

Social Practices of The Warok In Bhuwuhan Tradition in Taropan Community

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Abstract

Every celebration (hajatan) is related to the contribution custom or bhuwuh, especially the tradition in society of Taropan community in conducting routine Bhuwuhan. Bhuwuhan tradition is based on the Adep Asor value which is an attitude to honor the older relatives and the elder figures (Warok) during celebration. There is an agreement in Taropan community that is built by the Warok and the members to contribute and return the bhuwuhan during the celebration. This tradition is much conducted by the society in Pesawahan, Pedagangan and Tegalwatu villages. Therefore, the objectives of this research are to explain the routine bhuwuhan process that can be a tradition in Taropan community and analyze the social practices of Warok through the capital power-owned in order to preserve the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community. The research uses qualitative method by using case study approach through observation, interview and documentation. The research uses social practice theory of Pierre Bourdieu with structure analysis and agent through habitus discourse, arena and capital as the capacity of the actors. This custom is based on a strong kinship system and adep asor value between the members and the Warok by contributing and returning more bhuwuhan which are as a binder (investment) to make the kinship keep preserved. Moreover, social practices of the Warok to the members through the cultural, economic, social and symbolic capitals are determining the dominant position of the Warok in preserving the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community.

Keywords: Bhuwuhan, Celebration, Warok, Capital (Social, Cultural, Economic, Symbolic)

INTRODUCTION*

A. BACKGROUND

The contribution tradition, bhuwuh during the celebration has become a common thing to do, especially for those who are invited such as family, neighbors, or other relatives. The bhuwuh tradition is an act of mutual contribution in the form of money or goods when invited to a celebration [1]. The mutual contribution 'bhuwuh' between the societies is an attitude of mutual helping that is deliberately shown as solidarity between the society which is being conducted as in customary. The bhuwuh tradition had been existing in Javanese culture and its implementation is always related to the kondangan (celebration) tradition

According to Geertz [1], kondangan in Javanese culture called as duwe gawe means "having a celebration event" which is defined as the "mutual helping during the celebration" in which interprets the meaning of "harmony" life in every Javanese tradition. Moreover, the meaning of duwe gawe for the Javanese society

is as gratitude and joyful that is intentionally demonstrated in celebrating the celebration moment.

In its implementation, the custom of contributing the bhuwuh is often conducted at the time of the wedding celebration, circumcision, as well as any other selamat (thankful) celebrations by the local community. According to [1] It is still conducted until nowadays because it has been adhered as the customary in its society. Nowadays, instead of the bhuwuh custom, especially for the society in village is still found a rewang (mutual said) custom between the families and neighbors to prepare the celebration.

The aims of enliven the celebration are actually as a way of gratitude and a way of making gathering and relationship between the citizens. Moreover, it also indicates a certain social status for someone who is able to hold a celebration with a festive celebration. To celebrate the celebration, it is indeed considered lots of money, so that sometimes the celebration organizers are really helped by the bhuwuh contribution from the invited guests in the celebration. Thus, the bhuwuh contribution sometimes is also expected by the celebration organizers to offset the expansive cost of the

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celebration, especially for the society living in the village.

Therefore, the contribution tradition nowadays has turned into social investment movement based on the mutual kinship and the mutual helping in celebrating each celebration. Moreover, this contribution investment movement is mostly done by middle class society so that it eventually brings to the mutual relation in both the parties. The mutual relation is in a form of expectation which is it will be repaid by similar donations one day. Now, the bhuwuh tradition culturally has shifted into an obligation between the donor and the donee of bhuwuh. According to Coleman that there is an obligation socially deliberately constructed from the relations of both parties whose goal is equally mutual [2]. One of the contribution tradition investments through contributing and returning system is in this study occurred in bhuwuhan tradition of society in some villages in Tiris sub-district, Probolinggo Regency.

In this research, even though the contribution investment which is conducted by the society in three villages namely: Pesawahan, Tegalwatu, and Pedagangan, which in its implementation of giving and returning donation activities is deliberately preserved by the elder figures whose had been performing the bhuwuhan tradition. In addition, when performing the bhuwuhan tradition, the society in the three villages have a strong kinship from generation to generation.

For the local society, this tradition known as bhuwuhan tradition or, if using Maduranese language called as bhubu'an. Bhubu'an is a local language in Madura language, or "Bhubu" which means bhuwuhan or "bhuwuh" that is the return and contribute in the form of money or goods to provide additional of Bhubu'an.

