

The Evolution of Arebbe: Tradition in the Face of Urban Change

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Abstract: *The Arebbe tradition is a form of almsgiving where the reward is intended to be sent to deceased relatives. The procedure involves sending food and dishes to religious figures residing near the executor's residence, as well as requesting prayers for deceased relatives. This tradition continues among the urban Bangkalan community even though, geographically, Bangkalan Regency is close to the metropolitan city of Surabaya. This research aims to explore the Arebbe tradition and its procedures, how the tradition persists and evolves, and how it can continue to survive using the concept of the four basic styles of action initiated by John Obert Voll. This research is a descriptive qualitative study with a phenomenological approach. Data collection techniques include unstructured interviews, observation, and documentation. The data analysis technique for this research utilizes the Moustakas model, simplified by Cresswel. The research found that the Arebbe tradition can continue to thrive among the urban Bangkalan community due to four supporting factors: first, adaptationism, such as replacing home-cooked meals with store-bought dishes.; second, the authority of the text as religious legitimacy, with a theological basis or postulates from religious texts supporting the Arebbe tradition; third, conservative action, consisting of advice and messages from elders to continue maintaining Arebbe traditions; fourth, personal aspects or charismatic figures supporting the Arebbe tradition among the urban Bangkalan community*

Keywords: Tradition, Arebbe, urban society, continuity and change, John Obert Voll

Abstrak: Tradisi Arebbe adalah sebuah bentuk sedekah di mana pahalanya dimaksudkan untuk dikirim kepada kerabat yang telah meninggal. Tata caranya adalah dengan mengirimkan makanan dan hidangan kepada tokoh-tokoh agama di sekitar kediaman pelaksana Arebbe, serta meminta doa untuk kerabat yang telah meninggal. Tradisi ini masih terus berlangsung di kalangan masyarakat urban Bangkalan, meskipun secara geografis, Kabupaten Bangkalan berdekatan dengan kota metropolitan Surabaya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi tradisi Arebbe dan tata cara pelaksanaannya, bagaimana tradisi ini bertahan dan berkembang, serta bagaimana tradisi ini dapat terus bertahan dengan menggunakan konsep empat gaya dasar tindakan yang digagas oleh John Obert Voll. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah wawancara tidak terstruktur, observasi, dan dokumentasi. Teknik analisis data penelitian ini menggunakan model Moustakas yang disederhanakan oleh Cresswel. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa tradisi Arebbe dapat terus berkembang di kalangan

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masyarakat urban Bangkalan karena empat faktor pendukung: pertama, adaptasionisme, seperti mengganti makanan yang dimasak di rumah dengan makanan yang dibeli di toko; kedua, otoritas teks sebagai legitimasi agama, dengan dasar teologis atau dalil dari teks-teks agama yang mendukung tradisi Arebbe; ketiga, tindakan konservatif, yang terdiri dari nasihat dan pesan dari orang yang lebih tua untuk tetap mempertahankan tradisi Arebbe; keempat, aspek personal atau figur kharismatik yang mendukung tradisi Arebbe di kalangan masyarakat urban Bangkalan.

Kata Kunci: Tradisi, Arebbe, masyarakat perkotaan, kesinambungan dan perubahan, John Obert Voll

Introduction

The growth of various sectors in urban areas can significantly alter people's lifestyles. Urban lifestyles tend to be busier and more modern. The rapid development that occurs in urban areas often shifts traditional values. In urban society, individualistic and impersonal interpersonal relationships make the relationship between one person and another more demanding in terms of specific goals and interests. Urban people develop a mechanism to protect themselves from various external stimuli, resulting in them becoming more rational and individualized. More individuals interacting will change the social nature of modern society. (Subair, 2019). This can lead to changes in the way people appreciate and practice various traditions, including the Arebbe tradition.

Arebbe is a very popular tradition in Bangkalan city. The brief description is to deliver certain dishes or food to a religious leader, to ask for prayers to be read for the family of the deceased at certain moments, such as Friday night or on the anniversary of the deceased's death, such as the seventh day, 100 days, and so on (Habsatun Nabawiyah, 2018). This tradition has been passed down for generations, from one generation to the next.

In Bangkalan Regency, people who practice the Arebbe tradition are not only those who live in rural areas but also in urban communities within the city. Bangkalan Regency, located on the westernmost side, serves as the gateway to Madura Island and is the closest to Surabaya, a metropolitan city. From this geographical location, Bangkalan is the city in Madura that is considered to be the most affected by modernisation, particularly with the Suramadu Toll Road, which further facilitates

transportation between Surabaya and Madura. However, it turns out that Bangkalan can still maintain its existence as the City of Dhikr and Shalawat (Baijuri Alwi, 2023), and its people continue to practice various Islamic religious rituals, including Arebbe.

A tradition may change shape and adapt because there are more than 1400 years between the time of the death of the Prophet Muhammad and the current generation. During this long period, hadith has been widely disseminated among Muslims worldwide, thereby influencing the incorporation of hadith values into various cultures and traditions. With the development and diversity of cultures, there has been a growing perception among specific communities that the practice of hadith in the modern era has deviated from its original form in the past (Muh Fathoni Hasyim, 2023).

Unlike existing studies related to this theme, the study conducted by the author discusses a different aspect, specifically the continuity and changes in the Arebbe tradition among urban communities in Bangkalan. The Arebbe tradition, which has been practised for a long time, is still observed among the urban communities of Bangkalan today. However, there are shifts and changes in various aspects of its implementation.

Research on the Arebbe tradition has been done before. One of them is research conducted by Habsatun Nabawiyah, entitled *Arebbe Tradition in Situbondo Society (Living Hadith Study)*. The study focused on the meaning of the Arebbe tradition about existing religious texts, specifically the Hadith. The conclusion is that the Arebbe tradition is a long-standing tradition that has developed among the people of Situbondo, particularly in Trebungan Village. The Arebbe tradition is observed on Friday night, with the motivation based on the Prophet's Hadith, which states that this tradition is an expression of prayer and a form of sadaqah, whose rewards are offered to the relatives who have passed away. Similarly, the Prophet's hadith mentions the command to recite Surah Yasin for someone who has died. The conclusion is related to the theory of meaning proposed by Mannheim, which encompasses objective, expressive, and documentary meanings, leading to various interpretations within the Arebbe tradition. (Habsatun Nabawiyah, 2018).

A similar study, entitled "Arebbe Tradition in Glagahwero Village, Kalisat District, Jember Regency," was conducted by Akhmad Khoirul Zakaria and Siti

Qurrotul Aini as part of the Study of Living Hadith. The essence of this research is that the Arebbe tradition is a form of gratitude to parents, with the intention that the prayers and rewards of food alms are for elders, especially those who have passed away. In terms of meaning, the Arebbe tradition has a basis, namely the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, which recommends giving alms even with a single date. The Arebbe tradition in Glagahwero Village, Kalisat Subdistrict, Jember Regency, is carried out by giving alms to a plate of rice complete with side dishes to the Koranic teacher in the prayer room or a decent neighbour. The time is on Thursday night. (Akhmad Khoirul Zakaria, 2022) .

In contrast to previous research, this study focuses on the continuity and change of the Arebbe tradition among urban communities in Bangkalan using the concept initiated by John Obert Voll. John Obert Voll utilizes the Continuity and Change terminology to convey the coexistence of Islam within modernity. Voll sees so many factors of difference and complexity in the development of Islam. For this reason, according to him, it is necessary to have various basic forms of social action. Voll then developed four basic styles of action, which later became the framework for studying the various dimensions of Islam. (Fera Andriani Djakfar, 2020).

The researcher chose to use the Continuity and Change theory, initiated by John Obert Voll because it is considered appropriate for examining the local dimension of Islam, specifically the Arebbe tradition. The four basic styles of action formulated by Voll are employed in this study to examine the continuity and change in the Arebbe tradition within the urban community of Bangkalan.

The first framework is adaptationist, referring to the ability to adapt to changing circumstances practically. Voll sees this framework in the caliphate and early sultanates, as well as in the intellectual tradition of Muslim scholars who adopted the Greek philosophical tradition as a framework for their thinking. This form then paved the way for harmonization, which in turn provided energy and social strength for Muslim society. The power of adaptation enabled Muslims to cope with a variety of problems, including tensions arising from conquests, issues related to the fall of rulers, and intellectual challenges in integrating innovations into the fundamental framework of Islamic theology. (John Obert Voll, 1997).

The second framework is conservative, which represents those who wish to preserve their achievements. From the beginning, Islamic societies had a view of the perfection of revelation, and with this view, they used it to counterbalance the drastic changes that occurred. At the heart of this framework is a distrust of innovation.

The following framework is fundamentalist or textual authority. In this framework, religious texts serve as a constant standard for considering and judging the situation. In Islam, the Qur'an is the standardized scripture that serves as the benchmark. For fundamentalists, the moment something is mentioned in the Quran, it has a validity that is universally accepted in Muslim society –the fundamentalist framework of action centres on intense adherence to all religious rules. Therefore, in addition to the Qur'an, the hadiths also serve as the basis for various religious practices.

The fourth framework of action involves prioritizing specific figures or personal aspects. Although Muslim societies recognize the truth of revelation, there are still actions that tend to override legal structures in favour of personal piety and charismatic leadership. A clear example of this framework is the Shia teaching of the Imamate and the firm belief in the emergence of the Mahdi. In the Sufi tradition, there is also an emphasis on prioritising personal piety and spiritual guidance.

Based on the four theoretical frameworks formulated by John Obert Voll, the author explores the continuity and change of the Arebbe tradition within the urban Bangkalan community.

Research Methods

This research employs a qualitative approach, as it necessitates an in-depth exploration of a problem (Wiraguna et al., 2024). The researcher also aims to explore a particular concept, examine a specific community, describe variables that cannot be quantified, and pay attention to the quiet voices within a population. In this case, it is related to the Arebbe tradition in the urban community of Bangkalan. Qualitative research was chosen because investigating this problem directly is preferable to relying solely on information from various previous literature. The various literatures are still used as additional references. (John. W. Cresswel, 2015).

Qualitative research is a research methodology used to explore specific social phenomena in depth. In this study, researchers compile a comprehensive description,

examine symbols and speech, explore the perspectives of respondents, and conduct research in natural settings. (Fadli, 2021).

Bogdan and Taylor revealed that a qualitative approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of oral or written accounts of individuals and observed actions. (Lexy. J. Moleong, 2007).

Respondents in this study are urban individuals who still adhere to the Arebbe tradition, with statuses including students, civil servants, head of the mosque takmir, and retired teachers. This study is a phenomenological investigation aimed at revealing the phenomenon of experience based on awareness that occurs in several individuals. In essence, phenomenology explores the essence of individual experience about a particular phenomenon (Afgani, 2023). The study, based on phenomenology, views the subject in its natural context. In a sense, using the basis of phenomenology means that an event is not viewed in isolation but rather in its social context (Suyanto, 2019).

Phenomenology examines what is apparent to the subject through their experience. There is no unnatural appearance. Simply by focusing on what appears in the subject's experience, the essence can be formulated. Phenomenology exposes what appears or how something appears. (Donny Gahril Adian, 2010).

In this research, the phenomenological approach is employed to describe and analyze phenomena related to the views and behaviours of individuals in social interactions within the Arebbe tradition in the urban community of Bangkalan. The focus of this research is to reveal the essence and in-depth meaning of the experience of religious figures, to explore the phenomenon of Arebbe tradition actors interpreting it within the urban community, and to examine the continuity and change of the Arebbe tradition in the urban community of Bangkalan.

In qualitative research, the researcher himself is an important spearhead in a series of data collection activities. Cresswell describes the activity as a data collection circle, where the place or individual serves as the entrance to other activities. However, a researcher can start from any side of the activity. The researcher needs to consider the various phases of data collection, primarily to identify the individuals or locations to be studied and then establish a strong relationship with the participants so that they can provide relevant data. (John. W. Cresswell, 2015).

Based on the source the data obtained by researchers comes from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are those who directly provide data to researchers, namely informants and research subjects (Rifa'i, 2023). Research subjects are individuals who experience this tradition firsthand, comprising leaders who receive rebbe and those who practice the Arebbe tradition. Meanwhile, informants are individuals who contribute information about the Arebbe tradition, namely Bangkalan community leaders. The number of research subjects and informants may increase according to the researcher's needs or through snowball sampling (Lenaini, 2021).

