

The Nyadran Ritual in Sidoarjo: Between the Commodification of Cultural Tourism and the Construction of Identity

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Abstract

The study of communal culture is currently crucial, particularly regarding how a community constructs its values and beliefs through various rituals. Over time, ritual processes often undergo modifications for existential reasons. One form of cultural object that has undergone commodification and serves as a medium for identity construction is the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul Village, Sidoarjo Regency. Therefore, this study aims to (1) analyze the process of commodification of the Nyadran Bluru Kidul ritual from the perspective of Adorno and Horkheimer, (2) analyze changes in practice and meaning, as well as the impact of the commodification of Nyadran Bluru Kidul through a study of Bourdieu's social praxis, (3) analyze the relationship between commodification and ritual as a medium for constructing identity in the Nyadran Bluru Kidul tradition in Berger and Luckman's theory of reality construction. This research employed an ethnographic method with a qualitative-exploratory approach. Data were obtained through interviews, participant observation, documentation, and literature review. The data were analyzed using ethnographic thematic analysis techniques. The results show: First, that from the perspective of Adorno and Horkheimer's theories regarding the commodification process, the following: 1) The transformation of Nyadran from a sacred ritual into a cultural tourism attraction, 2) The existence of pseudo-commodities of individuality and standardization of Nyadran, 3) The intersection between authenticity and market law. Second, Bourdieu's analysis of social practices: 1) The form of habitus in the pre-commodification phase is through prayers for safety, a new habitus emerges as an implication of commodified Nyadran, 2) Capital accumulation and conversion have occurred, 3) Commodification has provided a stage for new actors. Third, Berger and Luckman's perspective states that: the process of externalization, objectification, and commodified internalization have given birth to new identities resulting from negotiations between sacredness and the demands of the tourism market.

Keywords: Commodification; Nyadran; Cultural Tourism; Identity Construction; Sidoarjo

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Ritual Nyadran di Sidoarjo: Antara Komodifikasi Pariwisata Budaya dan Konstruksi Identitas

Abstrak

Kajian budaya komunal saat ini sangat penting, khususnya mengenai bagaimana suatu komunitas membangun nilai-nilai dan kepercayaannya melalui berbagai ritual. Seiring waktu, proses ritual sering mengalami modifikasi karena alasan eksistensial. Salah satu bentuk objek budaya yang telah mengalami komodifikasi dan berfungsi sebagai media konstruksi identitas adalah ritual Nyadran di Desa Bluru Kidul, Kabupaten Sidoarjo. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk (1) menganalisis proses komodifikasi ritual Nyadran Bluru Kidul dari perspektif Adorno dan Horkheimer, (2) menganalisis perubahan praktik dan makna, serta dampak komodifikasi Nyadran Bluru Kidul melalui kajian praksis sosial Bourdieu, (3) menganalisis hubungan antara komodifikasi dan ritual sebagai media konstruksi identitas dalam tradisi Nyadran Bluru Kidul dalam teori konstruksi realitas Berger dan Luckman. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode etnografi dengan pendekatan kualitatif-eksploratif. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara, observasi partisipan, dokumentasi, dan tinjauan pustaka. Data dianalisis menggunakan teknik analisis tematik etnografi. Hasilnya menunjukkan: Pertama, dari perspektif teori Adorno dan Horkheimer mengenai proses komodifikasi, hal-hal berikut: 1) Transformasi Nyadran dari ritual sakral menjadi objek wisata budaya, 2) Keberadaan pseudo-komoditas individualitas dan standarisasi Nyadran, 3) Persimpangan antara otentisitas dan hukum pasar. Kedua, analisis Bourdieu tentang praktik sosial: 1) Bentuk habitus pada fase pra-komodifikasi adalah melalui doa untuk keselamatan, habitus baru muncul sebagai implikasi dari Nyadran yang dikomodifikasi, 2) Akumulasi dan konversi modal telah terjadi, 3) Komodifikasi telah menyediakan panggung bagi aktor-aktor baru. Ketiga, perspektif Berger dan Luckman menyatakan bahwa: proses eksternalisasi, objektivasi, dan internalisasi yang dikomodifikasi telah melahirkan identitas baru yang dihasilkan dari negosiasi antara kesakralan dan tuntutan pasar pariwisata..

Keywords: *Commodification; Nyadran; Cultural Tourism; Identity Construction; Sidoarjo*

INTRODUCTION

One important issue in the era of globalization is the growing use of the term commodification. Commodification is the process by which goods or services that originally followed non-market social rules become subject to market rules (Putra, 2008). Commodification has shifted use value into a commercial exchange value (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1979).

This condition poses a particular challenge for the practice of various rituals, requiring that religious ritual to transform, not merely as a cultural identity but also into an entertainment commodity containing commercial elements. The clash between traditional values that

tend toward harmony and mysticism and capitalist global values has become an inescapable phenomenon of cultural tourism (Irianto, 2016). This is a social reality also experienced by the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul Village, Sidoarjo Regency.

The significance of this study lies in the position of Nyadran Bluru Kidul, which currently sits at an early stage of the commodification process, not yet fully governed by market logic. This condition differs from the majority of cultural commodification studies, which generally examine cases where the commodification process has already been completed or become established (see, for example, Sanusi

& Sidik, 2022; Irianto, 2016). Nyadran Bluru Kidul, by contrast, offers a rare opportunity to directly observe how the negotiation of values between sacredness and market interests unfolds while still at an early stage, including the latent intergenerational tension/conflict that accompanies it—a momentum that is important to document academically before the commodification process becomes established and its starting point becomes difficult to trace.

Nyadran is a Javanese cultural heritage rich in cultural and historical value that is still preserved today in various regions of Indonesia. This tradition is not merely a religious ritual or a customary activity, but an important part of Javanese cultural identity, full of social, ecological, and spiritual meaning (Aliyah, Abadi, & Dharma, 2020). In this context, cultural identity is a crucial entity that can distinguish it from other forms of cultural tourism (Putra & Asnan, 2022).

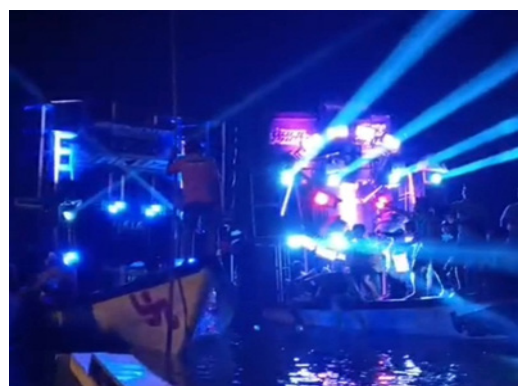
In general, the practice of the Nyadran ritual in various regions shares a common purpose, namely as a ceremony to honor, exalt, and commemorate the spirits of ancestors. In the Bluru Kidul area itself, Nyadran is held in the month of Rabiul Awal (Maulud) (Aliyah, Abadi, & Dharma, 2020).

