

Traditional Snacks and Mutual Cooperation in Nyongkolan: A Study on Sasak Cultural Identity

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the role of traditional snack production within the nyongkolan wedding tradition of the Sasak community in Lombok, focusing on its function in cultural preservation and social cohesion. The research aims to: (1) analyze the socio-cultural significance of snack-making, (2) document women's contributions to this practice, and (3) evaluate how the banjar system supports cultural resilience. Using a qualitative phenomenological approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews with community leaders, participatory observation, and documentary analysis. Findings reveal that snack-making is a core cultural practice reinforcing social solidarity, gendered roles, and collective identity. The banjar system facilitates resource sharing and adaptive resilience amid modernization pressures by organizing collective work groups and preserving culinary knowledge. The study concludes that these rituals are essential for sustaining intangible cultural heritage. It recommends supportive documentation initiatives and culturally aware tourism policies that empower local women and recognize the banjar as a key institution for safeguarding this living tradition for future generations.

Keywords: Banjar System, Cultural Preservation, Nyongkolan Tradition, Sasak Community, Traditional Snacks

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INTRODUCTION

In Sasak culture, marriage is known as merari' (escape), which shows a man's courage as well as a way to maintain the self-esteem of a Sasak man who dares to take his beloved woman. On the other hand, parents of "runaway" girls also consider their children to be very valuable (Anjani, 2020). The implementation of a series of wedding ceremonies in the Sasak Lombok community is a habit that cannot be ignored or changed. One of the traditions that is still preserved by the people of Lombok is nyongkolan (Iswaratama, 2024). At the nyongkolan event, the groom's entire family together with the surrounding community visited the bride's

house (Jamaludin & Sugitanata, 2020). As part of a sequence of marriages in the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, the unique traditional rite known as Nyongkolan has been transmitted from generation to generation. (Herlina, 2023).

Nyongkolan is a cultural product that has its own characteristics, where the practice can differ from one region to another, making it a local tradition. For example, nyongkolan is only practiced specifically by the Sasak people (Solatiah, 2022). The nyongkolan tradition is seen as an attempt to preserve culture but there is also a fundamental question about the nature of nyongkolan whether it is really part of Sasak culture or not which is now a matter of debate (Rahim & Christianto, 2019).

There are various literature that examines nyongkolan customs such as (Munawir & Jamal, 2020) which analyzes the educational value contained in the nyongkolan custom, and (Hasanah, 2020) which discusses the value of cooperation and mutual cooperation in the implementation of nyongkolan, there are various typical Lombok snacks prepared by women to welcome invited guests. However, the researcher did not analyze in depth how the cooperation occurred in the snack making process. Meanwhile, this tradition plays a very important role as a medium of friendship between relatives (Pebrianto, 2022).

The process of making Lombok snacks plays an important role in the successful implementation of the nyongkolan custom (Marlina, 2023). Although many studies have explored nyongkolan from the ritual and symbolic aspects, the role of Lombok snacks as a medium of women's mutual cooperation (*laughs*) has not received adequate attention (Maghfiroh, 2024). In fact, the process of making it is not only technical, but also represents the value of social cohesion and the active role of women in cultural preservation. There have been many studies on nyongkolan customs. However, there are still few that discuss the process of gotong royong in making traditional snacks and the role of women in it. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the process of making snacks as a form of gotong royong and document the central role of women in preserving socio-cultural values through these activities.

Considering the process of preparing it involves profound values of mutual cooperation and goes beyond simple cooking, the author is interested in learning more about this element. The research concentrates on the custom of Lombok women working together, which exemplifies the cooperative spirit and fortifies the bonds of friendship among Lombok residents. This study aims to examine the sociocultural aspect of snack preparation in Nyongkolan, which is frequently ignored when researching the Sasak heritage.

METHOD

The method used in data collection is qualitative with a phenomenological approach, which is a research method that focuses on understanding human experience of a phenomenon. Phenomenology aims to uncover the meaning behind human life experiences through in-depth observation and direct interaction with research subjects. (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019).

This study uses three main methods in data collection. First, an in-depth interview was conducted with two community leaders who have a deep understanding of the nyongkolan tradition (Azmi Irawan, 2022). Second, the researcher utilizes direct experience through participatory observation when actively involved in the process of mutual cooperation. Third, the data is complemented by a documentary study of various recordings of related activities that have been carried out. For interview purposes, the researcher uses an unstructured approach that allows flexibility in digging into in-depth information from the source. The combination of these methods is expected to provide comprehensive data on the nyongkolan tradition from various perspectives. (Zogara & Arifin, 2020).

The informants consisted of 2 traditional leaders, as well as 3 Lombok women. The object of the research was taken from the nyongkolan activity of a married couple held in Selanglet village, Penujak village, West Praya District, Central Lombok Regency. The research time ran for approximately 2 weeks, namely during the preparation and process of making and serving snacks which were carried out in the nyongkolan tradition. The process of data analysis in a qualitative method is carried out through the following steps:

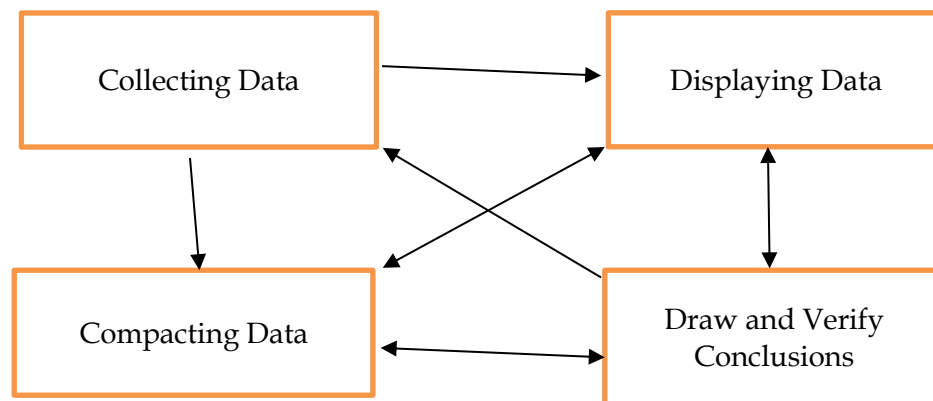


Chart 1. Qualitative Data Analysis Model

Qualitative data analysis is carried out through three main stages after the data is successfully collected. The first stage is data compaction, where the researcher carries out the process of selection, focusing, simplification, and transformation of raw data into a more concise and meaningful form of a process often referred to as data reduction (Sidiq dkk., 2019). Reduced data is presented in the second step in a visual or narrative format that makes interpretation easier, like a table, matrix, or narrative description. In the third step, known as conclusion drawing and verification, the researcher develops the findings while making sure that they are indeed supported by reliable and consistent evidence. (Sarosa, 2021). This stage is carried out to analyze the data and draw conclusions from the data that has been obtained from the respondents.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Before the nyongkolan event is held, the women will collect food ingredients or snacks that will be served to the guests (Zahira & Yelfi, 2022). To

help ease the burden on the part of the bride, there is a name *banjar* (arisan) is collecting raw materials such as sugar, rice, coffee, cooking oil and others (Sahroni, 2024) which will be given to the bride if the bride or her parents are members of the banjar, the banjar will be taken from the person in charge of each raw material, for example PJ sugar, then all members must collect sugar to their PJ in accordance with the agreed banjar.

Table 1. List of banjars in one of the villages in Lombok

| Raw Materials | Number of Members | Member Expenses per member | Total Income |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| Sugar | 11 people | 5 kg | 50 kg |
| Cooking oil | 11 people | 5 kg | 50 kg |
| Coffee beans | 30 people | 1 kg | 29 kg |
| Rice | 30 people | 10 kg | 290 kg |
| Rice | 11 people | 100 kg | 1000kg/1 ton |

Table 1 shows a list of raw materials managed in the banjar or arisan system in a village in Lombok, including sugar, cooking oil, coffee beans, rice, and rice. Each raw material has the number of members, contribution obligations per member, and total banjar income when issued. For example, for sugar, there are 11 members who deposit 5 kg each, so the total received by the needy member is 50 kg (since the recipient does not contribute during the period). A similar pattern applies to other materials, such as rice with 30 members who deposit 10 kg per person for a total of 290 kg, or rice with 11 members who deposit 100 kg per person resulting in 1 ton.

The *banjar* system exemplifies a structured mutual aid mechanism that distributes resources fairly among members during important life events such as weddings. The data in Table 1 show that contributions vary by material type and number of members, reflecting the availability and cultural importance of each raw material. Variations in the number of members and the size of contributions indicate a flexible system that is adapted to the capacity and needs of the community.

For example, the large contribution of rice (1 ton) from 11 members indicates a high-value resource prioritized for the occasion, while coffee beans have smaller individual contributions but involve more members. This system reflects the cultural value of gotong royong of Sasak society, where collective responsibility ensures that no single person bears the full burden of event preparation (Hamzani, 2024). Thus, the banjar serves not only as a logistical tool, but also as a social institution that strengthens solidarity and reciprocity.

"Banjar/arisan will be issued when one of the members needs or will hold a reception. Each member is required to deposit banjar according to the predetermined amount. If there are members who do not have raw materials according to the provisions, the raw materials can be replaced with money. For example, if there are 11 members and each member has to deposit 5 kg, then the member who receives the banjar will get 50 kg. This is because the members of the banjar recipients did not participate in the deposit during that period". (Interview with the Person in Charge of Banjar)

Banjar Central Lombok community mutual cooperation group that aims to help members when they get married (Mutia Arma Asnawi, 2023), (Murdi, 2018). As a local wisdom, this banjar takes care of all traditional wedding processions, starting from preparing dishes, welcoming guests, to cleaning up after the event (Harefa dkk., 2024). The peak is Roah/Walimatul Urs, followed by Sorong serah (symbolic handover) and *Nyongkolan* (bridal procession). Banjar not only provides labor support, but also material assistance such as rice or rice, *coffee, sugar, gold,* and others. The implementation process begins with family and traditional leader deliberation for the division of tasks, although this division is flexible and still requires mutual agreement (Sulistiawati, 2023).

Banjar in Lombok initially focused on life-cycle events (marriage & death), but has now expanded to include broader socio-economic activities (Luriadi & Irwan, 2022). Banjar in Lombok society was formed on the basis of the common needs of its members. Each member agrees to a system of provision of certain goods that can be used interchangeably. (Marhandra, 2020). For example, in Banjar all members agree to provide meat which will then be given to members who need it for celebration purposes (roah in Sasak) or the needs of other members' families (Sahabudin dkk., 2022).



Figure 1. The Process of Making Lombok Snacks

The activity of making typical Lombok snacks by the mothers before the wedding, as observed in Figure 1, is not only a logistical preparation, but also represents a complex socio-cultural practice. These results provide answers to study concerns regarding the significance that culinary traditions have in preserving the Lombok community's social cohesiveness. Even though there are ready-made meal options available on the market, the process of mutual cooperation in manually creating food demonstrates the tenacity of the values of cooperation. (Hidayattulloh dkk., 2025).

There are various types of Lombok snacks that will be made to prepare for the reception process.

Table 2. List of snacks that are usually prepared

| Cookie name | Sum |
|----------------------|-------|
| Rhizome | 30 kg |
| Aling-aling/kaliadem | 10 kg |
| Onion cake | 25 kg |

| Cookie name | Sum |
|---------------|-------------|
| Banana pencil | 12 kg |
| Kare gulung | 3 kg |
| Kuri Triangle | 3 kg |
| Bangat Cake | 10 kg |
| Poteng | 3 kg |
| Spout Cake | 25 kg |
| Banana | 500 scythes |

In welcoming the traditional Lombok wedding reception, various types of traditional snacks are carefully prepared by families and locals. Table 2 shows various typical snacks that must be available, ranging from Rhizomes that require a weight of 30 kg, Aling-aling/Kaliadem as much as 10 kg, to Onion and Light Spout Snacks which require 25 kg each. Types of cakes such as Lapis Pisang (12 kg), Kare Roll (3 kg), Kuri Setritiga (3 kg), Jajan Bangat (10 kg), and Poteng (3 kg) also complement this traditional dish. Not to forget, bananas are prepared in large quantities up to 500 scythes (bunches) which are usually processed into various kinds of dishes. The difference in the amount of each snack reflects its level of need and popularity in the wedding reception tradition. This snack not only serves as a dish for guests, but also becomes a symbol of the culinary wealth and togetherness of the Lombok people. The process of making it, which involves many residents in mutual cooperation, further strengthens the relationship and preserves the culinary cultural heritage that has been inherited from generation to generation (Suryana dkk., 2024). To demonstrate their dedication to maintaining the traditions, the people of Lombok continue to make these delicious meals by hand, even in this day and age when anything can be purchased instantaneously.



Figure 2. Types of Snacks Served to Guests

In the begawe event (traditional Lombok wedding reception), guests will be treated to various traditional snacks as seen in Figure 2. Each guest usually receives a tray containing various snacks. If the snack is not finished on site, guests are allowed to take it home. Not stopping at the presentation during the event, the host has also prepared special gifts containing traditional snacks as souvenirs for the guests to take home. This is a form of respect and gratitude from the host for the invitation. The process of preparing all the snack dishes is the responsibility of the women from the family and the surrounding community (Khikmawati dkk., 2024). They work together to ensure that all snacks are

available in sufficient quantities and with authentic flavors.(Trisdayanti & Kristiana, 2024a)

In the tradition of begawe or traditional wedding reception in Lombok, the bride and groom's family not only prepare various traditional snacks, but also have to prepare a variety of side dishes and rice to entertain the guests present at the peak of the wedding (Anggarista & Jaeka, 2023). The process of preparing this side dish has very different characteristics from making snacks. If the manufacture of snacks is entirely the responsibility of women, then the processing of side dishes is actually the domain of men (Prayoga, 2021). The entire process from the selection of raw materials, cutting vegetables, peeling coconuts, making traditional yeast, to the final cooking process is completely carried out by men without the intervention of women (Sawaludin dkk., 2022). This clear division of roles shows the local wisdom of the Lombok people in maintaining traditional values through traditional wedding processions (Yudha dkk., 2025a).



Figure 3. The Process of Choosing Cooking Spices and Cutting Vegetables by Men

Why is the cooking process at the nyongkolan event only done by men? Why don't you take part in this process? The following is an answer from one of the Lombok people that we got from the interview process.

"In the nyongkolan tradition in Lombok, the cooking process is exclusively carried out by men based on ancestral beliefs that have been inherited from generation to generation. This belief is based on some deep considerations. First, there is the assumption that large-scale cooking jobs require extra energy that men are considered to have more possession. Second, the cooking process in this traditional event is believed to involve certain spiritual elements such as prayers and special rituals that can only be done with a ran (cooking chair) from among men. This matra aims to ensure the smooth running of the event, the sufficiency of food for all guests, and the durability of food so that it does not go stale easily.

During the cooking process, women are prohibited from approaching the area. This prohibition is not just an ordinary taboo, but part of a sacred ordinance that must be observed. In addition, there is a hereditary belief that the distribution of side dishes will be fairer if handled by men. All of these rules are not intended to limit the role of women, but as a form of respect for the division of roles that have been established by ancestors and are believed to be able to maintain the purity and smoothness of the nyongkolan procession as one of the important rituals in Sasak culture."

Based on the results of the interviews, the division of roles in the cooking process of the nyongkolan event in Lombok is based on traditional and spiritual values inherited from generation to generation (Wulandari, 2023). Men's absence from the cooking stage is not seen as discriminatory; rather, it is seen as a component of a belief system that includes sacred elements like unique rituals and the conviction that food distribution is equitable. The Sasak culture's harmony of gender roles is reflected in this tradition, where women are not allowed to participate in order to preserve the sacredness of rituals and ensure that events proceed smoothly in accordance with ancestors' instructions. (Gue, 2024), (Prasetio, 2024). Thus, this practice emphasizes that the distinction of roles in nyongkolan is a form of preserving local wisdom with religious and social value.

The main difference between the nyongkolan tradition of the Sasak tribe and the wedding customs of other tribes in Indonesia lies in the division of gender roles that are highly structured and related to spiritual values (Yudha dkk., 2025b). In nyongkolan, the main cooking is done only by men because it is considered to require extra energy and involves sacred rituals, with a strict ban on women approaching the cooking area. In contrast, in Bali and Java, gender roles in cooking are more flexible and based on social functions, without such strict ritual rules (Trisdayanti & Kristiana, 2024b). This difference reflects the way each community constructs cultural identity through gender practices, where nyongkolan emphasizes gender roles as preservers of spiritual values, while Bali and Java show a more dynamic adaptation of roles according to social and ritual contexts (Raikhan, 2023).

So that the tradition of nyongkolan in Lombok reflects mutual cooperation across generations, from youth to the elderly, in preserving the heritage of our ancestors (Al-Pansori & Syahidi, 2024). Typical snacks such as rhizomes and aling-aling are not just dishes, but a symbol of processed togetherness with a clear division of roles: women prepare snacks, men process main dishes (Kurniawan, 2024). The result of the analysis of the role of Lombok snacks in improving community relations is to show local wisdom that shows the principles of "mutual obedience" and "mutual help" of the Sasak people. In the midst of modernization, the tradition of making snacks together becomes a cultural strategy to: (1) