

Petik Laut as Cultural Resilience: Balancing Tradition and Modern Life in the Coastal Community of Banyuwangi, Indonesia

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Abstract

The *Petik Laut* tradition in Grajagan Village, Banyuwangi, Indonesia, represents a significant maritime cultural practice that reflects the spiritual connection coastal communities have with the sea. This tradition has been observed since 1977, yet it now confronts challenges posed by modernization and globalization. While scholarly discourse around maritime traditions has increased, there remains a lack of systematic research examining the social reproduction mechanisms that contribute to their continuity. This study seeks to investigate how the meanings and functions of *Petik Laut* are expressed in the social and spiritual lives of the community. It explores how these communities negotiate traditional values in the face of modern influences and examines the extent to which *Petik Laut* serves as a mechanism for cultural resilience amid globalization. Utilizing Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory, this qualitative ethnographic study analyzes the interactions among habitus, capital, and field. Research was conducted in Grajagan Village, Banyuwangi, from September to December, 2024. Data collection involved interviews with ten informants, including traditional leaders, fishermen, village officials, and community members, as well as participant observation and documentation studies. Thematic analysis revealed patterns associated with habitus formation, capital mobilization, and negotiations within the field. The findings indicate that *Petik Laut* serves as a complex social reproduction mechanism, wherein spiritual habitus interacts with various forms of capital: cultural, economic, social, and symbolic. Specifically, the tradition functions as a spiritual ritual embodying cosmological beliefs, a mechanism for social solidarity through *gotong royong* (communal cooperation), a source of cultural capital that enhances tourism appeal, and a symbolic arena for negotiating authority and identity. The tradition persists through strategic adaptation, successfully maintaining its spiritual core while embracing digital documentation and engaging younger generations. This study underscores how coastal communities exercise cultural agency within structural constraints, preserving their collective identity through creative adaptation. The findings contribute to the decolonization of social theory and inform culturally sensitive development policies that acknowledge traditional practices as essential foundations for sustainable coastal management.

Article History

Received: 05-08-2025

Revised: 27-10-2025

Accepted: 07-11-2025

Keywords:

Coastal Culture;

Modern Life;

Petik Laut Tradition;

Social Practices.



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INTRODUCTION

Maritime traditions in Indonesia represent complex cultural systems that embody the relationship between coastal communities and their marine environment. As a maritime nation with the second longest coastline in the world at 99,083 km² (Rizaty, 2021), Indonesia hosts diverse sea harvest ceremonies (*Petik Laut*) performed by fishing communities across the archipelago. These ceremonies serve as expressions of gratitude, spiritual connection, and collective identity, reflecting deep-rooted cosmological understandings where the sea is perceived not merely as an economic resource but as a sacred entity sustaining community livelihoods. Culture, at its core, is a way of life collectively owned by a group of people, passed down from generation to generation and functioning as a means of communication toward cultural values (Laily, 2022). Religion teaches its followers to perform ritual movements, and as Clifford Geertz states, religion can be understood as a cultural system (Geertz, 1993:90). The beliefs of communities are manifested through ritual

activities in traditional celebrations, which are largely the result of a blend of religion and local culture, essentially expressing the knowledge and wisdom of a community in response to its environmental conditions (Riyadi, 2017).

The *Petik Laut* tradition in Grajagan Village, Banyuwangi, exemplifies this complex dynamic. Located at the eastern tip of Java Island with a 3,596 km coastline (Umar et al., 2021), Grajagan's coastal community has continuously practiced this sacred ritual since 1977, coinciding annually with the month of Suro in the Javanese calendar or Muharram in the Islamic calendar. The ceremony symbolizes the source of life and unity among fishermen through offerings, prayers, and Qur'an recitations before offerings are thrown into the sea (Laily, 2022; Nurmalasari, 2023; Isnaeni, 2020). This tradition carries profound meaning and significant social functions, with the local community believing that continuing this practice ensures abundant natural resources in the following year. The ritual involves the entire coastal community from traditional leaders and religious leaders to fishermen and their families creating collective momentum that strengthens social bonds. Despite developments such as additional entertainment becoming part of the ritual, the tradition retains its value as local wisdom (Nurmalasari, 2023).

In the contemporary context, the *Petik Laut* tradition faces complex challenges that manifest in three interconnected dimensions. First, the shift in cultural values and meanings: modernization and globalization have transformed value orientations among coastal communities, where *Petik Laut* is increasingly perceived merely as a cultural ceremony rather than a sacred ritual imbued with deep spiritual and social meaning. The penetration of information technology, changes in consumption patterns, and the expansion of capitalist economics into coastal areas create structural pressures threatening the sustainability of traditional practices. Observable social symptoms include declining participation among younger generations, the growing dominance of entertainment and tourism elements, and the diminishing emphasis on religious values and communal solidarity. Second, the tension between tradition and modernity: coastal communities face persistent dilemmas between preserving traditional values and adapting to pragmatic demands of modern economic life. The modernization of fishing infrastructure, introduction of modern fishing technologies, and shift in economic orientation from subsistence to the global market have created new dynamics potentially altering the meaning and function of the tradition. Social manifestations include value conflicts between customary elders and younger generations, as well as modifications in ritual forms to accommodate economic, media, and tourism interests. Third, cultural resilience and social adaptation: despite these pressures, the *Petik Laut* tradition persists, functioning as a crucial mechanism for maintaining cultural resilience through symbolic adaptation to ongoing social and economic transformations. This persistence raises fundamental questions about how traditional communities negotiate modernity while maintaining cultural identity, and what mechanisms enable the continuity of ritual practices in contexts of rapid structural transformation.

This phenomenon reflects broader patterns observed across Indonesian coastal communities, where traditional maritime practices face similar tensions between cultural preservation and economic modernization. Recent comparative research on coastal villages in Indonesia demonstrates that building transformative resilience in such contexts requires communities to navigate complex transformation phases while maintaining cultural identity and adaptive capacities (Maurischa et al., 2023). The capacity of coastal communities to sustain traditional practices depends not only on economic resources but also on the strength of their social networks, effectiveness of governance structures, and vitality of cultural continuity mechanisms (Prianto & Abdillah, 2023). Furthermore, studies on *Petik Laut* traditions in other Indonesian coastal regions reveal that these practices exhibit remarkable resilience through religious acculturation processes, wherein Islamic values are successfully integrated with pre-existing maritime cosmologies without eliminating the tradition's spiritual essence (Ariadi et al., 2022; Jannah & Fitria, 2024). These findings underscore the need for analytical frameworks that can capture both the structural pressures threatening traditional practices and the cultural agency enabling their adaptive persistence.

