, who directly experiences the economic impact of religious tourism through boat rental services (*ojek kapal*) for pilgrims crossing the river to reach the tomb, and Ms. Yulia (43 years), a local resident, who benefits economically from religious tourism by operating a small *warung* (food stall). The study represents how traditional spiritual practices intersect with modern economic opportunities, embodying the conversion of cultural capital into economic capital within Bourdieu's theoretical framework. The *third* category comprises intergenerational memory carriers, exemplified by Desi Rahayu (21 years), a young local resident who possesses collective memory of religious tourism at Dewi Sekardadu's tomb inherited from her father's era and has observed the development of religious tourism from childhood to the present. Her perspective is crucial for understanding how collective memory is transmitted across generations and how younger generations negotiate between inherited traditions and contemporary realities. The *fourth* category includes additional local residents (five informants) who have direct experience and involvement in the Dewi Sekardadu grave-visiting tradition, representing diverse demographic characteristics and varying levels of engagement with the practice. These informants provide broader community perspectives on how collective memory operates within different social positions and life experiences.

Data was collected using in-depth interviews and systematic observations. Interviews were conducted in conversational form in Javanese and Indonesian

according to informants' preferences to explore life experiences, ways of remembering, inheriting and reconstructing narratives about Dewi Sekardadu. Observations were conducted to understand how collective memory is expressed and transmitted in the context of *nyekar* rituals, including documentation of ritual sequences, participant behavior, and social interactions.

Data analysis combined phenomenological methods with the Bourdieu-Halbwachs (1977) theoretical framework through a process of reduction, imaginative variation, and synthesis of meaning. An analytical matrix was developed linking the elements of habitus, capital and field to the processes of formation, transmission and reconstruction of collective memory. Interview transcripts and observation notes were thematically coded to identify patterns of collective memory operations, followed by comparative analysis between the two research sites to understand variations in the construction and transmission of collective memory.

Ethical aspects of the research were maintained by obtaining informants' consent, protecting data privacy, and using pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality of informants' identities.

3. Result and Discussion

• Tomb Contestation and the Fragmentation of Collective Memory

The research findings show an interesting phenomenon where there are three locations that claim to be the original grave of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan, Gresik, and Sedati. According to Mr. Soekarno (79 years), "the original one is in Kepetingan. Then, Sunan Giri moved the tomb to Gresik, but not physically, but ritually." This fragmentation does not simply reflect historical confusion but rather shows how Halbwachs' collective memory operates as a social construction that allows each community to construct its own version of "truth". This contestation reveals the complexity of the relationship between individual and collective memory, where each community has a version of the narrative that is considered the most authentic based on oral transmission across generations.

In Bourdieu's perspective, this contestation represents a symbolic arena where each village fights for symbolic capital in the form of legitimacy and recognition. The tombs in Kepetingan maintain historical claims as the original location based on oral traditions passed down through generations, while the tombs in Gresik claim spiritual legitimacy through connections with Sunan Giri. Meanwhile, the tombs in Sedati develop alternative narratives that link their existence to ancient trade routes and traditional fishing activities. Each community employs different strategies in strengthening their claims: historical documentation, special rituals and testimonies of local spiritual figures.

This fragmentation of collective memory creates a paradoxical yet productive dynamic. On the one hand, the three communities compete for recognition as the holder of the most authentic tradition, but on the other hand, this competition enriches the diversity of interpretations and ritual practices. Mr. Soekarno observes that despite the differences in claims "all places are still respected by pilgrims because each has its own specialty." This phenomenon shows that

collective memory does not always require a single consensus to function effectively as a social glue and source of community identity.

Interestingly, however, this fragmentation becomes an economic strength when each location develops its religious tourism potential. The tomb in Gresik developed into a bustling destination with more intensive economic activity, while the tomb in Kepetingan retained the simplicity of rituals despite being renovated. The tomb in Sedati developed a more focused approach to the fishing community with rituals closely linked to maritime activities. This transformation shows that fragmentation of collective memory, instead of weakening traditions, can actually strengthen cultural resilience through diversification and specialization that allows each community to find its own niche in the regional religious tourism landscape.

- **Transformation of the *Nyekar* Tradition: From Sacred to Cultural Hybridization**

The most significant transformation occurred in the shift in the composition of ritual values from spiritual dominance to entertainment, as Mr. Soekarno revealed that "the ritual is still the same, but now the young people sing and play music on every boat...even drink alcohol...the damage is when they do it now. The spiritual value is now only 15% and the rest is in entertainment." This shift challenges Bourdieu's habitus theory that emphasizes the reproduction of social practices, because here it is a radical adaptation that changes the essence of the ritual without eliminating the practice itself. This transformation did not happen suddenly but was a gradual process that took place over the past two decades, along with the introduction of communication technology and changes in the socio-economic structure of coastal communities.