Over time, the concept of Nyadran in Bluru Kidul has undergone change. In the early period of this ritual, from the 14th century until the year 2000, the ceremony focused solely on the ritual at the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan Hamlet. However, from the year 2000 to the present, the organizers have added a tumpeng procession, religious study sessions, and other modern cultural elements as a means of attracting and increasing the

participation of participants/tourists (Putri, 2020).

More recently, the phenomenon of cultural transformation accompanying the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul has become even more notable as modern equipment has been introduced as a supporting element in the series of events. This practice can be seen, among other things, in the use of Sound Horeg as well as food bazaars selling foreign street food (Tanghulu, ramen, tteokbokki, and so on) (Rosida, 2024).

Figure 1 The Nyadran Ritual Using Sound Horeg During the Procession



Source :Researcher's Documentation

As an affirmation, Nyadran as a local culture is indeed vulnerable to commodification. Within the process of becoming a tourist attraction, local culture that originally positioned ritual as a vessel full of religious and spiritual meaning is often forced to transform into a commodity shaped for public consumption (Southeast Asian Studies Center UGM, 2016). On the other hand, as a ritual, Nyadran also reflects how groups of people concretize abstract values related to belief and worldview through various ritual symbols as a medium of identity construction.

Referring to this phenomenon, three concepts are developed in this study, namely cultural commodification, social practice, and identity construction. Commodification is closely related to the transformation of goods into commodities, encompassing objects, qualities, and signs within the context of capitalism (Barker, 2014). To explain how the logic of commodification is concretely practiced and negotiated by actors in the field, this study positions Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory as a meso-level conceptual bridge, connecting the structural logic of commodification (macro level) with its eventual outcome of identity construction at the individual level (micro level). Through the concepts of habitus, capital, and field, Bourdieu explains how concrete actors (fishermen, elders, new actors) practice, negotiate, and even contest the meaning of Nyadran amid the tug-of-war between sacred logic and market logic. Meanwhile, identity construction is understood as the self- or group-identification within a particular social space, aimed at producing a dynamic expression of that self or group, shaped by both internal and external influences (Rumahuru, 2012).

Within the framework of this study, it is assumed that the process of cultural tourism commodification simultaneously presents ritual as a medium of identity construction.

Based on the phenomenon described above, the research problems of this study are: (1) how does the process of cultural tourism commodification occur in the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul Village from the perspective of Adorno and Horkheimer?; (2) how does an analysis using Bourdieu's social practice theory explain the changes in

practice and meaning, as well as the impact of the commodification of Nyadran in Bluru Kidul Village?; (3) how is commodification related to ritual as a medium of identity construction in the Nyadran tradition in Bluru Kidul Village, viewed through Berger and Luckmann's theory of reality construction?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on the Nyadran ritual has indeed been conducted extensively. Putri's study, for instance, emphasizes the dynamics of Nyadran's implementation in Bluru Kidul Village through social change theory, finding changes in the ritual's procession and concept (Putri, 2020). Meanwhile, Hariyanto et al., through Peter L. Berger's phenomenological approach, found that there is a construction of reality in tourism communication regarding the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu as the origin of the Nyadran tradition in Sidoarjo Regency, through three stages: internalization, externalization, and objectivation (Hariyanto, Utomo, Sukmana, & Dharma, 2020).

Aliyah et al.'s study seeks to uncover the communication of the Nyadran ritual through Hymes' SPEAKING data analysis technique with a qualitative-exploratory approach (Aliyah, Abadi, & Dharma, 2020). A different perspective is presented by Firdauzi et al. in a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) study, which concludes that this ritual contributes to environmental conservation, although the influence of modernization is more dominant in its celebratory and entertainment aspects (Firdauzi et al., 2025).

These four studies—Putri (2020) through social change theory, Hariyanto et

al. (2020) through Berger's phenomenology, Aliyah et al. (2020) through the ethnography of communication (Hymes's SPEAKING analysis), and Firdauzi et al. (2025) through a Systematic Literature Review—demonstrate the diversity of social theory perspectives that have been used to examine the Nyadran ritual. However, the application of Berger and Luckmann's theory of reality construction in prior studies has generally been limited to presenting the concept (externalization-objectivation-internalization) without being widely applied directly to communal ritual phenomena similar to Nyadran. One relevant candidate study for comparison is Safii et al.'s (2026) study of the communal religious ritual Haul Guru Sekumpul through a community-based public theology approach, although the fit between its theoretical framework and Berger and Luckmann's theory specifically still needs to be examined further in the original source. These studies collectively provide evidence that the Nyadran ritual has been examined from various perspectives. However, research on the Nyadran ritual that focuses specifically on the relationship between commodification theory—both the commodification process and its resulting impact—and the process of identity construction through ritual as a medium has, in fact, not been widely conducted.

Commodification Theory: Adorno and Horkheimer

This theory is one of the ideas of the Frankfurt School, explained through the work *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, particularly the essay "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception"

(Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002). In principle, this theory critiques how the logic of late capitalism has transformed the cultural realm into an instrument of mass deception and social control, in which cultural objects (film, music, art, tradition) are mass-produced in inauthentic, standardized, and manipulative forms. A key concept relevant to this study is pseudo-individualization—the trick by which the culture industry manipulates consumers into feeling they have freedom of choice, while in fact remaining under the control of a repetitive and structured pattern of production (Adorno, 2005)—as well as the idea that entertainment does not genuinely liberate the individual, but instead reproduces the ideology that fortifies pre-existing economic domination (Adorno, 2005).

The application of cultural commodification theory to similar traditional practices has been widely documented in the Indonesian context and surrounding regions. Saefudin (2024), for example, examines the policy dilemma of barkcloth commodification among the Kaili community in Pandere, Indonesia, showing how cultural preservation policy can in fact drive product standardization for the market. Yuliati, Susilowati, and Suliyati (2023) document how the preservation of the Old City of Semarang has been developed as a cultural tourism asset, with the consequence of a shift in spatial function from collective-historical meaning to commercial appeal. Wijayanti and Damanik (2019) further show how tourists' experiences at the Yogyakarta Sultan's Palace heritage site are managed in ways that meet the expectations of the heritage tourism market. Meanwhile, in the context

of traditional cuisine, Muaddab and Nafisah (2026) examine Javanese *ingkung* as culinary ethics and sacred ecology, which likewise faces similar commercialization pressures. These cases reinforce the relevance of the Adorno and Horkheimer framework for reading the phenomenon of Nyadran Bluru Kidul's commodification as part of a broader pattern in the commodification of traditional culture in Indonesia.