Existing scholarship on *Petik Laut* traditions has made important contributions through various analytical lenses. Previous studies have examined social solidarity dimensions using Durkheimian perspectives (Rahayu & Widiyanto, 2022), explored syncretic elements between Islamic and local beliefs revealing three-day ritual processes (Rizkika, 2019), analyzed local wisdom content for educational purposes including physics concepts (Safitri & Salma, 2023), documented artistic representations through batik works (Faradila et al., 2023), investigated deep local wisdom at various coastal sites (Agustina et al., 2023), examined the fusion of local wisdom and religious values (Juliana et al., 2023), explored creative fashion design applications (Wayan et al., 2023), and utilized living al-Qur'an approaches to reveal gratitude values and Islamic-Javanese cultural blends (Fahimah et al., 2021). More recently, comparative research has examined how Hindu and Muslim fishing communities in Bali practice *Petik Laut* with similar spiritual foundations while maintaining distinctive ritual characteristics, demonstrating the tradition's adaptability across religious boundaries (Ariadi et al., 2022). Additionally, studies on religious acculturation in East Java coastal communities have revealed how Islamic values are harmoniously integrated into *Petik Laut* processions through prayer modifications, Quranic recitations, and reinterpretation of offerings as charity, creating what scholars term "cultural-religious synthesis" (Jannah & Fitria, 2024). However, five significant theoretical and methodological gaps remain unaddressed. First, the majority of studies have employed descriptive-interpretive approaches focusing on cultural and religious dimensions, without analyzing the social reproduction mechanisms underlying tradition continuity. Second, no research has comprehensively applied Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice to examine how habitus, capital, and field interact in shaping *Petik Laut* practices. Third, previous studies tend to overlook political and economic dimensions underlying ritual practices, resulting in analyses that remain limited to symbolic levels without revealing power structures influencing tradition sustainability. Fourth, the specific case of Grajagan Village, with its unique geographical, demographic, and socio-cultural characteristics, has not been systematically examined. Fifth, limited research has analyzed how local traditions adapt to social change in the globalization era, particularly within the context of coastal communities in developing countries.

Addressing these gaps, this study aims to analyze how the practice of *Petik Laut* as a tradition is maintained and interpreted by the coastal community of Grajagan Village using Bourdieu's social practice theory framework. Specifically, three interrelated research objectives guide this investigation: (1) to analyze how the habitus of the coastal community in Grajagan Village shapes and maintains *Petik Laut* social practices in the context of contemporary social change; (2) to examine how interactions of various forms of capital economic, social, cultural, and symbolic within the social arena of coastal communities influence the sustainability and transformation of the *Petik Laut* tradition; (3) to understand how the *Petik Laut* practice functions as a social reproduction mechanism that reflects power structures and survival strategies of the Grajagan coastal community.

To address these objectives, this study employs Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice as its analytical framework. Bourdieu argues that practices carried out by individuals or social communities are realized through the process of internalizing externalities and externalizing internalities, and therefore need to be analyzed as the result of the interaction between habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1977). In Bourdieu's formulation, social practice = (habitus × capital) + field, where habitus represents durable dispositions shaped by historical experiences passed down through generations, capital encompasses multiple resources (economic, cultural, social, symbolic), and field constitutes the structured social arena where agents compete and negotiate positions. The *Petik Laut* practice functions as a social and ecological control mechanism relevant to social dynamics in countries of the Global South. Through this ritual, fishing communities are reminded of the importance of maintaining balance in the relationship between humans and the sea, with various taboos and customary rules indirectly functioning as instruments of marine environmental conservation. In the context of the Global South, such practices demonstrate how local communities

developed sustainable resource management systems long before the concept of sustainable development became mainstream in international development discourse.

This research makes significant contributions to multiple scholarly domains. First, it enriches Bourdieu's social practice theory by applying it to coastal communities in developing countries, demonstrating how habitus formation occurs in specific geographical and economic conditions. Second, the analysis of capital interaction in the social arena provides new insights into social reproduction mechanisms in the context of ritual traditions. Third, this research contributes to the sociology of religion and culture by analyzing how traditional ritual practices function as a medium for identity negotiation in pluralistic societies. Fourth, from an environmental sociology perspective, this research reveals how local wisdom of coastal communities operates as a sustainable resource management system. Fifth, in the academic context of the Global South, this research contributes to the discourse on the decolonization of knowledge by highlighting local perspectives in understanding social practices, while demonstrating the relevance of Western theory (Bourdieu) in analyzing Indonesian social phenomena. Finally, the findings can serve as a reference for development policies sensitive to local cultural values, particularly in coastal area management and the empowerment of fishing communities.

METHODS

This study employed an ethnographic approach within a qualitative research paradigm (Creswell, 2014) to examine the *Petik Laut* tradition as a social practice in the coastal community of Grajagan Village, Banyuwangi. The ethnographic method enabled in-depth exploration of cultural meanings, symbolic interpretations, and social practices within their natural context, proving particularly appropriate for understanding how traditional maritime rituals function as mechanisms of social reproduction and cultural identity formation in coastal communities. This research was designed as a qualitative descriptive study with an interpretive epistemological orientation (Raco, 2010). The study sought to understand the *Petik Laut* tradition from the perspective of community actors, analyzing how it is maintained, interpreted, and adapted amid contemporary social change.

This research utilized Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory as its analytical lens, formulated as: $(\text{habitus} \times \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{social practice}$. The operationalization proceeded systematically across three dimensions. First, habitus was analyzed through informants' narratives about internalized dispositions, identifying recurring themes regarding spiritual beliefs, ritual taboos, and intergenerational knowledge transmission. Second, capital was examined across four dimensions: cultural capital (ritual knowledge, traditional skills, Osing language mastery), economic capital (material resources, income opportunities), social capital (community networks, mutual cooperation practices), and symbolic capital (prestige, authority, social recognition). Third, the field was analyzed as the social arena where negotiations occur between tradition and modernity, revealing power relations and positional struggles among community members. This framework directly addressed the research questions by providing analytical tools to understand how coastal communities maintain cultural traditions while navigating structural pressures from modernization and globalization.

This research was conducted in Grajagan Village, Grajagan Pantai Hamlet, Purwoharjo Subdistrict, Banyuwangi Regency, East Java, from September 22 to December 28, 2024. This location was deliberately chosen because it still maintains the active *Petik Laut* tradition every year, has a diverse ethnic composition (Osing, Javanese, Madurese), has a coastal economy based on fishing, and represents a gap in existing academic literature. Ten informants were deliberately selected using a sampling method based on criteria to ensure direct experience and in-depth knowledge of the tradition. The composition of informants included two traditional leaders (guardians of traditional knowledge and ritual authorities), two village elders (senior members with comprehensive historical knowledge), three fishermen of various ages (key actors), two village officials (the village head and administrative coordinator), and one community member (involved in ritual preparation and economic activities). Selection criteria included recognized knowledge of

ritual procedures or historical context, willingness to participate with informed consent, and diversity in age, gender, and social role to capture a range of perspectives.

Data was collected using three complementary techniques (Kaelan, 2010). First, in-depth interviews lasting 30-60 minutes were conducted with each informant in Indonesian and Javanese. The semi-structured interview guide covered personal experiences and meanings associated with *Petik Laut*, historical developments and changes in tradition, roles and responsibilities in the implementation of rituals, economic and social impacts, and perceptions of contemporary challenges and adaptations. Second, direct observation using an ethnographic approach was conducted throughout the research period. It is important to note that observation was not limited to ceremonial events, but also included everyday practices, including daily activities at the fishing port and family routines. This approach allowed for an understanding of how tradition is embedded in everyday coastal life, rather than as isolated ceremonial events. Field notes documented the physical setting, daily fishing activities, social interactions, and behavioral patterns. Observations focused on identifying manifestations of habitus in everyday practices, documenting the mobilization of capital by various actors, and tracking field dynamics as community members negotiated their positions in everyday and ceremonial contexts. Third, the documentation study collected secondary data from photographic documentation and relevant academic literature on coastal traditions in Indonesia.