For the society of Tiris sub-district which is celebrating the bhuwuhan tradition joined in the community is called "Taropan" in the village. The bhuwuhan tradition is deliberately perpetuated by the elder figures and the elder council and it is being rejuvenated in celebrating each celebration because it is previously conducted within the family scope only.

For the local society, the elder figures are called as Warok. Warok is the term given to an elder/ elder council of village who are being honored, veteran, respected, and experienced in this tradition. These figures are known as the senior and veteran and are considered having a dominant roles in preserving the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community. These figures

consist of some persons in every village that have longer experience involved in bhuwuhan tradition and they are also the membership of the community.

Some of elder figures, Warok which are representative of each village of Pedagangan, Pesawahan, and Tegalwatu also have a strong social network relation to the society in some other villages, especially those members who participated in the bhuwuhan tradition. The Warok roles are as the leaders and act as chairman and deputy in charge of each village, as bhuwuhan books' clerk as well as the master of ceremonies (MC) in each celebration.

The Warok are also called as the elders in Taropan community, it is because the members think that the term of Warok are directed to the persons who are considered as being the elder (senior), and have a lot of experience, financially capable and have influential ability in the Taropan community. Therefore, the Warok who have these capabilities are able to perpetuate the bhuwuhan tradition. Moreover, the strong social networks between the warok and the members such as kinship, communality and unity during celebrating the celebration moment are media of the Warok in preserving the bhuwuhan tradition.

In addition, the Warok also inculcate the *adep asor* value that is an attitude of honoring leaders (senior) and is being admired because of the owned social status. The *adep asor* value becomes a media of the Warok to strengthen bhuwuhan tradition because this value is shown as a way to gain the more bhuwuhan than in the previous contribution bhuwuhan which is as an attitude of honoring to the senior elder figures in the community. Conversely, the Warok are responsible for returning the received bhuwuhan from the members. It is being conducted as the binder between the figures Warok and the other members. Finally, the bhuwuhan in Taropan community is not just a contribution tradition, but it transforms its motives into social investment practices of the Warok.

The *Terop* term in this community has meaning as the canvas shelter (tent) which is used as the invited guests place during the celebration. According to the Warok, initially a *terop* is only conducted by a family in an ancestral generation, such as a family reunion celebration. The family reunion celebration is only held for a certain times, such as during the Eid day. The *Terop* family celebration is also conducted the bhuwuhan which is only for the

relatives by applying the system that the younger brothers provide the additional returns than the given bhuwuhan at first and vice versa the elder brother will do the same thing to the younger ones. It is being conducted in order to keep kinship system in long-term relationship.

Therefore, upon the basis of family kinship relation based on the *adep asor* value, it eventually becomes the pioneer of Taropan community establishment. This Taropan community establishment can not be separated from the predecessors that the elders who became an elder or someone who is being appointed as the elder in the family. The bhuwuhan tradition is deliberately brought by the Warok which aims not only perpetuated in a family scope, but nowadays it is being conducted in every local resident's celebration in the three villages in Tiris sub-district.

There's no guarantee for members of the when contributing the bhuwuhan that is only based on kinship relation and trust makes this tradition persists and vulnerable to be abused. Moreover, when one of the parties feels aggrieved so that there is the absence of proof formality for members to claim compensation of the numbers of bhuwuhan that has not been returned yet. In addition, there are the amount of dependency to return the number of bhuwuhan at once, so that many of the members are willing to pay off the debt for the sake of the bhuwuhan returns. Similarly, social sanctions must be arbitrated by the members, that is moral burden if they do not return the number of bhuwuhan in the community such as reticent, decorousness and shame (*Pakewuh*, *Sungkan*, and *Isin*). In Javanese language, *Pakewuh*, *Sungkan*, and *Isin* mean having reticent/decorousness and shame that should be addressed to the people if they do not conduct tradition (costumary) in the community.

Therefore, the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community persists, not only because the traditional structures such as the kinship value and *adep asor* value between members make this tradition become stronger. However, the involvement of the elder is the most dominant in the community. These figures are the warok which are indeed have economic capacity, cultural, social and qualified symbolic capitals in order to preserve the tradition.

Therefore, to analyze this reality is by using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practices (1889), by emphasizing modality as a resource or potential within the individual to develop

themselves (*habitus*) of the ownership which is interchangeable with other materials and durable [3]. Therefore, this modality is as media for the Warok to preserve the bhuwuhan tradition.

B. PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

1. Why does the routine bhuwuhan can be a tradition in the Taropan community in Tiris sub-district, Probolinggo Regency?
2. How do the social practices of the Warok through the owned capital power to preserve the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community in Tiris sub-district, Probolinggo Regency?

C. RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this research is qualitative. The qualitative research is an effort to present the social world and perspectives apply in the world, in terms of concepts, behaviors, perceptions, and problems in the community that being researched. Afterward, by using the qualitative methods, researchers can articulate social phenomena in certain situations from the perspective that being researched, and then conducted in reasonable situation (natural) or natural setting [4]. The reason why the researcher used qualitative research because it could be analyzed in he phenomena comprehensively and deeply that being researched, especially in this research which is focusing in cultural structure that had been '*ajeg*' (steady) in the society. Therefore, by using qualitative method, it was aimed to determine naturalism that is analyzing the Social Practice of the Warok in Bhuwuhan Tradition in Taropan Community in Tiris Subdistrict, Probolinggo Regency.

The approach used is a case study approach. A case study approach is the study of empirical inquiry that investigates the reality in the context of real life, where the boundaries between the phenomena and the context do not seem decisive, and where multi source utilized. In a case study approach may be preferable to keep track of contemporary events. It is when the concerned events can not be manipulated. It is therefore the unique strengths of the case study are its ability to engage fully with the various types of evidence. Choosing this approach was based on the phenomena that are being the research focus namely "The routines bhuwuhan can be a tradition associated with the structures

that bind that is the kinship relation and Adep Asor value". In addition, the research focus is also the effort of the social practices of the Warok to the members to preserve the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community through the ability of potential modalities possessed by each Warok. Thus, the researcher analyzed the ability of the warok domination in preserving the position or status quo as the elders to preserve the bhuwuhan tradition in the Taropan community for the society in Tiris subdistrict, Probolinggo Regency.

The informant determination was conducted through purposive technique. Purposive technique is how to choose informants based on the group, region or group of individuals with a certain considerations which are being believed that they are represented all existed analysis units. The determination of a certain group or region made after researcher conducted the observation or exploratory research location. Using the informant technically purposive determination was the best technique that suited with the needs of the researcher where the researcher required informants who really knew the activity of implementation of bhuwuhan tradition that has conducted continuously for a long time. In this case, the informant was seen as the direct role with the informant criteria as follows: (1) The informant is the Warok in the Taropan community that also serves as the coordinator's bhuwuhan in each village (2) The informant is a member of Taropan who knows the role of the Warok in Taropan community.

Afterward, in this research the data collection techniques used were the direct observation, interviews, and documentation. After the data had been collected in the field then researcher conducted a data analysis by using data analysis techniques, especially in the case study approach. The data analysis technique in case study was that the dominant analysis including pairing pattern, explanation and time-series. The pairing pattern for the case study analysis that is logic to compare the pattern based on the empirical with the predicted pattern or with some alternative predictions. Based on the theory used in this research, the pattern would be conducted was a comparison pattern in the field with the theory advanced by Pierre Bourdieu on the theory of social practices.

Furthermore, to make explanation concerning a case that became the research focus. The aim of the analysis is to analyze the explanatory case study data by making an explanation about the

concerned case. The elements in the explanation analysis that is explaining a phenomenon based on establishing a series of reciprocal of the phenomenon and making of explanation that is often done in the form of a narrative. According to [5] A Final explanation of a case study is a series of repetitions as follows: (1) Make a pre-theoretical statement, (2) Compare the preliminary case of findings, (3) Correct the statement or proposition (4) Compare the details of other cases, (5) Re-correct the statement or proposition (6) Repeating this process as much as needed [5].

Making the explanation gradually is equal to the repair process of a series of ideas, where the important aspect to be considered, however, is the recognized explanation or counterpart [10]. The special data analysis was conducted by comparing the pattern of pairing method that is the theoretical proposition and the data obtained in the study. In this special analysis case, the theoretical proposition is probably not similar with the factual condition in the field so that there will be re-corrected the proposition to generate the new proposition [10]. Furthermore, the validity of the data in this study is done by triangulation of data sources, so that the researcher re-check the obtained data from interview results or documents and compares the results of data analysis to the real condition in the field by considering the primer and secondary data which are interview results, observations, and documentations. Thus, the results of data analysis had trust degree on the information obtained during the research investigation.