This shift reflects a complex negotiation between the older generation who seek to maintain the sanctity of the ritual and the younger generation who seek relevance in the context of their modern lives. Mr. Soekarno explains that "the *nyekar* ritual used to be a very solemn moment, containing only prayers and tahlil recitation, but now it has become like a crowded festival." However, our observation shows that the spiritual element has not completely disappeared but rather integrated with broader social activities. The younger generation still performs the core rituals of prayer and flower distribution, only to add elements of music and social activities that are perceived to strengthen community bonds.

The data suggests that this transformation is not simply a degradation of values, but rather a cultural survival strategy in the face of modernization pressures. Desi Rahayu (21 years old) explains how technology and accessibility have expanded the reach of the tradition: "My father used to say that there are still few people who know about the tomb, at most only people here, but now times have advanced and the place can be accessed via the internet, so more and more people come here." Social media and digital platforms have enabled the documentation and dissemination of *nyekar* traditions to a wider audience, creating new forms of virtual participation where people can follow the ritual online. This reveals how collective memory is not static, but dynamic and responsive to social change.

This change is also reflected in the diversification of ritual participants. Previously dominated by fishermen and families, it now involves young people, tourists, and various communities from outside the region. Mr. Soekarno observed: "Yes, there are, many and varied, coming from various places, both individuals and groups." This expansion of participants has consequences for the meaning and function of the ritual. For local fishermen, *nyekar* retains its primary function as a request for safety and sea bounty, but for tourists, the ritual is better understood as a unique cultural and spiritual experience. This hybridization creates a negotiation space between authenticity and accessibility, where traditions must be flexible to accommodate the diverse expectations and interpretations of increasingly heterogeneous participants, while still maintaining the spiritual essence on which they are legitimized.

- **Commodification and Transformation of Sacred Meaning in the *Nyekar* Tradition**

The transformation of the *nyekar* tradition at the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu reflects a process of commodification that has turned a sacred practice into a religious consumer product. The physical changes to the tomb, from a simple mound of earth to a complex with pavilions and a prayer room, are not merely a modernization of infrastructure, but a symbolization of a shift in orientation from communal spirituality to tourist accessibility. The involvement of the local government in the renovation demonstrates how traditional cultural capital now requires formal legitimacy to survive, while also indicating a change in the power structure within the preservation of traditions.

An analysis of changes in the habits of coastal communities reveals a contradiction between the preservation of rituals and adaptation to the demands of modernity. Soekarno, a traditional community leader, identified a degradation in the spiritual value of *nyekar* practices, which now account for only 15 percent of the ritual, while 85 percent is dominated by entertainment. This statement is not merely a nostalgic complaint, but a critique of the shift in habitus that prioritizes spectacle over contemplation. The phenomenon of young people bringing music and alcohol into *nyadran* processions demonstrates how the new generation negotiates tradition with contemporary lifestyles, despite the risk of eroding sacred meaning.

The diversification of economic capital from the traditional fishing sector to the religious tourism economy has created new dynamics in the social structure of the community. The emergence of flower sellers, food vendors, and small donation practices around the tomb shows how sacred spaces are transforming into economic arenas. This transformation not only changes the physical landscape but also restructures social relationships, where traditional spiritual authorities must share space with market logic. The expansion of social networks from local fishing communities to congregations and tourists from various regions indicates a shift from limited social capital to broader but shallower networks.

The commodification of the *nyekar* tradition has produced a duality of values that reflects the tension between authenticity and economic pragmatism. On the one

hand, the ritual is preserved as a marker of the collective identity of coastal communities, but on the other hand, sacred values are reduced to tourist attractions. This transformation demonstrates how traditional communities are not passive in the face of modernization but actively negotiate between the preservation of cultural heritage and contemporary economic needs. However, this negotiation process carries the risk of losing the spiritual essence that forms the foundation of the tradition's meaning, leaving only the ritual form without its sacred substance.

- **The Transformation of the Collective Memory**

Table 1 below presents a comprehensive analysis of the transformation of collective memory through Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, which illustrates the comparison of conditions before and after socio-economic changes in three main aspects namely habitus, capital, and arena.

In the Habitus aspect, the table shows the evolution from traditional ritual practices that depend on marine products with participants limited to traditional leaders and the delivery of hereditary narratives, to more complex and entertainment-dominated forms with diverse participants including fishermen, young people, and tourists, as well as delivery through multimedia and social media.

The capital aspect underwent significant restructuring where economic capital changed from high dependence on marine products to a mix of religious tourism, cultural capital shifted from local fishermen's knowledge to formal government stores, social capital developed from ritual participation to a wider network, and symbolic capital underwent a transformation from oral forms to duality of values.

Meanwhile, the arena aspect shows the expansion of the ritual location from a limited space respected for its connection to the universe and ancestors to a wider arena with public access, where the autonomy of the arena changes from dependence on marine products to limited, and access limits previously controlled by traditional leaders are now open to the public.