Data analysis used thematic analysis. In the data reduction stage, interview transcripts and field notes were systematically reviewed, relevant segments were coded according to the research theme, and initial codes were organized into initial categories in line with Bourdieu's concepts. In the data presentation stage, a thematic matrix was constructed to organize the coded data, relationships between categories were visualized, and patterns and variations between informants were identified. In the conclusion and verification stage, recurring themes were interpreted using Bourdieu's theoretical framework, conclusions were drawn regarding the mechanisms of social reproduction, and findings were verified with different data sources. Specific analytical procedures include identifying manifestations of habitus through narratives about internalized dispositions, mapping different forms of capital and their distribution among community members, analyzing power relations and negotiations in the social field, and exploring the dialectical relationship between cultural continuity and transformation.

To ensure reliability and credibility, this study used four validation techniques. Source triangulation systematically matched information from different categories of informants to verify consistency and identify diverse perspectives. Method triangulation compared data from interviews, observations, and documentation to confirm findings. For example, cultural meanings described in interviews are contextualized through observations of daily life on the coast, while both are enriched using historical documents. Peer discussion involved regular conversations with academic colleagues about the research process and interpretation, helping to identify potential weaknesses and alternative interpretations while ensuring the operation of Bourdieu's theoretically robust concepts. Ongoing engagement was implemented through preliminary visits prior to a week of intensive field research and follow-up communication afterward to build relationships and clarify questions that arose during analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Habitus: Spiritual Disposition and Cultural Reproduction in Sea Harvesting Practices

The phrase */Petik Laut/* comes from the words */Petik/* and */Laut/*. */Petik/* means 'to take', 'to collect', or 'to preserve', and */Laut/* means the sea itself, so */Petik Laut/* means to collect or obtain marine resources that are a source of life for the coastal community in the village of Grajagan. *Petik Laut* originated from a sea offering ceremony that began in 1977, carried out by Mr. Pariat, a resident of Grajagan Village, to continue a traditional ritual that expresses gratitude to God for the blessings bestowed and also serves as a hope for safety and prosperity from the sea. Thus, to this day, the *Petik Laut* tradition has been established as an annual event by the coastal community of Grajagan Village, supported by the traditional leader known as Mr. Patawi, or locally referred to as

Mbah Tawek. It is also backed by the village elders, including *Mbah Sulastri*, commonly called *Mbah Las*. During this ritual, social interactions occur among individuals, between individuals and the community, and between individuals and God. Social interaction involves people's hopes, which are reflected in their communication behavior (Sanubarianto & Kembaren, 2020).



Figure 1. The Ritual of Offering Sacrifices during The *Petik Laut* Ceremony
Source: Ananda Mikola Youtube Channel, 2023

Within Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, habitus is a system of long-lasting and transferable dispositions that serves as a generative basis for objectively structured and integrated practices (Bourdieu, 1977). The research findings indicate that habitus in the *Petik Laut* practice in Grajagan is formed through a long and deep socialization process, creating spiritual dispositions that govern the way coastal communities think, feel, and act in relation to the sea. Mr. Wage (83 years old), as the village elder, provided a comprehensive narrative about the formation of habitus since 1977, when the *Petik Laut* tradition was started by Mr. Pariat as a continuation of the ancestral ritual. This spiritual habitus is deeply internalized, as expressed by Mr. Sailik (36 years old), a traditional leader, "*Petik Laut is not just an ordinary event. It is an expression of our respect for the sea, which has provided life for coastal communities*". This disposition is not limited to traditional leaders but also extends to fishermen like Mr. Sarkan (41 years old), who states that, "*For me as a fisherman, Petik Laut is like a mandatory ritual. It is how we seek permission and blessings from the sea before setting out to sea for the entire year*".

This finding is in line with the research by Rahayu & Widiyanto, (2022), which identified that the *Petik Laut* tradition is an expression of social solidarity embedded in the habitus of fishing communities. However, this study provides additional insight by demonstrating how habitus manifests itself in the disposition to uphold the sacredness of rituals. Mr. Sailik emphasizes the existence of "*taboos such as not speaking harshly during the procession, dressing modestly, and most importantly, having a sincere intention to respect the sea*". This articulation of ritual taboos exemplifies what Bourdieu, (1977) describes as the "practical mastery" inherent in habitus embodied dispositions that generate appropriate practices without conscious calculation. The internalization of these behavioral codes demonstrates how habitus operates as a "feel for the game" that enables community members to navigate sacred spaces and moments with appropriate reverence. Significantly, these taboos are not experienced as external constraints but as natural expressions of respect, illustrating Bourdieu's concept of "doxa" the taken-for-granted assumptions that make social order appear inevitable rather than constructed.

The spiritual habitus of Grajagan's coastal community is undergoing subtle yet significant transformations in response to modernization pressures. Mr. Suhaini's testimony reveals this adaptive process, "*We try to document with photos and videos, share on social media to attract other young people. But we still maintain the authenticity of the rituals*". This statement demonstrates what Bourdieu, (1977) conceptualizes as the "hysteresis effect" a temporal lag

between habitus and field transformation, where deeply ingrained dispositions encounter rapidly changing structural conditions. The digitalization of *Petik Laut* through social media documentation represents a critical juncture in habitus transformation. While the spiritual disposition toward the sea remains fundamentally unchanged, the *mode* of engagement and transmission is being reconfigured. Mr. Fredy articulates this tension, “*We have to be creative, for example, documenting on social media to go viral... but we must ensure that the sacredness is not reduced to mere spectacle*”. This reflects what Bourdieu terms “field struggle” agents negotiating between maintaining the traditional logic of practice (spiritual reverence) and adapting to new field demands (digital visibility and tourism appeal). The development of cultural tourism introduces another layer of complexity to habitus transformation. Mr. Agus observes, “*Indirectly, this tradition makes our area famous, so land values rise, and business opportunities open up*”. This economic dimension creates what Bourdieu identifies as “symbolic violence” the process through which sacred practices risk being commodified under market logic, potentially alienating their spiritual essence. The challenge lies in maintaining the habitus of gratitude and spiritual connection while navigating the economic imperatives of tourism development.

Empirical evidence also reveals generational variations in habitus internalization. While elders like Mr. Wage (83 years old) embody a habitus formed through decades of unmediated relationship with maritime traditions, younger participants like Mr. Suhaini (34 years old) demonstrate a hybrid habitus that integrates traditional spiritual dispositions with modern technological competencies. This generational divergence in habitus formation raises critical questions about the future trajectory of *Petik Laut* practice will the tradition maintain its spiritual core, or will it gradually transform into a culturally-themed tourist performance detached from its original cosmological significance?