Meanwhile, secondary data sources provide supporting data to complement primary data, which is obtained from library materials, including articles in academic journals, authoritative books, and the results of studies such as theses and dissertations (Sugiyono, 2007).

Data collection in qualitative research, such as this study, is carried out in natural settings, focusing on primary data sources through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation (Sugiyono, 2007). Data in phenomenological research take the form of descriptive narratives collected from stories of people or individuals who experience the phenomenon under study. The research data is obtained from in-depth interviews with a group of individuals. The number is, of course, unlimited. The questions asked by a researcher can vary. In essence, researchers ask about what is experienced and how the phenomenon can be experienced.

One of the significant challenges in qualitative research is the process of analyzing textual and other types of data. Data analysis for qualitative research begins with preparing and organizing data, followed by data reduction, and then presenting the data in the form of discussions, which can also be illustrated through charts or tables. (John. W. Cresswel, 2015).

In this study, phenomenological research data analysis techniques (other than those commonly applied in qualitative research) as elaborated by Moustakas, which were later simplified by Cresswell, which researchers will apply are as follows:

- Horizontalization of data, i.e. selecting important statements and assuming that the weight of all statements is equal.
- Taking those important statements and categorizing them into larger units of information, referred to as "units of meaning" or themes.

- Reveal a "textural description" of the experience related to the "whether" question in the previous step. Then, the researcher writes the description in full, adjusted to the continuity and change theory used in this study. For example, "what" is the difference between the Arebbe tradition then and now?

- Reveal the "structural description," which is related to the question of "how" a phenomenon occurs. For example, "how" they practice the Arebbe tradition in an urban society. After all the above stages have been completed, the culminating aspect of this phenomenological study is to compile a composite description of the Arebbe phenomenon, incorporating both textual and structural descriptions. This usually takes the form of a long paragraph that tells the reader "what" has changed in the phenomenon and "how" they have kept the Arebbe tradition alive. (John. W. Cresswel, 2015).

Results and Discussion

Bangkalan is a city located at the western end of Madura, as well as the main gate to enter this salt island. Bangkalan Regency has an area of 1,260.14 km², located in the westernmost part of Madura Island, between the coordinates 1120 40'06" - 1130 08'04" East Longitude and 60 51'39" - 70 11'39" South Latitude. The boundaries of the region are to the north, bordering the Java Sea; to the east, bordering Sampang Regency; and to the south and west, bordering the Madura Strait.

Bangkalan has two main gateways as access to and out of Madura Island. The first is Ujung Kamal Harbor, where a ferry service connects Madura with Surabaya (Tanjung Perak Harbor). The second gate is Suramadu Bridge (Surabaya-Madura), which is the longest bridge in Indonesia. Bangkalan Regency is also one of the areas included in the Surabaya metropolitan area, commonly referred to by the acronym Gerbangkertosusila, which comprises Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Lamongan. Since the inauguration of the Suramadu Bridge in 2009, Bangkalan Regency, the main gateway to Madura Island, has become one of the preferred tourist destinations in East Java, thanks to its natural beauty, rich culture, and thriving culinary scene. Among them is the typical Madurese fried duck.

Bangkalan Regency comprises 18 sub-districts, which are further divided into 273 villages and eight sub-districts. The centre of government is in Bangkalan District. The total population is approximately 87,989, with the most extensive population

distribution in the city sub-district, at 25.21%. The movement of people from rural to urban areas is significant for two main reasons. Firstly, urban areas are attractive due to the higher level of facilities, such as education, housing, health, and others. Second, the change in status of the village from a rural area to an urban area.

In terms of education, the Bangkalan sub-district has the highest number of high school graduates at 19,129, far above the other sub-districts. In second place was Kamal sub-district with 9,655, and the other sub-districts were below 3000. The data on college graduates shows that the highest rank is also in the Bangkalan city sub-district, with a total of 9,185 graduates, followed by the Kamal sub-district, which has around 3,642 graduates. Based on population distribution data and the high rate of people moving from rural to urban areas, it is evident that the Bangkalan city sub-district warrants consideration as an urban area.