Social Practice Theory: Pierre Bourdieu

The concept of social practice is a formulation by the French sociologist whose full name was Pierre Felix Bourdieu. In his view of the creation of culture, Bourdieu holds that every social action simultaneously functions as a structure of action. These two concepts are, in principle, parallel to one another (Harker et al., 1990). A key element of Bourdieu's theory is its focus on the structural aspects of social behavior. This approach is important for helping to bring his theories concerning individuals, or agents, into an integrated framework. There are three key concepts within this theory, namely:

Habitus

Habitus is a system of dispositions built from personal and shared historical experience, which functions as a working reference for how we perceive, think, and act. In developing his social practice theory, Bourdieu combined structure and individual action in the formula ($\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}$) + field = social practice (Harker et al., 1990). Habitus tends to be constant yet adaptive, acting as a key element for cohesive and structured social practice.

Capital

In Bourdieu's study, capital refers to the concentration of a particular power that operates within a field, requiring individuals to possess specific forms of capital in order to survive and thrive within it. According to Bourdieu, there are four types of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Each type of capital is a source of influence on social conflict across various domains. Economic capital includes tangible assets such as money and property, which can easily be converted into other types of capital. Cultural capital concerns knowledge, skills, and educational qualifications. Social capital, meanwhile, operates through networks of relationships that contribute to access to various opportunities. Symbolic capital refers to the recognition and respect generated by other forms of capital, actualized as a socially recognized status (Historia, 2025).

Field (Arena)

A field (arena or *ranah*) is a network of relations among the objective positions that exist within it. These relations are separate from individual consciousness and will. They are not intersubjective bonds between individuals (Ritzer & Goodman, 2016). For Bourdieu, the field is a battlefield. Within this battlefield, structures are required to arrange strategic plans for positioning individuals or groups, whether for offense or defense.

In Bourdieu's view, the field resembles a free market, a space in which various types of capital—economic, cultural, symbolic, and social—are used and traded. The field

of power becomes the single most important form of capital in terms of its role. The field of power can serve as a unifier of the various existing forms of capital.

As a force of relations within the space of social practice, the field is an arena for managing dominant positions in the control of resources (capital), which is also at stake within that field. These sources of capital concern social capital, economic capital, symbolic capital, and cultural capital. This constitutes the objective definition of a field, namely the existence of corresponding relations of capital, such that the field's existence illustrates how the function that creates the legitimacy of capital is operationalized as a stake within that field, which in turn allows interests within the field to generate a historical process (Bourdieu, 1990).

According to Bourdieu, social practice theory is the result of a dialectical relationship between an agent's habitus and their position within a field, as determined by the volume and composition of the capital they possess. Habitus influences how an individual makes use of capital; capital builds a person's position and negotiating power within a field. A field offers a working scheme and boundaries for the occurrence of social action. Bourdieu's generative formula for social practice is $(\text{Habitus} \times \text{Capital}) + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$ (Fashri, 2010). Practice theory is one of Bourdieu's foundations in constructing a formula for analyzing social practice.

Bourdieu's generative formulation model arises from the interaction between objective and subjective structures as a dialectical conflict. This generative formulation can transform inputs across

various domains in ways that influence the final outcome, particularly the social practices carried out by social actors.

Berger and Luckmann's Theory of Reality Construction

The social construction of reality is a social process through action and interaction, in which an individual or group of individuals continuously creates a reality that is possessed and subjectively experienced together (Suandika, 2021).

The social construction of reality, in the context of communication, refers to the way social reality is formed, understood, and communicated through social interaction and communication processes. This involves the joint construction and sharing of understanding about reality through symbols, language, norms, values, and patterns of communication within a society (Handiwijaya, 2023).

Social construction occurs through a process that unfolds simultaneously and continuously as a result of human interaction as organisms. From the interaction between humans and their surrounding environment, a dialectical process unfolds that then creates human consciousness. It is the combination of consciousness and everyday interaction that determines how the construction of reality occurs within that society. The simultaneous process referred to by Berger & Luckmann consists of externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

Externalization is the process by which an individual or group expresses their inner content, ideas, values, and actions to the outside world through physical or

symbolic activity. In a cultural context, externalization occurs when values, norms, rituals, and cultural practices are embodied in concrete forms such as customary ceremonies, language, art, or social rules (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

Following externalization, the cultural product undergoes objectivation, namely the process by which the results of human expression come to appear as something that stands on its own and is objective, independent of the individual who created it. In the cultural realm, objectivation means that values, norms, and cultural practices become part of a social reality that is regarded as real and binding by members of society. For example, a tradition that has been passed down through generations will be regarded as a social fact that must be respected and carried out, not merely as an individual choice. Objectivation also encompasses the process of cultural institutionalization, in which norms and practices become rules that are collectively followed and systematically passed down within society (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

Internalization is the process by which an individual absorbs and adopts the objectivated social reality into their own consciousness and identity. In the cultural realm, internalization occurs when members of society accept and make values, norms, and cultural practices part of their everyday outlook, attitudes, and behavior (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

This process allows culture to continue to live on and be reproduced sustainably, as each individual consciously or unconsciously lives out and carries out these values. For example, a child who has been accustomed from an early age

to participating in customary rituals will internalize the meaning and importance of that ritual, such that it becomes part of their cultural identity (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

The three theoretical frameworks used in this study essentially engage in dialogue with one another and form a complementary, multi-tiered causal chain. Adorno and Horkheimer explain why cultural commodification occurs, namely as a consequence of the logic of the culture industry at the macro/structural level that transforms use value into exchange value. Bourdieu then explains how that process is concretely practiced, negotiated, and contested by actors in the field at the meso level, through the dynamics of habitus, capital, and field. Meanwhile, Berger and Luckmann explain its subjective impact at the micro level, namely how the outcome of that negotiation ultimately undergoes externalization, objectivation, and internalization, thereby forming a new identity at the individual and community level. Together, these three theories thus form a coherent multi-level framework: structure (Adorno & Horkheimer) practice (Bourdieu) consciousness/identity (Berger & Luckmann), which is used collectively to comprehensively dissect the phenomenon of commodification and identity construction in the Nyadran Bluru Kidul ritual.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs an ethnographic research method with a qualitative-exploratory approach. The ethnographic method is used to explain the perceptions and values that occur within a cultural community. This is because it requires the ethnographer's involvement in daily life

during observation and data collection (Setyowati, 2006).