The variations in habitus adaptation observed in Grajagan reflect broader patterns identified in studies of informal tourism entrepreneurs in Southeast Asia (Çakmak et al., 2021) demonstrate that informal entrepreneurs' habitus adapts through distinct mechanisms depending on whether they perceive changes in their individual circumstances and social structures as major or minor. When coastal communities experience what they perceive as major individual changes (migration, new livelihoods, family transitions) combined with minor structural changes (gradual tourism development, market fluctuations), they tend to develop what Çakmak et al. term “understanding and appreciation of the field and its conditions” a mode of habitus adaptation characterized by flexibility and strategic positioning within evolving fields. This resonates with the Grajagan case, where migrant fishermen and traders from diverse ethnic backgrounds (Osing, Javanese, Madurese) have adapted their habitus to accommodate new economic opportunities while maintaining core cultural identities. The concept of feeling “like a fish in water” aptly describes those community members, particularly elders like Mr. Wage and traditional leaders like Mr. Sailik, whose habitus fits seamlessly with field conditions, enabling them to navigate ritual practices with embodied competence and natural authority.

The process of habitus transmission between generations occurs through complex mechanisms, as explained by (Bourdieu, 1977) that habitus is reproduced through repeated social practices. Mr. Suhaini demonstrates the internalization of this habitus, “*Even though I am still young, I really appreciate this tradition. This is a valuable heritage that must not be lost*”. Meanwhile, Mrs. Wiwik (40 years old) demonstrates how gender habitus is integrated into ritual practices, “*Women play a significant role, especially in preparing offerings and cooking for the event*”. Crucially, the analysis must recognize that habitus does not operate in isolation but is continuously shaped by field dynamics. The spiritual disposition toward the sea among Grajagan fishermen is not merely a cultural inheritance but a practical response to their material conditions dependence on marine resources for livelihood. As Mr. Sarkan articulates, “*For me as a fisherman, Petik Laut is like a mandatory ritual. It is how we seek permission and blessings from the sea before setting out to sea for the entire year*”. This statement reveals how habitus functions as what Bourdieu calls “practical sense” a strategic orientation that emerges from the dialectical relationship

between internalized dispositions and objective field conditions. The contemporary challenges facing *Petik Laut* tradition declining fish stocks, economic marginalization of small-scale fishermen, and competition from technologically-advanced fishing operations create structural pressures that potentially destabilize the spiritual habitus. Mr. Sarkan's lament captures this tension, *"Sometimes I think, we've already performed the Petik Laut ritual, we've already honored the sea, but now many fishermen from outside the area are coming here. They use more advanced equipment, so fish prices have dropped due to intense competition"*. This dissonance between spiritual investment and material outcomes threatens the reproduction of habitus by undermining the "misrecognition" (Bourdieu, 1977) necessary for ritual efficacy the belief that proper spiritual conduct ensures material prosperity. This analysis enriches our understanding of habitus in the context of Indonesian coastal communities, where spiritual dispositions are not only related to religious aspects but also to ecological relations between humans and the sea. This differs from studies of habitus in urban contexts, which emphasize economic and social dispositions (Swartz, 2002). Having established how habitus operates as internalized spiritual dispositions undergoing contemporary transformation, it becomes crucial to examine how this habitus interacts with cultural capital the knowledge, skills, and competencies that enable community members to participate meaningfully in the *Petik Laut* tradition.

Cultural Capital: Ritual Knowledge and Traditional Competence

Cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu, (1977), encompasses knowledge, skills, tastes, and lifestyles that can be converted into symbolic and economic advantages. In the context of *Petik Laut* Grajagan, cultural capital manifests itself in the form of ritual knowledge, traditional skills, and a deep symbolic understanding of the spiritual practices of coastal communities. Mr. Wage, as an elder, is the highest holder of cultural capital with comprehensive knowledge of the history and complete procession of *Petik Laut*, from the *"haul at the grave of Mbah Lurah Wono Samudro"* to the *"arak-arakan Gandrung carrying 20 tumpeng to the grave of Mbah Tolak"*. The distribution of cultural capital is not evenly distributed within the community, reflecting the knowledge hierarchy outlined by (Bourdieu, (1977) regarding social differentiation based on the accumulation of capital. Mr. Sailik, as a traditional leader, possesses high cultural capital in ritual and spiritual knowledge, *"The procession begins with the preparation of offerings, followed by collective prayers on the beach, then the release of offerings into the sea. Each stage holds deep spiritual meaning"*. Meanwhile, Mr. Suandik (50 years old), as an Osing person, possesses specialized cultural capital related to cultural authenticity, *"The use of the Osing language in ritual prayers, sacred texts, and traditional music unique to the Osing"*. The contemporary transformation of *Petik Laut* tradition reveals a significant reconfiguration of cultural capital among younger generations. While elders like Mr. Wage possess what Bourdieu, (1977) terms "embodied cultural capital" deeply internalized ritual knowledge acquired through long-term participation younger community members are developing a hybrid form of capital that combines traditional knowledge with digital competencies. Mr. Suhaini exemplifies this shift, *"We try to document with photos and videos, share on social media to attract other young people. But we still maintain the authenticity of the rituals"*. This emergence of digital cultural capital creates new hierarchies within the community field. Those who can effectively translate traditional practices into digital narratives gain symbolic power and visibility that may exceed the traditional authority of ritual elders. Mr. Fredy acknowledges this dynamic, *"The challenge is the rapid development of technology. Children today are more interested in playing with their phones than participating in traditions"*. This tension reflects what Bourdieu identifies as "generational struggle" within fields conflicts between established agents defending traditional forms of capital and newcomers introducing new capital types that reconfigure field logic. However, the shift toward digital competence does not simply replace traditional ritual knowledge but rather creates what we might term "convertible cultural capital" the ability to mobilize both traditional and modern knowledge systems strategically. Mr. Sailik demonstrates this adaptive strategy, *"I always involve young people in every preparation. While practicing, I explain*

the meanings. It is crucial that they understand, not just follow along". This pedagogical approach recognizes that maintaining tradition requires more than knowledge transfer; it demands cultivating dispositions (*habitus*) that value ritual participation as meaningful practice rather than mere performance.

The possession and display of cultural capital in *Petik Laut* practice directly generates symbolic power and cultural authority within the Grajagan community. Mr. Wage's comprehensive knowledge of tradition history from the "*haul at the grave of Mbah Lurah Wono Samudro*" to the "*arak-arakan Gandrung carrying 20 tumpeng*" positions him as the ultimate symbolic authority whose interpretations of ritual meaning are socially legitimated. This exemplifies Bourdieu, (1977) argument that cultural capital operates as "informational capital" specialized knowledge that produces distinction and authority. The hierarchical distribution of cultural capital creates what Bourdieu terms "symbolic violence" the process through which cultural authority appears natural rather than socially constructed. When Mr. Sailik, as traditional leader, states, "*The procession begins with the preparation of offerings, followed by collective prayers on the beach, then the release of offerings into the sea. Each stage holds deep spiritual meaning*", his authority to define ritual meaning is not questioned precisely because his position as cultural capital holder has been socially legitimated through years of ritual leadership. This legitimation process obscures the power relations inherent in knowledge hierarchies those who control ritual interpretation control the symbolic economy of the tradition. Mr. Suandik's cultural capital related to Osing language competency represents another dimension of symbolic authority production. The statement that "*Petik Laut always involves Osing traditional elders, and the language used is also the original Osing language*" reveals how linguistic capital functions as "distinction marker" separating authentic practitioners from mere participants. In Bourdieu's framework, this linguistic competency operates as both "embodied cultural capital" (internalized linguistic *habitus*) and "objectified cultural capital" (sacred texts and ritual performances). The scarcity of Osing speakers in contemporary context transforms this linguistic capital into exclusionary mechanism that concentrates symbolic power among a linguistic elite.