This transformation results in a fundamental shift in collective memory formation from direct transmission between generations with collective identity media and limited value, to indirect transmission through social media with recreational and economic value, reflecting how socio-economic changes are transforming cultural practices from sacred and communal to secular and commercial.

Table 1. Matrix of *Nyadran* and *Nyekar* Tomb of Dewi Sekardadu Based on Bourdieu's Concept of Collective Memory Before and After Socio-Economic Changes

Bourdieu's Analysis of Collective Memory	Aspects	Before Socio-Economic Change	After Socio-Economic Change
Habitus	Ritual performance	Dependent on marine products	More complex, Entertainment dominated
	Participants	Traditional leaders	Diverse (fishermen, young people, and tourists)
	Narration delivery	Generation to generation	Multimedia (photos, social media)
	Performance time	Collective identity	Additional religious tourism
	Symbols	Limited	Modern mix
Capital	Economic capital	High	Religious tourism mix
	Cultural capital	Local fishermen	Formal shops (government)
	Social capital	Participation in rituals	Wider network
	Symbolic capital	Oral	Duality of value
Arena	Ritual location	Respect for the Universe and Ancestors	Widening
	Arena autonomy	Dependent on marine products	Limited
	Access boundaries	Traditional leaders	For public
Collective Memory	Formation	Generation to generation	Indirect
	Transmission media	Collective identity	social media
	Value	Limited	Recreational and Economic

Source: Primary data.

The expansion of ritual arenas from limited spaces to wider public consumption reflects a redefinition of the social space in which habitus operates. The physical transformation of tombs with supporting facilities and open access to the general public shows how the autonomy of traditional fishing communities must now negotiate with the interests of the government and the tourism sector. This change indicates that the ritual arena is no longer the exclusive domain of the

local community, but rather a space of contestation between various more complex forms of capital and interests.

The transformation of the medium of collective memory formation from traditional oral transmission to multimedia representation changes the way communities internalize the meaning of rituals. The shift in values in collective memory from respect for nature and ancestors to recreational and economic orientation demonstrates the negotiation of doxa (taken-for-granted beliefs) by coastal communities in the face of modernization. The flexibility of collective memory to adapt while maintaining the essence of cultural identity demonstrates that collective memory is not a static entity, but rather a social construction that is continuously reproduced through complex interactions between habitus, capital, and arena.

This study enriches our understanding of the dynamics of the *nyekar* tradition as part of a growing religious tourism ecosystem. Unlike previous studies that focused on comparing traditions or theological aspects, this research reveals how physical transformations, and ritual practices create a dynamic socio-economic arena. Findings regarding the shift in values from spirituality (15%) toward entertainment (85%) complement previous analyses by showing that traditions do not disappear but transform through adaptive strategies employed by communities. The conversion of the historical narrative of Dewi Sekardadu into cultural capital with economic value within the context of contemporary religious tourism illustrates how the resilience of traditions depends on their ability to negotiate with modernity and create new values relevant to contemporary society.

4. Conclusion

This research shows that the transformation of the *nyekar* tradition to Dewi Sekardadu's grave can be explained through Bourdieu's theoretical perspective on collective memory, which provides a framework for understanding the process of desacralization and commodification of cultural practices. In the past, the collective memory of Sekardadu and her subsequent *nyekar* tradition represented the fishing community's respect for the universe and ancestors. Sekardadu represents the fishermen's ancestors who provide safety and sustenance. Today, this tradition has undergone commodification and changed its meaning to be recreative and economical. In a theoretical context, the *nyekar* tradition has experienced a paradigmatic shift from sacred to profane, a phenomenon identified by Bourdieu as a consequence of the reconfiguration of capital in the social arena.

The research findings reveal that the desacralization process occurs through an interaction mechanism between the changing community habitus and the growing economic arena. This theorization expands Bourdieu's concept of capital conversion, where symbolic capital in the form of respect for ancestors transforms into economic capital in the form of religious tourism. This phenomenon shows how collective memory is not static but dynamic, continuously reconfiguring in accordance with changes in socio-economic structures.

The theoretical implication of this research is the need to reconceptualize the sustainability of tradition in modern society. In contrast to the conventional view that sees commodification as a threat to authenticity, this research shows that commodification can actually serve as an adaptive mechanism that allows tradition to remain relevant in the contemporary context. This theorization challenges the rigid dichotomy between tradition and modernity, suggesting a more dialectical framework of understanding in which both shape each other. The recontextualization of spiritual value into economic value in the case of Dewi Sekardadu's tomb represents a phenomenon that can be explained through Bourdieu's concept of "field transformation," where the ritual arena transforms into an economic arena without losing all its cultural significance. The shift from "respect for the universe and ancestors" to "recreational and economic" reflects how doxa (unquestioned deep beliefs) in coastal communities have been renegotiated due to the penetration of modernity values.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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