Meanwhile, the qualitative approach is intended to uncover the deep meaning of a phenomenon underlying the issue or problem to be solved (Sugiyono, 2018). In this case, it serves to explain and explore the meanings and values of the phenomena of commodification and identity construction occurring within the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul Village.

The research site is located in Bluru Kidul Village, Sidoarjo Regency. The site was selected based on the consideration that this village is a coastal area of Sidoarjo Regency whose fishing community carries out the cultural commodification of the Nyadran tradition while simultaneously making this ritual a medium of identity construction to distinguish itself from other groups/communities. Data collection took place during this annual ritual's observance, namely in the month of Rabiul Awal or Maulud Nabi (coinciding with September 2025).

The selection of data sources was based on primary and secondary data. Primary data sources directly provide data to the data collector, while secondary data sources involve sources that do not directly provide data to the data collector (Sugiyono, 2018). The primary data in this study were obtained through interviews and participant observation. Secondary data, meanwhile, were obtained through documentation and literature review in the form of in-depth reading regarding the methods, theories, and phenomena related to the research theme (Kriyantono, 2010).

In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants determined through

snowball sampling, beginning with: 1) the Head of Bluru Kidul Village; 2) community/religious figures other than the village head; 3) practitioners/fishermen directly involved in the ritual; 4) ritual visitors; and 5) cultural experts/historians.

Through in-depth interviews in the form of descriptive questions, the researcher sought to obtain comprehensive information, experiences, and feelings from informants regarding the history, the dynamics of the commodification process, and the identity construction of the Nyadran ritual. The interview data were supplemented with participant observation in the field, observing phenomena and social symptoms related to the ritual. Documentation was required to complete the data, whether in the form of photographs, images, or other necessary documents.

The data obtained through these research steps were then analyzed using an ethnographic thematic analysis technique, by creating prominent categories in accordance with the research objectives, labeling the categories that emerged, and then drawing conclusions based on the list of prominent categories, particularly those related to the tendency toward cultural tourism commodification and identity construction through ritual as a medium (Hanurawan, 2016).

In qualitative research, one step that can be used to test the credibility of data is triangulation. There are several models of triangulation, namely: source triangulation, method triangulation, theory triangulation, and researcher triangulation (Bungin, 2007). This study uses source triangulation, drawing on cultural experts/historians.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The History and Philosophical Meaning of Nyadran

The Nyadran ritual was not born in a vacuum, but is the result of a fairly lengthy cultural evolution and a dialectic between belief systems. Its historical roots can be traced to the term *Sradha*, which arose during the era of the Majapahit Kingdom. *Sradha*, derived from Sanskrit, means “belief” or “ceremony.” In its early period, *Sradha* was an exclusive ritual held as a form of homage to, and commemoration of, the spirit of a deceased king (Wargiati, 2022). This tradition reflects a past belief system that held there to be a continuing bond between the living and the spirits of ancestors.

The arrival of Islam in Java did not, in fact, immediately erode this deeply rooted practice. On the contrary, the presence of the Walisongo—particularly Sunan Kalijaga, whose approach to proselytizing tended to be acculturative—instead made room for existing local traditions. These practices were harmonized and infused with values drawn from Islamic teachings. It was at this stage that *Sradha* transformed into Nyadran (Rosydiana, 2017).

It should be emphasized that the narrative of transition from animistic/Hindu-Buddhist beliefs (*Sradha*) toward practices infused with Islamic values is, in fact, still debated among academics and religious scholars (*ulama*), and is not universally agreed upon as the sole valid historical pathway (Wargiati, 2022). Some religious perspectives are even skeptical of, or reject, certain ritual elements considered rooted in pre-Islamic tradition, on the

grounds that they contain indications of practices bordering on *shirk*—a discourse of rejection that persists among some *ulama* and members of the public to this day, as also touched upon in the discussion of commodification (see the sub-section on Pseudo-Individuality and Standardization). Interestingly, as Nyadran shifts toward commodification, this originally theological debate (concerning ritual purity versus impurity) has come to be increasingly colored by a more transactional debate (economic profit and loss), in which considerations of whether to maintain or relax certain ritual elements are increasingly influenced by calculations of tourist appeal and economic benefit, rather than solely by considerations of doctrinal purity as in earlier times.

The ritual offering to the spirits of ancestors was reinterpreted in the form of a communal feast (*kenduri*) or alms-giving (*sedekah*). This was implemented through the distribution of food to the community, particularly to those in need—a socio-religious reality that attempts to shift the ritual’s focus from vertical devotion (to ancestral spirits) to horizontal social charity (toward fellow human beings) (Warjadi, 2017). As a result, Nyadran metamorphosed into a harmonious cultural acculturation, at the same time serving as a bridge between Islamic values and local tradition.

Traces of Nyadran in Bluru Kidul

The common historical roots and philosophical meaning do not make the practice of Nyadran identical across every region. Local social and ecological context is the reason this ritual tends to vary in its observance. In Bluru Kidul Village,

Sidoarjo Regency, this tradition presents a strong distinctiveness while also reflecting the local community's identity as a fishing community.

This phenomenon can be traced, at least in part, to the realities that have developed in this region. In terms of timing, while many agrarian areas across Java hold this ritual in the month of Ruwah (Syaban) to welcome the holy month of Ramadan, the fishing community of Bluru Kidul Village instead holds their ritual in the month of Rabiul Awal, coinciding with the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Maulud Nabi) (Waras, 2025).

This uniqueness is inseparable from the significant event that became the origin of Nyadran in Bluru Kidul, as part of a series of local constructions that were formed.

"According to my parents, my father was at that time undertaking a spiritual quest (tirakat), following the guidance of his heart and feet. He eventually found the tomb of the noble lady (Dewi Sekardadu) in Ketingan Village. Originally not knowing, my father received guidance from Allah SWT to walk eastward; his boat then entered a forest—there was nothing and no one there in that year (before 1960). Upon entering the forest, there was, oddly, a mound of earth with no water on it, even though everywhere else was flooded" (Anam, 2025).

In terms of the ritual's purpose, Nyadran in Bluru Kidul is focused on pleading for safety while at sea, in the hope of an abundant catch, particularly of shellfish—a pragmatic reason that reflects the local community's livelihood.

"...according to my father, the way of doing Nyadran was simply to visit the grave, send prayers, and ask for blessings, hoping that work at sea would face no obstacles, and that sustenance would flow abundantly from Allah SWT" (Anam, 2025).

This fact differs from agrarian regions, where gratitude for the harvest is the central and primary purpose.

By comparison, not all Nyadran practices in various regions have undergone a similar shift. In Nganjuk Regency, for instance, the Nyadranan tradition as documented by Wajadi (2017) still preserves a relatively traditional form of Islamic-Javanese acculturation, with a material cultural element in the form of *ambengan* (tumpeng rice with side dishes) brought by residents to the mosque or ancestral graves to be prayed over together before being distributed and eaten communally, without any accompanying modern entertainment or tourism elements such as those beginning to appear in Bluru Kidul. Similarly, Rosydiana's (2017) study on Nyadran acculturation in general affirms that the essence of this ritual in many agrarian regions remains centered on communal feasts or the sharing of traditional food as an expression of gratitude, without a shift in orientation toward tourism commodities. This comparison confirms that the commodification trend beginning to appear in Nyadran Bluru Kidul is not an inevitability for all Nyadran practices in Indonesia, but rather a contextual phenomenon triggered by the specific socio-economic conditions of the coastal community of Bluru Kidul.

Another distinctive feature of Nyadran in Sidoarjo Regency, particularly in Bluru Kidul, is the legend of the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu, located in Kepetingan Hamlet, as a spiritual center. The distinctive stories passed down through generations regarding the origins of the Nyadran ritual constitute both a myth and a historical legacy that lends this ritual its sacredness. Dewi Sekardadu, believed to be a princess of the Kingdom of Blambangan and the mother of Sunan Giri (Joko Samudro), is a sacred figure who serves as a central and revered figure (Nabilah, 2024).

Figure 2 Visiting the Tomb of Dewi Sekardadu



Source: Researcher's Documentation

The Commodification Process of Nyadran Bluru Kidul: An Analysis through Adorno and Horkheimer's Theory

In their monumental essay "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," Adorno and Horkheimer agree that, under late capitalism, culture is no longer an autonomous space for artistic enlightenment or critical thought. Instead, it converges on a single purpose: the culture industry. This theory explicitly argues that the logic of industrial commodity

production has reconstructed the cultural realm into an instrument of mass deception and social control. The consequence of commodification theory, for Adorno and Horkheimer, is the displacement of cultural "autonomy." According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the concept of commodification that arises as an implication of the culture industry involves the production of cultural objects (film, music, art, and tradition) that are mass-produced in inauthentic, standardized, and manipulative forms (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002).

In the context of modern capitalist society, cultural products are highly vulnerable to contamination by market logic. Adorno and Horkheimer's critical theory approach can serve as a reference in analyzing how cultural phenomena, including religious rituals laden with sacred values, are converted into commodities to be bought and sold. Using the concept of commodification within the corridor of the culture industry, this section attempts to analyze the process by which the Nyadran tradition in Bluru Kidul has transformed from a communal ritual full of meaning into a series of cultural tourism attractions.

Data obtained in the field further confirm that the commodification process of the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul can be traced back to when the practice metamorphosed from a simple visit to the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu in Kepetingan Hamlet into Nyadran, in the early 2000s.

"Nyadran itself has actually been around for a long time; in the past it was just a visit to the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu in Ketingan, but the addition of entertainment and so on was around 2003" (Waras, 2025).

The commercialization of Nyadran can be traced back to when the boat procession was first held. On the grounds of increasing its appeal, commodification has also been marked by the inclusion of traditional performing arts such as jaran kepang (horse trance dance) and wayang kulit (shadow puppetry) as supporting elements. The organizers have also rounded out the ritual with a public religious study session (pengajian) as a closing event.

Figure 3 A Wayang Kulit Performance in the Dewi Sekardadu Dock Area



Source: Researcher's Documentation

History records that the ritual visit to the tomb of Dewi Sekardadu was, on several occasions, discontinued — specifically following the events of the September 30th Movement/PKI (G30S/PKI) in 1965.

"...but the grave visit stopped after G30S/PKI...people were afraid, so it was suspended for a while...then it started again; my father visited the grave together with people from around the area, in about three boats. After the older generation passed away, it was eventually replaced by the term Nyadran. It was taken over by the younger generation (in the early 2000s)" (Anam, 2025).

The dynamics of Nyadran in Bluru Kidul underwent quite significant change once the commercialization of the ritual began to provide benefits to small and micro enterprises (UMKM), Sound Horeg operators, and other supporting elements. The tension that has fueled debate over this has been constructed as a consequence of market forces operating under the guise of cultural preservation. Friction has also emerged when other communities have added a food-offering procession (larung saji) to the series of rituals. At this level, a cooperative approach has proven effective in resolving these various issues.

"We try to accept various input...if it's good and it's for the sake of preserving Nyadran...well, we discuss it together, whatever is good [for it]. What matters most is that we stay united and in harmony. These days, after all, it's a modern era," (Waras, 2025).

Viewed through the perspective of Adorno and Horkheimer's theory, the phenomenon of shifting in the Nyadran Bluru Kidul ritual reveals several interesting findings regarding early indications of how the commodification process can be identified, namely:

From Sacred Ritual to Cultural Tourism Attraction

The Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul is, at its core, an organic part of community life that has been carried on across generations. Its historical myth is an expression of gratitude to God Almighty for safety at sea and an abundant catch. In its authentic condition, the sacredness of this ritual lies in its function as a medium for vertical

relation with God and horizontal relation with fellow human beings.

However, over time, a fundamental shift has occurred in the form of commodification, as the ritual has come to be framed as a magnet for local tourism. In this context, the indication that has emerged in Nyadran Bluru Kidul is a conscious awareness and intent to package Nyadran, shifting it from an internal ritual into external consumption—a process that, according to Adorno and Horkheimer, represents a step in taming cultural expression under market forces, where value is no longer expressed through intrinsic meaning, but rather through its appeal and profitability to an external mass audience (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002). The step of turning a ritual into an event is an initial move in the process of commodification (Astari, 2025).

Pseudo-Individuality and Standardization: The Fabrication of Pseudo-Traditional Art

In the framework of presenting an appealing ritual, components that were originally complex and rich in local wisdom are often reformulated into simpler, standardized forms. The orientation has begun to shift toward visually attractive and easily understood elements, such as the inclusion of decorated boat processions and accompanying entertainment like jaran kepang and wayang kulit performances. This reality is in line with the appetite of the culture industry, which actively produces content repetitively with minimal effort (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2025).