Figure 2. One of The Oldest Tombs in Tanah Karangan

Source: Photo by Researcher, 2024

The transmission of cultural capital occurs through participatory learning processes, but this transmission is neither neutral nor automatic. Mr. Sailik's pedagogical strategy, "*I always involve young people in every preparation. While practicing, I explain the meanings*" represents an intentional effort to reproduce cultural capital across generations. However, this finding also aligns with contemporary challenges identified by Juliana et al., (2023), where *Petik Laut* tradition serves

as medium for transmitting local wisdom. The challenge articulated by Mr. Fredy "*Children today are more interested in playing with their phones than participating in traditions*" reveals the competition between traditional cultural capital and modern cultural capital brought by digital technology. This reflects Appadurai, (2020) analysis of cultural flows in globalization, where local traditions face symbolic devaluation in favor of globally circulating cultural forms. The risk is not merely loss of ritual knowledge but erosion of the dispositions (*habitus*) that make such knowledge socially meaningful. Significantly, the commodification of tradition through tourism development creates new pathways for cultural capital conversion. As Mr. Agus observes, "*Indirectly, this tradition makes our area famous, so land values rise, and business opportunities open up*". This suggests that cultural capital once primarily convertible into symbolic capital (prestige, authority) is increasingly convertible into economic capital through heritage tourism. While this conversion may secure tradition's economic sustainability, it also risks transforming ritual knowledge from embodied practice into marketable spectacle, fundamentally altering its social function. While cultural capital provides the symbolic resources for tradition maintenance, Bourdieu's framework requires us to examine how this cultural knowledge translates into economic opportunities and constraints within the coastal community. The relationship between cultural and economic capital in *Petik Laut* reveals complex dynamics of spiritual practice intersecting with material realities.

Economic Capital: The Contradiction between Spirituality and Materiality

Economic capital in the practice of *Petik Laut* demonstrates the complexity of the relationship between spiritual traditions and the economic realities of coastal communities. Bourdieu, (1977) emphasizes that economic capital can be converted into other forms of capital, but in the context of Grajagan, this conversion faces significant structural challenges. For local merchants like Mr. Yanto (34 years old), this tradition offers economic opportunities, "*Alhamdulillah, during Petik Laut, it's really bustling. My goods sell like hotcakes, from traditional food to souvenirs*". Mrs. Wiwik also confirms these economic benefits, "*The Petik Laut tradition is a real blessing for me. Besides being able to participate in a meaningful ritual, it also helps increase my income from sales*". However, the distribution of economic capital within the coastal community reveals significant structural inequalities. Mr. Sarkan described the difficult economic conditions, "*Honestly, brother, fish prices are very low now. We small-scale fishermen feel like we're not valued*". Mr. Suhaini described an exploitative system, "*Small-scale fishermen like me, who don't own our own boats, have to rely on middlemen... our catches have to be sold to them at prices they set and those prices are very low*". The economic contradictions evident in *Petik Laut* practice cannot be understood merely as individual hardship but must be analyzed within the broader political ecology of coastal resource extraction and global capital accumulation. Scoones, (2015) sustainable livelihoods framework emphasizes that coastal communities' economic vulnerability results from structural inequalities in access to productive assets, market power, and political representation. The testimonies of Grajagan fishermen reveal precisely these dynamics of marginalization. Mr. Sarkan's complaint, "*Honestly, Ms., fish prices are very low now. We small-scale fishermen feel like we're not valued*" articulates what political ecology scholars identify as "resource curse" in coastal contexts: communities most dependent on marine resources often benefit least from their extraction. The middleman system described by Mr. Suhaini exemplifies what Bourdieu, (1977) terms "symbolic violence" domination exercised through economic structures that appear as natural market dynamics rather than constructed power relations. Small-scale fishermen, lacking economic capital (boat ownership) and social capital (direct market access), are structurally positioned to accept exploitative prices, a condition they misrecognize as inevitable economic reality rather than politically constructed inequality. The penetration of technologically-advanced fishing operations into Grajagan waters, mentioned by Mr. Sarkan, "*Many fishermen from outside the area are coming here. They use more advanced equipment*" represents what Scoones, (2015) analyzes as "enclosure of marine commons." This process, driven by capitalist expansion and uneven technological development, dispossesses small-scale fishermen not through direct land grabbing but through technological obsolescence and

market competition. The traditional fishing methods employed by Grajagan fishermen, once sustainable and community-embedded, become economically unviable when competing against industrial-scale operations with superior catch efficiency. This political-economic context creates what critical geographers call "livelihood squeeze" the simultaneous compression of income opportunities and rising costs of reproduction that forces communities into increasingly precarious conditions (Scoones, 2015). The *Petik Laut* tradition, performed annually as ritual gratitude for marine abundance, thus unfolds against material conditions of increasing scarcity and economic insecurity. This dissonance between ritual symbolism (abundance, prosperity) and lived reality (scarcity, marginalization) threatens the tradition's ideological efficacy its capacity to generate the collective belief necessary for reproduction.

The economic dimension of *Petik Laut* also reveals processes of cultural commodification wherein tradition becomes convertible into economic capital through tourism development. Mr. Yanto's economic adaptation strategy "*Now there are more tourists from outside the area, so their tastes are different. I have to adapt, for example, by creating more attractive packaging for souvenirs*" demonstrates how cultural practices are increasingly mediated by market logic. While this commodification provides income opportunities for local merchants, it also transforms the symbolic economy of tradition. Bourdieu, (1977) concept of "capital conversion" becomes analytically crucial here. Cultural capital (traditional knowledge, ritual performance) and symbolic capital (community prestige, spiritual authority) are being converted into economic capital through heritage tourism markets. However, this conversion is not politically neutral. As Mr. Agus observes, "*Indirectly, this tradition makes our area famous, so land values rise, and business opportunities open up*". This suggests that tourism-driven economic benefits are unevenly distributed, potentially favoring landowners and commercial operators over fishermen whose livelihoods remain precarious. The risk of commodification lies in what Marxist cultural critics term "reification" the process through which meaningful social practices are reduced to marketable objects detached from their original social relations. When *Petik Laut* becomes primarily a tourist attraction, its function shifts from community solidarity and spiritual renewal to economic performance. This shift potentially undermines the tradition's capacity to function as what Scoones, (2015) calls "moral economy" a system of reciprocal obligations and collective insurance that protects community members from market volatility and economic shocks.

The economic contradictions experienced by Grajagan fishermen create ideological tensions that threaten ritual efficacy. Mr. Sarkan's existential doubt, "*Sometimes I think, we've already performed the Petik Laut ritual, we've already honored the sea, but now many fishermen from outside the area are coming here*" reveals a crisis of belief wherein ritual practice no longer guarantees expected material outcomes. This challenges what Bourdieu, (1977) terms "misrecognition" the collective belief in ritual efficacy that enables symbolic practices to function socially. Political ecology perspectives help contextualize this crisis as resulting not from ritual failure but from structural transformations in marine resource access and global fish commodity chains. The declining fish catches and falling prices experienced by Grajagan fishermen reflect overfishing, climate change impacts on marine ecosystems, and unequal power relations in global seafood markets forces entirely beyond the scope of ritual intervention. Yet the ideological framework of *Petik Laut* tradition, rooted in cosmological beliefs about human-sea reciprocity, struggles to account for these macro-structural forces.