Sociologically, there are differences between rural communities and urban communities in terms of religion, individualism, division of labour, types of work, ways of thinking, ways of life, and other social changes. Rural areas are characterized by a community life that emphasizes cooperation, dependence on nature, adherence to traditional culture, and a low division of labour. On the other hand, urban society is more individualistic, with less dependence on nature and a higher division of labor. The same applies to social change. In rural communities, social change tends to proceed more slowly than in urban communities, which are often characterized as rational, practical, and modern.

The urban community of Bangkalan has not entirely abandoned its original culture despite its proximity to the metropolitan city of Surabaya. This is evidenced by the adherence of Bangkalan urban communities to traditions that have been carried out for generations, such as the *Arebbe* tradition.

Arebbe is a term used by local Bangkalan people to describe the tradition of sending prayers and commemorating deceased relatives by offering food. The dish is called a *rebbe*, which is given to a local community leader. The religious figure in question is typically a *kiai*, *ustadz*, Qur'an teacher, madrasa teacher, or someone considered pious within the community. As for the time of implementation, it is generally on Friday night or when the family observes the anniversary of their

deceased loved one, such as the commemoration of 7 days, 40 days, 100 days, 1000 days, or at the time of the annual haul, which is a commemoration for the deceased.

In the tradition of the Madurese community, there is a specific month, also known as the month of Rebbe, which is the month of Sha'ban. In that month, people generally perform many acts of charity, whose rewards are intended for the deceased family members (Mulyadi, 2012). The alms are in the form of rebbe, so the month of Sya'ban is also called the month of Rebbe. The tradition remains as pure and vibrant in Bangkalan Regency.

The Arebbe procedure among urban Bangkalan communities is generally the same, in which the Arebbe person prepares food and drinks to be given to certain kiai or ustadz near his house. The food consists of rice, accompanied by side dishes that are considered luxurious, such as processed chicken or beef. No one sends a rebbe with simple side dishes such as tofu and tempeh, for example. To complete the rebbe, there are usually cookies, drinks, and also money. The names of the families to whom prayers will be sent are usually written on a piece of paper and placed in a tray with the rebbe dish.

The community leader who receives the rebbe then opens with Surah Al-Fatihah and recites Surah Yasin and the tahlil prayers, whose merits are intended for the spirits of those who have passed away. The recitation is done at the home of the person who delivered the rebbe after the rebbe has returned to his home. The next day, the rebbe will pick up the container in which the food was delivered. For the 1000th day, the containers are usually not returned and are known as nyalenen. On the 1000th-day commemoration, alms are also supplemented with clothes, prayer mats, a mukenah or sarong (depending on the deceased's gender), umbrellas, and other household items, according to the owner's ability. Nowadays, some people give a rebbe in the form of money in an envelope, by attaching a paper containing the names of those who want to be prayed for. (Zubaidi Mohammad Ahdie, komunikasi pribadi, 2025).

As a form of charity for families, especially those with deceased parents, the Arebbe tradition has a theological foundation (Nurcahaya, 2021).

Among them is Sahih Bukhari's hadeeth number 2756 narrated from Abdullah bin Abbas as follows:

يا رسول الله ! إِنَّ أُمِّي تُؤَقِّتُ و لَمْ تُوصِ، أَفَيَنْفَعُهَا أَنْ أَتَصَدَّقَ عَنْهَا؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ

O Messenger of Allah, my mother died and did not leave a will, so will she be rewarded if I give charity on her behalf? He replied, "Yes."

The urban community of Bangkalan still preserves the Arebbe tradition. This demonstrates that, in essence, this tradition continues to survive. Technically, there have been some changes and adjustments, especially in urban areas.

The continuity of this Arebbe tradition is in the selection of moments to do it. As revealed by Mrs Sumarlik, she observes the Arebbe tradition on Friday night, before the feast day, and on the anniversary of the deceased's death, such as the 7th day, 100th day, and so on. She routinely does this as a tradition of alms that has been passed down for generations, so it has become a routine habit. According to him, he prefers to buy ready-made dishes rather than cook himself at this time due to his busy work as a teacher and civil servant. (Siti Sumarlik, komunikasi pribadi, 2024).