Figure 4 The Boat Procession to the Tomb of Dewi Sekardadu



Source :Researcher's Documentation

Debate over the discourse of ritual practices indicated as bordering on shirk has been increasingly set aside, on the grounds of providing an opportunity for cultural immersion that can be universally accessed.

On other occasions, the label of Sidoarjo's unique culture, with all its distinctiveness, at times risks turning Nyadran Bluru Kidul into a pseudo-individual commodity. At first glance it appears appealing, but in principle it merely follows the standard by which a cultural festival is organized, much like similar festival celebrations held in various other places (Sanusi & Sidik, 2022). Its internal logic, once rich in sacred value, has been eroded and replaced by a commodity logic that foregrounds commercial practice—a concept of “pseudo-traditional art” that is nearly perfectly put on display (Irianto, 2016).

Authenticity and the Economic Dilemma: A Point of Intersection

The concept of cultural tourism is, at its core, situated within a recurring normative problem. On the grounds of development and preservation, the Nyadran Bluru Kidul tradition has, ideally, provided economic

benefit to the community, both directly (through boat rentals) and indirectly (in the form of food bazaars/micro enterprises). The problem is that this process in fact threatens the originality and community control of the Bluru Kidul fishing community over their own culture. The domination of market logic, concentrated on economic aspects, has the potential to strip them of their independence in determining the direction in which this tradition is operationalized. It may even become uprooted from its original meaning and tend toward becoming a performance for consumption by an external audience (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2024).

In this context, what is actually being preserved is merely the preservation of the ritual's form, not its substance. It preserves only the shell of Nyadran, while its core is, in fact, hollow. More specifically, Nyadran Bluru Kidul has indeed been saved by being killed and then resurrected in the form of a commodity.

As a social fact, Nyadran Bluru Kidul is, in fact, currently at an early stage of the commodification process. This is reflected in the role of Bluru Kidul fishermen, who remain the primary actors in organizing the ritual. Outside parties remain limited to the role of invited guests, rather than controllers of the ritual. They merely witness the performance but do not govern how the ritual proceeds. This means that use value (sacredness) still sits alongside exchange value (tourism potential), albeit under considerable tension. The question is how much longer exchange value and use value will avoid dominating one another.

The risk of Nyadran's spiritual meaning being eroded looms should

exchange value (economic-tourism potential) ultimately come to fully dominate use value (sacredness). Early signals of this risk can be observed in the shifting orientation of younger generations as discussed in the section on habitus (see the sub-section The Habitus of Bluru Kidul Fishermen), as well as in the normative concern regarding practices indicated as shirk, which are increasingly being set aside for the sake of cultural immersion for tourists. Should this trend continue without a deliberate balancing effort from the community, it is not impossible that Nyadran Bluru Kidul will meet a fate similar to cases of cultural commodification that have already become established elsewhere, where sacred value survives only as a ceremonial shell devoid of any lived spiritual substance.

The Meaning and Impact of Commodification: An Analysis of Bourdieu's Social Practice through Habitus, Capital, and Field in the Nyadran Bluru Kidul Ritual

The concept of social practice is a formulation by the French sociologist whose full name was Pierre Felix Bourdieu. In his view of the creation of culture, Bourdieu holds that every social action simultaneously functions as a structure of action. These two concepts are, in principle, parallel to one another (Harker et al., 1990). A key element of Bourdieu's theory is its focus on the structural aspects of social behavior. This approach is important for helping to bring his theories concerning individuals, or agents, into an integrated framework.

This section reveals how social change related to the meaning and impact of the

commodification of Nyadran in Bluru Kidul has emerged through the dynamics of shifting field, habitus, and capital, as explained by Bourdieu. In this context, the position of Nyadran is not merely that of a static object, but rather a dynamic space in which actors control its meaning and value.

The Habitus of Bluru Kidul Fishermen: A Transformation of Disposition

Habitus is a system of dispositions built from personal and shared historical experience, which functions as a working reference for how we perceive, think, and act (Harker et al., 1990). Habitus also constitutes a system of disposition, or a long-lasting, internalized way of thinking and acting, shaped by an individual's social conditions (Dewojati & Nurtalia, 2023). Habitus tends to be constant yet adaptive, acting as a key element for cohesive and structured social practice. The habitus of Bluru Kidul fishermen is fundamentally shaped by their everyday experience of confronting uncertainty at sea, respect for ancestral tradition, and a worldview that places spiritual and material aspects within an interconnected circle (Winisudo & Fauzi, 2021).

The habitus of Bluru Kidul's fishing community during the pre-commodification phase is manifested through various actions such as pleading for safety, or communal feasts (*kenduri*). Such activities were not a choice that had to be rationally calculated each time the ritual was held, but rather a customary practice that felt natural, ordinary, and already a matter of necessity.

In the following phase, the introduction of market logic into the field of Nyadran has implications for the reformation of the

conditions that create a different habitus, particularly among the younger generation, who have become commodified. The resulting impact is the emergence of a new habitus among Bluru Kidul's fishing community, one that may differ from that of their parents. Contextually, the participation of younger people in the ritual also triggers different practices. It is no longer merely about maintaining piety, but rather about orientation toward economic profit and projection for consumption by an external audience. This fact can be seen in the declining numbers from year to year, such that strategic efforts are needed to once again increase the involvement of younger generations in preservation (Waras, 2025).

The transformation of habitus from the older generation—formed within the pre-commodification space—to the younger generation, born into a situation of market economics and external audiences, can lead to a misalignment of habitus. As a result, the elders (*orang tua*) of Nyadran Bluru Kidul may feel that their habitus is no longer aligned with the new habitus that has emerged. They will indeed continue to act according to the old logic, which is focused on sacredness, amid this new habitus. However, this situation can in fact trigger feelings of alienation, or a sense that the true (sacred) meaning has been lost, even as they (the elders) remain an important organ in carrying out the ritual.

"Cak Irsyad and I did indeed resign three years ago; there was nothing wrong... it just wasn't quite right anymore... the children weren't very grateful, and I felt I was already old and tired, so it was time to hand it over to the younger ones" (Anam, 2025).

It should be emphasized that this resignation by the elders is not merely a subtle shift or a normal generational handover, but rather constitutes a form of silent conflict between generations—a genuine tension that is not expressed openly or confrontationally, but instead through a quiet withdrawal from ritual involvement. The expressions “no longer quite right” and “the children are not very grateful” indicate feelings of disappointment and alienation experienced by the elders in response to the shifting orientation of the ritual, even as they continue to respect the continuity of Nyadran as an institution.