Mr. Suhaini's response to economic hardship, "*It's not just about economics, but also our identity*" represents what Scoones, (2015) identifies as "resilience through cultural continuity." Even when material benefits from tradition become uncertain, its symbolic and social functions identity affirmation, community solidarity, intergenerational connection sustain continued practice. This suggests that economic capital, while important, is not the sole determinant of tradition persistence. Rather, the interaction among multiple capital forms within the field generates complex motivations for practice maintenance. However, individual economic strategies and cultural adaptations cannot be understood in isolation from the broader social networks that facilitate access

to resources and opportunities. Bourdieu's concept of social capital becomes essential here, as it reveals how community relationships and collective solidarity enable both the preservation of tradition and economic adaptation amid structural constraints.

Social Capital: Solidarity and Coastal Community Networks

Social capital in Bourdieu's framework (1977) includes social networks that can be mobilized for the benefit of individuals or groups. In the practice of *Petik Laut* Grajagan, social capital is manifested through community solidarity and social networks that transcend administrative and social boundaries. Mr. Dodo (43 years old), as the village head, explains the extent of the social network, *"We coordinate with neighboring villages, and sometimes they also participate. Some help with preparations, others come as invited guests"*. This demonstrates how the *Petik Laut* tradition functions as a mechanism for bonding and bridging social capital, a concept developed by Putnam, (2000) and reinforced by recent studies on social capital in traditional societies (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Internal community solidarity is evident in the practice of *gotong royong* (mutual assistance). Mr. Agus described his participation, *"I participated from the preparation to the implementation. Starting from mutual cooperation in cleaning the beach, helping with stage preparations, to participating in the ritual procession"*. Mr. Yanto added, *"Usually, a week before, we start preparing... coordinating with other traders, and also participating in mutual cooperation for event preparations."* This comprehensive participation illustrates what Bourdieu, (1977) conceptualizes as social capital mobilization the activation of network resources through reciprocal obligations and mutual recognition. The *gotong royong* (mutual assistance) practice represents institutionalized social capital that operates according to what Bourdieu calls the "logic of gift exchange" participants invest time and labor with the expectation of future reciprocity, creating durable networks of mutual obligation. Significantly, this social capital accumulation occurs not through instrumental calculation but through what Bourdieu terms "illusio" genuine investment in the collective enterprise that simultaneously serves individual and community interests.

Social capital also functions as a mechanism for supporting and legitimizing traditions. Mr. Fredy said, *"Alhamdulillah, the community is very enthusiastic. They feel that their traditions are valued. Young people are also starting to get involved"*. Mrs. Wiwik pointed to the support of her family structure, *"Fortunately, my husband and family are very supportive"*. These findings enrich our understanding of social capital in the context of Indonesian coastal communities, where social networks are based not only on geographical proximity but also on shared spiritual practices. This differs from the conceptualization of social capital in urban studies, which places greater emphasis on formal associations (Lin, 2001). The mobilization of social capital through collective ritual practice ultimately generates symbolic capital the prestige, recognition, and authority that certain community members accumulate through their involvement in *Petik Laut*. This symbolic dimension reveals the power dynamics underlying seemingly egalitarian community traditions.

Symbolic Capital: Prestige and Authority in the Spiritual Hierarchy

According to Bourdieu, (1977), symbolic capital is a form of prestige, honor, and recognition obtained by individuals or groups in a particular social sphere. In the practice of *Petik Laut* Grajagan, symbolic capital is distributed based on spiritual authority, traditional knowledge, and position in the social structure of the community. Mr. Wage, as an elder, has the highest symbolic capital because of his deep knowledge of history and the meaning of tradition. His symbolic authority is legitimized through a comprehensive historical narrative about the "founding figures of Grajagan Village" and the legacy of the "Tanah Pusoko Karang". Mr. Sailik, as the traditional leader, also possesses high symbolic capital obtained through his spiritual authority in leading rituals; his position as an intermediary between the profane and sacred worlds grants him special prestige.

Symbolic capital is also distributed based on roles within the social structure. Mr. Fredy and Mr. Dodo, as village heads, possess formal symbolic capital derived from their administrative

positions, which they use to support and legitimize traditions. Mr. Suandik, as an Osing person, possesses symbolic capital rooted in ethnic authenticity, *"We always involve Osing traditional elders in every preparation. The language used is also the original Osing language"*. This analysis aligns with Faradila et al., (2023) study, which identifies *Petik Laut* as an expression of fishermen's gratitude toward the sea. However, this research contributes additional insights by demonstrating how symbolic capital functions in the reproduction of social and spiritual hierarchies within the community. The distribution and contestation of symbolic capital cannot be understood without analyzing the field the structured social arena in which different forms of capital are deployed, negotiated, and transformed. The *Petik Laut* field emerges as a site of complex negotiations between tradition and modernity, spirituality and materiality.

Field: Arena of Cultural Contestation and Negotiation

In Bourdieu, (1977) perspective, the field is a structured social arena in which agents with different forms of capital compete to maintain or change their positions. The Grajagan Sea Harvesting Field demonstrates the complexity of the relationship between tradition, modernity, and economic interests in the context of contemporary social change. There is competition between traditional values and modernity. Mr. Fredy identifies the challenge, *"Rapidly developing technology. Children are now more interested in playing with their phones than participating in traditions."* However, strategic responses emerge through technological adaptation, *"We have to be creative, for example, documenting on social media to go viral"*. This technological adaptation exemplifies what Bourdieu, (1977) describes as "field transformation" the introduction of new forms of capital (digital literacy, social media presence) that reorganizes existing power relations and creates new positions within the social space. The community's strategic use of social media represents what Bourdieu calls "conversion strategies" attempts to transform cultural capital (traditional knowledge) into symbolic capital (digital visibility) within an evolving field structure. However, this adaptation also creates new forms of distinction and exclusion, as digital literacy becomes a prerequisite for meaningful participation in tradition preservation, potentially marginalizing community members who lack technological competence. And Mr. Suhaini highlights the adaptive strategies of the younger generation, *"We try to document with photos and videos, share on social media to attract other young people. But we still maintain the authenticity of the rituals"*.

In the economic sphere, there is tension between spiritual values and material realities. The difficult economic conditions faced by fishermen create contradictions in this sphere, as expressed by Mr. Sarkan, *"Sometimes people think, what is the point of rituals if life remains difficult?"* However, Mr. Suhaini points to the persistence of tradition, *"It's not just about economics, but also our identity"*. Beyond economic tensions, the field of *Petik Laut* also encompasses ideological negotiations among ethnically and religiously diverse coastal populations. Research on Muncar fishing communities reveals that *Petik Laut* functions as a powerful mechanism for social-ideological accommodation, wherein Islamic and Osing (indigenous Javanese) cosmologies coexist peacefully despite fundamental theological differences (Ainiyah, 2017). The Muncar community, predominantly Muslim, simultaneously honors Islamic figures like Prophet Khidir and pre-Islamic entities like Ratu Reja Mina (the Fish Queen) and Sayid Yusuf, creating what Ainiyah terms "coastal cosmology" a syncretic belief system that prevents ideological conflict. This accommodative function extends to economic and environmental disputes: conflicts between boat owners (*jaragan*) and crew members (*pandiga*), as well as tensions between fishing communities and industrial pollution sources, are mediated through collective ritual participation in *Petik Laut*. The Grajagan case exhibits similar dynamics, where the tradition serves not merely as spiritual practice but as social integrator that transcends ethnic (Osing, Javanese, Madurese) and class divisions. As Mr. Dodo articulates, *"We coordinate with neighboring villages, and sometimes they also participate,"* demonstrating how *Petik Laut* generates bridging social capital that mitigates potential social fragmentation. This ideological accommodation function proves essential for

maintaining social cohesion in pluralistic coastal settings where diverse cultural logics coexist within shared maritime livelihoods. The realm also shows a negotiation between authenticity and adaptation. Mr. Suandik emphasizes the importance of *“Filtering what can be adapted and what must be preserved.”* Mr. Dodo describes the evolution of tradition, *“In the past, the procession was simpler, now it is more festive with various additional attractions,”* but *“the core meaning remains the same”*. This negotiation between continuity and transformation is further complicated by the politics of cultural revitalization within local-global intersections. Anoegrajekti et al., (2018) demonstrate that *Petik Laut* in Banyuwangi has been strategically positioned within the broader project of cultural tourism development, with the tradition's placement in the Banyuwangi Festival calendar representing an effort to introduce local maritime culture to international audiences. This revitalization process involves what they term "critical hybridity" the mixing of Osing, Madurese, and Islamic cultural elements that reflects cross-territory interactions between local, national, and global cultural politics. The oral traditions embedded in *Petik Laut* narratives about historical figures, maritime deities, and ancestral wisdom are being simultaneously preserved through ritual practice and transformed through commodification as tourist attractions. This dual movement creates tensions within the field: elders like Mr. Wage seek to maintain "the essence" of tradition through faithful transmission of historical narratives, while younger community members like Mr. Suhaini strategically deploy social media documentation to generate "viral" visibility. The Grajagan *Petik Laut* thus exists within a contested field where competing interests local cultural preservation, national tourism promotion, and global heritage discourse intersect and negotiate. The tradition's capacity to absorb these multiple pressures without fragmenting demonstrates what Anoegrajekti et al., (2018) identify as the "modification of art and construction" adaptive strategies that enable tradition to remain meaningful across diverse audiences while maintaining its core function as expression of fishermen's gratitude for marine resource access. These findings are consistent with studies on cultural resilience, which show how local communities adapt their traditions to survive the pressures of modernization (Berkes, 2007). However, this research provides a more nuanced perspective on how such adaptations are negotiated within complex social contexts.

Reproduction and Transformation: The Dialectic of Continuity and Change and Its Implications for Development Policy

The Grajagan *Petik Laut* 'Sea Harvesting' Practice demonstrates a complex dialectic between cultural reproduction and transformation that aligns with Bourdieu, (1977) concept of "structured structuring structures." Reproduction occurs through the transmission of habitus and cultural capital across generations, while transformation occurs through adaptation to contemporary conditions. The process of reproduction is evident in the role of Mr. Wage as an elder who plays a key role in the transmission of knowledge, *"What's important is that the essence is not lost... The younger generation must fully understand the history and meaning of each procession."* Transformation occurs through various adaptations, such as those made by Mr. Yanto in the economic aspect, *"I have to adapt, for example, by creating more attractive packaging for souvenirs,"* and Mr. Suhaini in the conservation aspect, *"We add education about marine conservation to this event"*. This process creates dynamic continuity, as reflected by Mr. Dodo, *"The hope is that this tradition will continue to thrive and become a sustainable tourist attraction, while still preserving its sacred values."* Mrs. Wiwik expressed aspirations for gender transformation, *"I hope young women will become more active in preserving this tradition"*. The dialectic between cultural reproduction and transformation observed in Grajagan reflects broader patterns identified in studies of Indonesian coastal resilience. Recent research on coastal villages across Indonesia demonstrates that building transformative resilience requires ideal timeframes for transitional phase navigation, during which communities balance endogenous resources (local knowledge, social networks, cultural capital) with exogenous collaborations (government support, external markets, technological innovations) (Maurischa et al., 2023). The *Petik Laut* tradition exemplifies this process, where internal cultural resources interact with external pressures to produce adaptive continuity rather than static

preservation or complete abandonment. Moreover, the role of governance frameworks in supporting coastal traditions is critical. Prianto & Abdillah, (2023) emphasize that economic resilience in Indonesian coastal communities depends on governance structures that recognize cultural practices as foundations for sustainable fisheries, maritime tourism development, and climate change adaptation. The Grajagan case demonstrates how local traditions, when supported by appropriate policy frameworks, can serve as vehicles for community-based coastal management that integrates spiritual values, ecological conservation, and economic development. Comparative evidence from Jembrana reveals that *Petik Laut* traditions can inform regional regulations on coastal management, provide religious foundations for sustainable resource visions, and generate cultural tourism opportunities (Ariadi et al., 2022).

This study also makes a significant contribution to understanding the socio-cultural dynamics of coastal communities in the Global South. The findings show that traditional practices such as *Petik Laut* serve not only as spiritual rituals but also as mechanisms for community resilience in the face of structural pressures from modernization and globalization. From a development policy perspective, this study highlights the need for an approach that is sensitive to the cultural and social capital of local communities. Rather than viewing tradition as an obstacle to development, the findings show how traditional practices can serve as a basis for community-based sustainable development. This research also confirms the relevance of Bourdieu's theory in non-Western contexts, while providing the necessary conceptual modifications to understand the dynamics of Indonesian coastal communities. The concepts of habitus, capital, and field prove effective in analyzing the complexity of social practices in the context of rapid social change. The limitations of this research lie in its focus on a specific community, which restricts the generalizability of the findings. Comparative research with other coastal communities in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of coastal traditions in the era of globalization.

The Meaning and Function of the Sea Harvest Tradition in the Social and Spiritual Life of the Coastal Community

The *Petik Laut* tradition functions as a multidimensional social practice that integrates spiritual, economic, social, and symbolic dimensions within Grajagan's coastal community. Spiritually, it embodies the habitus of gratitude and reciprocity toward the sea a cosmological belief that human prosperity depends on maintaining harmonious relationships with marine environments. As Mr. Sarkan articulates, "*For me as a fisherman, Petik Laut is like a mandatory ritual. It is how we seek permission and blessings from the sea before setting out to sea for the entire year.*" Socially, *Petik Laut* functions as a mechanism for community solidarity and collective identity affirmation. The participatory nature of ritual preparation involving *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), collective prayers, and shared feasting strengthens social bonds and reinforces community membership. Mr. Agus describes this collective dimension, "*I participated from the preparation to the implementation. Starting from mutual cooperation in cleaning the beach, helping with stage preparations, to participating in the ritual procession.*" This collective participation generates what Durkheim, (1915) termed "collective effervescence" intense emotional energy produced through shared ritual practice that reinforces social cohesion. Economically, the tradition creates temporary income opportunities for local merchants while symbolically legitimating marine resource extraction as morally acceptable practice. Symbolically, *Petik Laut* functions as cultural capital that generates community distinction and tourist attraction, converting traditional knowledge into economic and symbolic value.