Sisca Tri Wahyuni, a student respondent, also did this. She also observes the Arebbe tradition, especially before Ramadan, as per the instructions of KH. Nur Fauzi revealed that the Madurese people perform many acts of charity in the month of Sha'ban. As a millennial who is also busy with her career, Sisca also chooses to buy ready-made food instead of cooking her dishes. As for what makes this tradition continue to survive even amid urban society, according to her, it is because Muslims in Bangkalan are mostly Nahdliyyin citizens (affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama / NU organisation) who continue to maintain traditions in practising their religion. (Sisca Tri Wahyuni, komunikasi pribadi, 2024) .

Meanwhile, according to Mrs Eka Imbron, she continues to carry out this Arebbe tradition because her parents have always told her not to forget Arebbe. Even her parents taught her various procedures for sending prayers tailored to the moment. There are specific procedures and prayers for welcoming marriage, ensuring safety, pregnancy, moving into a new house, and for the deceased. (Eka Imbron, komunikasi pribadi, 2024).

Table 1: Continuity and Change of the Arebbe Tradition

Component of Arebbe	Continuity	Change
Goal	Requesting support for prayers of salvation for the deceased	-
Target given <i>rebbe</i>	Local religious leaders	-
Form of dish provided	For those who have the time and ability, they cook their dishes for Arebbe.	For those with many activities, they often opt for processed food and packaged drinks and even use cash in envelopes.
List of family names to be prayed for	Come in person and name the family they wish to pray for.	Leave a paper containing the names of those who want to be prayed for, or via private message (WA chat)

In this modern era, many traditions and cultures have been eroded by the progress of time. Some traditions can still survive in rural areas only and are extinct in urban communities. (Aisya Putri Handayani dkk., 2024). However, the Arebbe Tradition can continue to survive in modern times amidst urban society in Bangkalan. Reviewed using the concept of 4 basic actions initiated by John Obert Voll, the following description is obtained.

First, an adaptationist tradition can survive if it is adaptive or adjusts to changing conditions. (Dewi & Wikrama, 2023). The Arebbe tradition is quite adaptive for the busy urban community of Bangkalan, including simpler procedures such as buying

ready-made food and packaged drinks. This differs from rural communities, which still rely on cooking for themselves and require specific cakes for commemoration of death prayers.

Second, the authority of the text, namely the theological basis for implementing the Arebbe tradition. All respondents who participate in this tradition do not merely observe it but are guided by the religious concept of giving alms in the name of the deceased. This is in line with the authentic hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW), about children's alms to their deceased mothers.

Third, conservative actions. Related to this framework is the existence of a will or message from parents or elders to continue carrying out the Arebbe tradition, wherever they may be. Thus, the urban community of Bangkalan, some of whom also come from rural ancestors, continues to maintain this tradition wherever they live.

Fourth, it is related to the charismatic authority of specific figures. In this case, the urban community of Bangkalan, the majority of whom are members of the Nahdlatul Ulama organisation, continues to follow the advice of the kiai to maintain traditional and cultural practices as long as they do not conflict with religious texts.

Conclusion

The Arebbe tradition endures in the modern era, even within urban society, with some adjustments to its technical implementation. The purpose and reasons for continuing this tradition remain the same: to ask for prayers on behalf of the deceased family. There is a balance of continuity and change in the Arebbe tradition within the urban community of Bangkalan. Things that continue are the meaning and essence of Arebbe, the moment when this tradition is carried out, and to whom the dishes are given. Technically, there are changes in the form of increasingly practical dishes, as well as in the form of cash.

This tradition can survive with four basic styles of action as per John Obert Voll's concept. First, this adaptationist tradition can be adapted to the situation and conditions of Bangkalan urban society. Second, textual authority, namely the existence of religious arguments that are in line with and strengthen this Arebbe tradition. Third, Conservative action, namely the existence of messages and advice from elders to maintain this Arebbe tradition whenever and wherever they are. Fourth, specific personal authority, such as the kiai, who continue to maintain and advocate for this

tradition, ensures that the Bangkalan urban society adheres to it, with the majority of its members being members of the Nahdlatul Ulama organisation.

The researcher suggests that Arebbe is a valuable tradition that needs to be preserved for future generations, instilling good manners. What is meant is that we should also be aware of traditions like Arebbe, but in a way that deviates from it, such as placing the rebbe's dishes on graves, trees, sacred places, or in the room of the deceased to please the spirit of the deceased.

This study has limitations, including its reliance on sources from only one area. Further researchers should collect data from various urban locations to obtain a range of answers.

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