On another occasion, the younger generation formed within this new space produced by commodification occupies a different disposition altogether, namely one that adopts the market economy. This is a social reality with the potential to create intergenerational tension over the true purpose and meaning of Nyadran.

Capital Accumulation and Conversion

In Bourdieu's study, capital refers to the concentration of a particular power that operates within a field, requiring individuals to possess specific forms of capital in order to survive and thrive within it. According to Bourdieu, there are four types of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Each type of capital is a source of influence on social conflict across various domains (Historia, 2025).

The Nyadran Bluru Kidul ritual is an important event that serves as a form of accumulation, exchange, and conversion of various forms of capital. Nyadran's symbolic capital lies in the sacred historical

myth of Dewi Sekardadu, which is exalted as a valuable form of capital within the commodification process. The pattern at work is the conversion of symbolic capital into economic capital. The entity of Nyadran, imaged extensively by various parties—including the local government—serves as a symbol of strategic investment that validates its transformation into a source of economic gain. Forms of economic capital can be seen through boat rentals as well as the bazaar stalls present during the event.

Figure 5 The UMKM Bazaar in the Dewi Sekardadu Dock Area



Source :Researcher's Documentation

The spirit of mutual cooperation (gotong royong) and helping one another in preparing the ritual from beginning to end is, at its core, a process of investing in and producing social capital that further strengthens the network of trust and solidarity within the collective life of the Bluru Kidul community. On the other hand, once commodification begins to take hold, its potential to reconstruct social relations around economic competition tends to become more dominant than communal obligation. Although framed as an effort at cultural preservation, government investment involvement can be interpreted

as an act of symbolic violence (Putri, 2020).

Bourdieu holds that symbolic violence is a form of non-physical violence in which a dominant group seeks to impose its values, meanings, and ways of thinking upon a non-dominant group (Fatmawati & Sholikin, 2020). Such indications often go unnoticed, being regarded as something “normal” and “natural.” Sacred meaning is not, in fact, erased, but rather comes to exist under the shadow of economic interest. This constitutes a subtle form of symbolic coercion that operates in the name of culture and consent.

The Field of Nyadran

In Bourdieu's view, the field resembles a free market, a space in which various types of capital—economic, cultural, symbolic, and social—are used and traded. As a force of relations within the space of social practice, the field is an arena for managing dominant positions in the control of resources (capital), which is also at stake within that field. These sources of capital concern social capital, economic capital, symbolic capital, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990).

The Nyadran Bluru Kidul ritual was originally a social field in which various holders of capital, with differing interests, competed and interacted to subjectively produce meaning within the ritual practice. The primary actors within this field include: 1) elders/customary leaders, as holders of authority over the symbols inherited as tradition and culture (knowledge of tradition and spiritual legitimacy); and 2) religious leaders (kyai or ustadz), who have an interest in maintaining the purity of the ritual so that it remains within the

normative bounds of Islamic teaching. The practical procedures of the ritual are controlled by religious and ancestral custom, and tend to be independent, governed by sacred logic and collective (communal) values.

As commodification began to target this practice, Nyadran Bluru Kidul in fact provided something of a stage for new actors to enter the field. Local government (the Tourism Office, the regional head), political figures, and the media all essentially have an interest in establishing new rules to redefine Nyadran according to their own wishes. They bring differing forms of capital and seek to impose new rules oriented toward market logic, efficiency, and bureaucracy (Rizal, Pebrianggara, & Ardiansyah, 2021).

Is Nyadran truly merely a sacred ritual, or is it in fact a field for the development of economic opportunity? Tracing the phenomenon in the field, Nyadran Bluru Kidul is indeed a ritual that still holds sacred value, yet that sacredness has begun to be reduced by economic-political interests, through the provision of space to political actors, entertainment performances, and the popular market in the form of a bazaar.

Figure 6 A Political Party Flag within the Nyadran Field



Source :Researcher's Documentation

The Nyadran Bluru Kidul Ritual: Between Commodification and a Medium of Identity Construction

Social construction occurs through a process that unfolds simultaneously and continuously as a result of human interaction as organisms. From the interaction between humans and their surrounding environment, a dialectical process unfolds that then creates human consciousness. It is the combination of consciousness and everyday interaction that determines how the construction of reality occurs within that society. The simultaneous process referred to by Berger & Luckmann consists of externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

Externalization: Fishermen's Experience as the Root of Ritual Creation and the Repackaging of Nyadran as a New Identity

Externalization is the process by which an individual or group expresses their inner content, ideas, values, and actions to the outside world through physical or symbolic activity. In a cultural context, externalization occurs when values, norms, rituals, and cultural practices are embodied in concrete forms such as customary ceremonies, language, art, or social rules (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

The origin of Nyadran was, at first, an act of externalization arising from the collective experience of Bluru Kidul's fishing community. The uncertainty inherent to life at sea (sometimes an abundant catch, sometimes lurking danger) drove them to seek a solution in the form of ritual, as a way of assigning meaning, placing their hopes,

and negotiating with the great forces around them. It could be said that Nyadran is their inner expression of gratitude, anxiety, and the need for safety in relation to the outside world (Faikhatin, 2014). In simple terms, the concrete form of externalization in Bluru Kidul can be seen through the series of ritual acts such as communal prayer, preparing offerings, and visiting the graves of ancestors, both at the tomb of Mbah Kedondong and Mbah Langgar.

Figure 7 Visiting the Tomb of Mbah Kedondong



Source: <http://digilib.uinsa.ac.id/316/6/Bab%203.pdf> <http://digilib.uinsa.ac.id/316/6/Bab%203.pdf>

Externalization within the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul can also be traced through the repackaging of Nyadran, which incorporates entertainment elements as a supporting element within the frame of a cultural spectacle (commodification). This practice is an entity deliberately projected simultaneously as a new identity that is both locally traditional in value (to attract tourists) and progressive (to participate in the market economy)—a new social product phenomenon that is consciously constructed as a self-presentation (Walid, 2024), in which the Bluru Kidul fishing community actively expresses this new social reality through various modifications of ritual action.

Objectivation: Nyadran as an Established Institution

Objectivation is the process by which the results of human expression come to appear as something that stands on its own and is objective, independent of the individual who created it. In the cultural realm, objectivation means that values, norms, and cultural practices become part of a social reality that is regarded as real and binding by members of society (Husni & Putranto, 2022).

The process of objectivation flows in tandem with the transmission of this ritual from generation to generation. Its existence is no longer captured as a matter of spontaneity, but has become an established entity as well as a social reality that has come to be firmly embedded in the minds of communities beyond Bluru Kidul.