The Negotiation between Traditional Values and Forces of Modernity

The *Petik Laut* tradition demonstrates complex negotiations between continuity and transformation in response to modernization pressures. Rather than simple preservation or abandonment, the community engages in what Hobsbawm & Ranger, (1983) term "invention of

tradition" selective adaptation that maintains symbolic core while modifying surface elements. Mr. Dodo articulates this strategy, *"In the past, the procession was simpler, now it is more festive with various additional attractions... but the core meaning remains the same."* Technological modernization introduces new tensions and opportunities. The adoption of social media documentation, as described by Mr. Suhaini, *"We try to document with photos and videos, share on social media"* represents strategic adaptation that expands tradition visibility while risking its reduction to digital spectacle. Mr. Fredy acknowledges this tension, *"We have to be creative, for example, documenting on social media to go viral... but we must ensure that the sacredness is not reduced to mere spectacle."* Economic modernization creates contradictions between spiritual values and material pressures. The penetration of industrial fishing technologies and market-oriented resource extraction undermines the subsistence logic traditionally embedded in *Petik Laut* practice. Yet the community maintains tradition not despite these contradictions but precisely *through* them using ritual practice as symbolic resistance to economic marginalization and cultural displacement.

***Petik Laut* as Mechanism of Cultural Resilience and Collective Identity Reproduction**

The persistence of *Petik Laut* tradition amid modernization pressures demonstrates what Berkes, (2007) terms "social-ecological resilience" the capacity of communities to maintain core functions and identity while adapting to changing conditions. The tradition functions as resilience mechanism through multiple pathways: First, it maintains intergenerational transmission of cultural capital, ensuring continuity of ritual knowledge and maritime ecological knowledge. Mr. Sailik's pedagogical approach *"I always involve young people in every preparation. While practicing, I explain the meanings"* exemplifies deliberate efforts to reproduce cultural competencies across generations. Second, it reinforces collective identity in face of external pressures. The emphasis on Osing linguistic and cultural authenticity, articulated by Mr. Suandik *"We always involve Osing traditional elders... The language used is also the original Osing language"* functions as boundary-making practice that distinguishes community members from outsiders and affirms cultural distinctiveness. Third, it provides symbolic resources for meaning-making amid economic uncertainty. Even when material benefits become unpredictable, the tradition's spiritual and social functions sustain its relevance. Mr. Suhaini captures this dimension, *"It's not just about economics, but also our identity."* This suggests that tradition persistence depends not solely on instrumental benefits but on its capacity to provide collective meaning and ontological security in precarious conditions. The analysis of these three dimensions reveals that *Petik Laut* operates not as static cultural inheritance but as dynamic social practice continuously negotiated by agents within changing field conditions. The tradition's resilience emerges not from rigid preservation but from strategic flexibility maintaining spiritual core while adapting practical expressions to contemporary realities.

Table 1. Theoretical Framework Matrix

Bourdieu's Concept	Definition	Manifestation in <i>Petik Laut</i>	Empirical Findings
Habitus	A long-lasting and transferable disposal system	Spiritual disposition toward the sea; ways of thinking, feeling, and acting related to the sea	Annual mandatory rituals, taboos during the procession, respect for the sea as a source of life
Cultural Capital	Knowledge, skills, tastes, and lifestyle	Ritual knowledge, traditional skills, symbolic understanding of spiritual practices	Comprehensive historical knowledge, ability to lead rituals, mastery of the Osing language
Economic	Convertible material	Economic opportunities	Increased income for

Capital	resources	from tradition vs. the economic reality of fishermen	traders, economic challenges for small-scale fishermen, long-term investment through tourism
Social Capital	Mobilizable social networks	Community solidarity and cross-border networks	Mutual cooperation, coordination between villages, support from families and communities
Symbolic Capital	Prestige, honor, and recognition	Spiritual authority, traditional knowledge, position in the social hierarchy	Village elder status, spiritual leadership, Osing ethnic authenticity
Arena/Field	Structured social space for competition	The contest between tradition and modernity, spiritual and material values	Technological adaptation, negotiation between authenticity and transformation

The application of Bourdieu’s theoretical framework reveals how *Petik Laut* functions as a multidimensional cultural practice shaped by habitus, various forms of capital, and the social field. The habitus of the Grajagan coastal community embodies a deep spiritual connection to the sea, reflected in annual ritual obligations, maritime taboos, and profound respect for the sea as a source of life. Cultural capital is evident in the community’s ritual knowledge, mastery of the Osing language, and symbolic understanding of spiritual practices that preserve their collective heritage. Economic capital manifests in both opportunities and inequalities: while ritual-related commerce benefits traders and tourism fosters long-term investment, small-scale fishermen continue to face economic vulnerability. Social capital strengthens through mutual cooperation, family support, and inter-village coordination, reinforcing communal solidarity. Symbolic capital is embodied by village elders and spiritual leaders who hold prestige and moral authority as authentic bearers of Osing identity. Finally, the *Petik Laut* tradition operates as a social field where tradition and modernity intersect—prompting continuous negotiation between spiritual and material values, and between authenticity and adaptation to contemporary changes.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the *Petik Laut* tradition in Grajagan functions as a dynamic mechanism of cultural resilience operating at the intersection of spirituality, economy, and social solidarity. Through Bourdieu’s framework of habitus, capital, and field, *Petik Laut* emerges not as a static relic but as a living practice continuously renegotiated to balance authenticity with adaptation. The formation of a “hybrid habitus” among younger generations illustrates how cultural continuity is sustained through creative transformation rather than rigid preservation. The interplay of cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capitals within the ritual field reveals both opportunities and tensions—where sacred values coexist with commodification pressures and economic inequalities. Ultimately, *Petik Laut* serves as an active strategy of identity reproduction and collective survival, enabling coastal communities to navigate modernization while reaffirming their spiritual and cultural distinctiveness. Theoretically, this research extends Bourdieu’s social practice theory to a non-Western maritime context, emphasizing the need for contextualized, decolonized approaches to understanding cultural persistence. Practically, it underscores that traditional rituals can inform culturally grounded and sustainable development policies that empower communities to adapt autonomously while preserving their ecological wisdom and social cohesion.

This study is limited by its single-site ethnographic focus, which restricts the generalizability of findings to other coastal contexts. The analysis primarily captures a cross-sectional understanding of *Petik Laut* practices, offering limited insight into long-term transformations and intergenerational shifts in habitus and capital relations. Additionally, while the study employs Bourdieu's theoretical lens effectively, it does not fully explore alternative indigenous epistemologies or comparative frameworks that might further enrich the analysis. Future research should pursue comparative studies across different coastal communities in Indonesia and Southeast Asia to identify broader patterns of maritime cultural resilience and variation. Longitudinal studies are also recommended to trace the evolving dynamics of ritual adaptation, particularly under accelerating digitalization and climate change pressures. Further inquiry into how traditional maritime rituals can be integrated into marine conservation, sustainable tourism, and community resilience frameworks would strengthen the linkage between cultural continuity and ecological sustainability. Exploring digital forms of knowledge transmission and the role of youth in reinterpreting traditional practices will also be crucial for understanding the future trajectories of *Petik Laut* and similar traditions.

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