D. REVIEW RELATED LITERATURE

Dialectically, a habitus is a product of internalization of the subject in its social world structure [6]. Basically, the habitus as the structure of common sense seeks to reflect the structure objectively. The habitus product of each individual is different from one to another depending on his/her social environment residences. Afterward, the actor is equipped by a series of schematic knowledge which is being internalized cognitively and then to perceive, understand, apply, and evaluate the social environment where the individual lived. Through this knowledge scheme, the individual generates the practice to appreciate the obtained knowledge which is applied into actions.

There is a reciprocal relationship that occurs between actor and structure, however, in its implementation but the actor is unconsciously in doing the implementation process. According to [6] to actor objectively is not always bound by the structure, because the structure is still in the actor's thought process that can be changed and reproduced the new structure in the form of habitus. The habitus is a habit that can affect the style of an actor in the act, speak, the way she/he interacts, and act to his/her the social environment [7]. In its practice, habitus is a history that turns into a thing that seems natural and candid.

Furthermore, according [5] also describes in social practice, the need for modality as a base and media of actor that can be exchanged to get a certain position or desired position in his/her social arena. According to [8] the most strategic modalities consist of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals. Bourdieu adds that those four modalities are able to represent an actor can have the legitimacy to existed structure in the society. Moreover, according to [8] modality is a structure that is able to explain the power relations between the actors. Thus, the real modality concept is a theory that explains the skill and strategy of the actor in the social battle-field arena.

In this research, the phenomenon of Social Practice of the Warok in efforts to preserve bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community, by using the modality as the strategy to occupy a certain positions as the elders in the bhuwuhan tradition. The modality is a representation of potential resource associated with the ownership of knowledge and long-term social network. So that, the more number of modalities possessed, the greater social connection as mobilization of an actor[8]. According to [5] Meanwhile the arena (field) is a social space in which there is hierarchy structure within i.e. customs, values, and norms that have been unconsciously binding and setting the position of an individual to dominate the arena.

E. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

a. Bhuwuhan as Routine Activity of Society in Tiris Sub-district

The local society in Tiris sub-district, Probolinggo Regency calls contribution tradition as bhubu'an or bhubu that is the mutual contributing and returning the donation in the form of money or goods when being invited to a celebration. For the society the bhubu'an

tradition term initially is only conducted during the celebration in nuclear family in an ancestral generation. There is a custom of family member during celebration; one of them is the olders of family member who are respected will usually receive a number of bhubu'an more than younger brothers. The amount of bhubu'an will get additional value greater than the number Bhubu'an ever previously donated to the younger brothers. The implementation of this bhubu'an tradition does not always have to wait for the older family members to hold a celebration first. In its implementation, it can be occurred that the younger brothers hold celebration first and the other older brothers will contribute as they desired. So that, when the other brothers are holding a celebration, the bhubu'an then carried out as an act of returning the bhubu'an as in first time. When the younger brothers have held a celebration and received bhubu'an, therefore, at least returning more the numbers of bhubu'an than as the received previously. It is being conducted as the kinship relation binding between the family members.

Society believe that bhuwuhan tradition in the family is an effort to establish kinship relation and preserve the traditional values such as *adep asor* that is the attitude of honoring the older brothers which is based on, if they do not celebrate this tradition, they will be reticent, decorousness and shame or in Javanese language called as *pakewuh*, *sungkan*, and *isin*, respectively were kept in the family.

According to [9] says that the tradition is a practice that had been existed for a long time and inherited from generation to generation through a system of values, norms, and customs that are believed together so that it becomes part of the life of a community. In traditional society, one of the things being existed is local traditions in a family that is believed collectively. In this case, the bhuwuhan tradition dominantly inherited with the family relation is *adep asor* value which is, a way of honoring the older people or the people being honored in the family. In addition, there is an emotional kinship that naturally arises between the brothers in a family, therefore the society think that is a customary.