This process of objectivation is reinforced through several mechanisms. First, institutionalization: the existence of clear and definite norms, rules, and roles in the organization of the ritual in Bluru Kidul—such as the requirement of an elder to lead the ritual, a procession that begins from the Dewi Sekardadu dock, the presence of offerings, and the formation of an organizing committee that coordinates with relevant officials, as well as economic activities such as the bazaar—justifies Nyadran as an established tradition functioning as a social institution. Institutionalization is the process by which patterns of behavior and practice are formed and consistently repeated, subsequently becoming “a way of doing things” as an unwritten rule that is collectively accepted within a society (Berger, 1996).

Second, habitualization and typification: repeated observance within a predetermined span of time, namely in the month of Rabiul Awal (Maulid), makes Nyadran Bluru Kidul a measured, patterned routine. Third, legitimation: the solidity of Nyadran as an objective reality is grounded in the various forms of legitimation that accompany it, whether related to the mythological aspect of Dewi Sekardadu as a historical root, or theological legitimation through the framing pattern of the ritual as an expression of gratitude to God.

Internalization: Becoming a Fisherman as a Negotiated Outcome of Reality

In the cultural realm, internalization occurs when members of society accept and make values, norms, and cultural practices part of their everyday outlook, attitudes, and behavior. Internalization is the moment when objectivated reality is once again absorbed into individual consciousness, forming an understanding of the world (Palar & Janis, 2024).

Without realizing it, the active participation of the new generation of Bluru Kidul's fishing community in Nyadran activities from an early age has internalized this objectivated reality. They do not merely learn about tradition, but also come to understand their own existence as part of the Bluru Kidul fishing community. This includes the moment when the young people of Bluru Kidul must accept the reality of a commodified Nyadran—a social fact that positions Nyadran as a commodity, a source of income, and a tourist object. As a result, their identity as part of the Bluru Kidul community is confirmed to exist within a space where commercialization

and sacredness must remain intertwined. The religious-traditional values they internalize are thus not purely as they were in origin, but rather the result of a combination of religiosity, economic pragmatism, and communal obligation.

The shift in reality from sacred matters toward an economically functional reality occurring within Nyadran Bluru Kidul has, in turn, fostered the potential for delegitimation. Yet, for Berger and Luckmann, social order or social construction fundamentally requires legitimation—namely, a justifying explanation for why things are the way they are.

The original legitimation of Nyadran Bluru Kidul lies in the sacred myth of Dewi Sekardadu. Meanwhile, the legitimation of the commodified Nyadran is built upon a pragmatic narrative in the name of cultural preservation, economic improvement, and regional image. When these two levels of legitimation intersect, that is where crisis emerges. It is therefore important for the Bluru Kidul community to create peaceable narratives that ease the tension between these contradictory realities.

Accordingly, Bluru Kidul's cultural identity, within the context of the process of social construction, is not a stagnant entity (either permanently preserved or destined to vanish), but rather a dynamic tradition that is continuously subject to negotiation. Referring to Berger and Luckmann's view, the point of convergence that can be put forward is that identity is a process, not a thing. The commodified Nyadran Bluru Kidul ritual is thus an arena—a space where a new identity is built and externalized (performed).

The new identity that has been created is the result of negotiation between a historical understanding rich in sacredness and the external demands of the tourism market. The Bluru Kidul community is not a group of victims of commodification, but rather an active community that constructs its new identity through compromise between tradition and market demands.

CONCLUSION

One form of cultural object that has undergone commodification, while simultaneously making the ritual a medium of identity construction, is the Nyadran ritual in Bluru Kidul Village, Sidoarjo Regency. In line with the research problems set out above, the following conclusions were drawn based on the analysis of data obtained in the field.

First, from the perspective of Adorno and Horkheimer's theory, there are three important findings related to the commodification process, namely: 1) the transformation of Nyadran from a sacred (authentic) ritual into a cultural tourism attraction, grounded in a conscious awareness and intent to package Nyadran, shifting it from an internal ritual into external consumption; 2) the existence of pseudo-individuality commodities and the standardization of the ritual through the fabrication of Nyadran as pseudo-traditional art; and 3) an intersection between maintaining authenticity, on the one hand, while on the other hand being subject to the control of market forces in order for the ritual to remain sustainable.

Second, the analysis of Bourdieu's social practice regarding habitus, capital, and field in the Nyadran Bluru Kidul ritual,

in relation to the meaning and impact of commodification, can be concluded as follows: 1) the form of habitus during the pre-commodification phase of the Bluru Kidul community was carried out through prayers for safety, or communal feasts. In the following phase, the introduction of market logic into the commodified field of Nyadran had implications for the formation of a different habitus from before; 2) capital accumulation and conversion occurred, in which, once commodification began to take hold, its potential to reconstruct social relations around economic competition tended to become more dominant than communal obligation; and 3) the commodification of Nyadran Bluru Kidul has, to a considerable extent, provided a stage for new actors to enter the field. These actors essentially have an interest in establishing new rules to redefine Nyadran according to their own wishes.

Third, the relationship between commodification and the medium of identity construction in Bluru Kidul, viewed from the perspective of Berger and Luckmann, indicates that: 1) the origin of externalization among Bluru Kidul's fishing community stems from the community's collective experience regarding the uncertain reality of the sea catch, which drove them to seek a solution in the form of ritual; once commodification took hold, the form of externalization shifted through the repackaging of Nyadran, incorporating entertainment elements as a supporting element of the ritual within the frame of a cultural spectacle; 2) the process of objectivation took place through: the institutionalization of Nyadran as an established tradition

(the presence of clear and definite norms, rules, and roles in organizing the ritual), habitualization and typification (repeated observance within a predetermined span of time, namely in the month of Rabiul Awal/Maulid), and legitimation (Nyadran as an objective reality through the mythological legitimation of Dewi Sekardadu and theological legitimation as an expression of gratitude to God); and 3) internalization, meanwhile, is carried out in the form of becoming a Bluru Kidul fisherman, as the result of a negotiation over various realities, namely the shift in reality from sacred matters toward an economically functional reality.

Accordingly, Bluru Kidul's cultural identity, within the context of the process of social construction, is not a stagnant entity (either permanently preserved or destined to vanish), but rather a dynamic tradition that is continuously subject to negotiation. Commodification has, without being fully realized, given rise to a new identity resulting from the negotiation between a historical understanding rich in sacredness and the external demands of the tourism market.

Future researchers are encouraged to employ similar studies to portray different cultures found in various locations through comparative studies, so that other phenomena from the traditions under study can be uncovered.

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