It is therefore, some local public figures, especially elders, the bhuwuhan tradition initially is as a family tradition, and now it is being deliberately rejuvenated as a custom in every "contribution" celebration. The elders think that contributing and returning the bhuwuhan

becomes an offer of mutual relations between the both two parties to help each other in order to keep long-term relationship that has being existed. The elders or known also as elders council in this tradition which are trying to keep this tradition preserve up to nowadays. They are known as the Warok which are not only as someone who are elder (senior) in this tradition but also represented how wide the social relation network that they have and how strong their social position in society.

b. Bhuwuhan as a Tradition in Taropan Community

The roles of Warok to preserve the bhuwuhan to be a tradition in Taropan community, it is indeed associated with the previous habitus that this tradition is conducted from generation to generation in internal family only. However, now the habit of contribution bhuwuhan ultimately perpetuated by Warok or the elders which is not only conducted within in internal family but also intentionally conducted the celebration for the public. The Warok perpetuate the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community by constructing a kinship system or in Maduranese language it is known as the close relatives (tretan semak) and distant relatives (tretan jeuh). The Warok are considered that the members are close relatives (tretan semak), meaning that they are brotherhood in the family nucleus, meanwhile the distant relatives/brotherhood relations (tretan jeuh) means/meaning close relatives within the nucleus family and other close relatives with good relations but know each other or working partner so that the kinship is still being persisted. The kinship system based on the mutual trust basis from the personage of the Warok which they are deemed having qualified experience in conducting or participating in the bhuwuhan tradition, being the elders as the most seniors, have wide relation with the members of the woven kinship system, social status and have balance financial ability. Those are actually the reason why bhuwuhan until now can remain steady become a tradition in Taropan community. Thus, the routine bhuwuhan can be a tradition in Taropan community because the kinship system and brotherhood are kept preserve by the elders, as village elders council that is the Warok, even though the members are not belong to the Warok's family.

The implementation of bhuwuhan in Taropan community is little bit different, where there are

two ways bhuwuhan, namely: the bhuwuhan lama (the old bhuwuhan) and bhuwuhan baru (the new bhuwuhan). Both the bhuwuhans are mutually bonded to one another and given concomitantly when being invited in the celebration. The Warok interpret that the old bhuwuhan is the donations that have been accepted and must be returned in accordance with the accepted previously, while the new bhuwuhan is an additional contribution in accordance based on the willingness of the members which is based 'Investment Motive' that delivers to the Warok who considered as the elders (senior) through kinship relation values. It is therefore become the habitus. According [5] habitus is a custom or habit or habitual that can affect the personality or style of an agent (individual) in behave his/her social environment. This habitual is built due to individual's personal experience collectively and becomes a product of history that seems natural and as it is/candid. So their in the bhuwuhan tradition in Taropan community. The members believed that there is a habitus genetically occur in this community, which is used to provide additional bhuwuhan to the Warok though they are not belonging to as internal family rather than it is bound of kinship values in the community, it is known as tretan (brother) and adept asor in conducting the bhuwuhan tradition.

The mechanism of Bhuwuhan implementation in Taropan community, moreover, if for example, there are number of participant; there is recording system conducted by the Warok on behalf of the committee, as the clerk in bhuwuhan book of celebration organizer. The book, then by the clerk will be recapitulated and aggregated in accordance with the handbook of the bhuwuhan celebration organizer. This handbook is a book that is owned by every warok and members containing the previous records to whom the contribution have contributed and returned the additional bhuwuhan. This handbook is to be a source of information that to whom the invitation should be addressed when there will be the celebration later on. In addition, for the Warok this handbook is as an investment book which means that it can figure out how much money has been invested by Warok to each member with the capital strength of kinship and mutual trust that has been woven previously. According to [7] the tradition that is based on elements of kinship, especially the bhuwuhan in Javanese tradition, there is deliberate exchange that is reciprocal

relationship where the provision contribution is not only given voluntarily and spontaneously from one party to another, but in the end there is an obligation to return it in the future.

c. The Social Practice of Warok Preserving Bhuwuhan Tradition In Taropan Community.

There is a deliberate strategy played by the Warok in Taropan community arena so that there is competition unwittingly between the players to win the game, therefore the use of the modality strategy is much needed. This strategy is necessary to strengthen the position of the Warok in an effort to preserve the bhuwuhan tradition and some of the warok are trying to change the strength of capital owned by every member associated with the hierarchy power. According to [6] Strategies used by actors depend on the number of modalities that are owned and capital structure in its position in the social space. If the Warok are in a dominant position, the strategy is directed at trying to retain the status quo as the elders by calling the Warok in an effort to preserve the traditions of the community bhuwuhan Taropan.

Even though it is basically leading to an action, the Warok strategy is not merely the result of a conscious plan or mechanically formed. The modality strategy owned by the Warok in strengthen their position in the community is in the form of knowledge or ability inherited from the family (cultural capital); some of them are in art entertainment during the celebration and writing skill in creating note in the bhuwuhan book. In addition, the social network that is being built between the Warok and members (social capital) is as a resource of bargaining position and is useful in determining the social position of a Warok. Furthermore, the material resources (economic capital) in the form of financial capacity owned by the Warok for bhuwuhan can freely give it to every member when there are several celebration taking place at once. Afterward, social recognition in the form of legitimacy and homage to the Warok by the members is as the symbolic capital which becomes externalization product of the Warok on their social world in the routine in conducting the bhuwuhan tradition in space and time in the Taropan community.

Each modality owned by the Warok in Taropan community, of course, also is associated with the background of self habitus or (hexis) on the subjective side of the background of the Warok and other members to participate in the

bhuwuhan tradition. One of habitus (hexis) is physical which is bound in actor himself when related to the gesture, character, personality, which being internalized throughout his life [6]. Physical Hexis is associated with personality such as diligent, tenacious, agile, generous and sociable. The Hexis of a Warok could be existed in themselves because they have the ability/skill biologically inherited with a family of educated, skillful and tenacious in entrepreneurship in agriculture, trade, and sociable and socialize to their social environment. Similarly, the other members become strategy factor also factored into the strategy of the membership participated in Taropan community.

Capital is not only acknowledged as the formal economy concept. According to [9] the capital is conceptualized as a resource that could be at stake as a means to act in the in overtaking the position of power in an arena. The capital is used to mapping the power relation in society [6] In this research case, the power relation occurring in bhuwuhan tradition as local cultural tradition in Taropan community is the most dominant of Warok's involvement and recognition symbolically as a senior effort to preserve the bhuwuhan tradition. The position of the Warok as a central figure in Taropan community is more dominant which eventually enables to reproduce the existing the norm/moral values. One of them is *adep asor* value that is now not only honor and respect someone who is being respected as the elder based on the lineage of the family only but it is also in the Taropan community, the respected person and admired is also based on experience and knowledge, networking and social relation, economic capacity and social status they have. Thus, by the warok is being the key role to these symbols.

F. CONCLUSION

Routine Bhuwuhan can be a tradition especially in Taropan community in three villages namely Pesawahan, Pedagangan, and Tegalwatu, Tiris Sub-district, Probolinggo Regency because the habitus order that has been structured from generation to generation. It is where bhuwuhan regular firstly begins with habit that is bound by the structures order built by the Warok as local public figures through the kinship system namely *tretan jeuh* (the distant relatives) and *tretan semak* (the close relatives). It is where the kinship system run by the Warok in the community is considered as friendship relation of the members as brothers with the *adep asor*

value as a way of honoring to someone who is considered more elder (senior), experienced, have social status, financial-owned capacity & embedded symbol due to having a dominant influence in the community. Therefore, the kinship system and *adep asor* value are considered as a structure in building *bhuwuhan* regular becomes a tradition conducted by the Warok.

Social practices of the Warok in an effort to preserve the *bhuwuhan* tradition in Taropan community in Tiris sub-district is that constituted by the capital power owned by each of the actor involved in the *bhuwuhan* tradition especially senior local public figure that is the Warok is more dominant than the other members. The local public figure warok also has roles as coordinator, *bhuwuhan* book's clerk, as well as MC (master of ceremony), which not only become cultural capitals of the warok's owned on the ability and knowledge but also the socialization ability in mingling with members as patron in each village. Furthermore, the warok's social capital in the form of social network power that is built by the other members in several villages through kinship system and the preserving trust. Moreover, it is supported by the warok's economic capital in the form of material resources in which he is deemed financially able to survive in *bhuwuhan* tradition. The warok having the symbolic capital is recognition attributed to a person as Warok character that a person who is experienced on his own capital and being influential person in the community. Therefore, the Warok has the symbolic power by maintaining his position or status quo as the local public figure of the members in order to maintain *bhuwuhan* tradition in Taropan of the community. In addition, by maintaining his position as a warok character/figure, they also seek to strengthen *bhuwuhan* investment as one of the traditions, develop *bhuwuhan* as a method for gatherings of Taropan Group between the villages, and the warok also develop *bhuwuhan* as a method to conduct the local culture meeting in Taropan community.

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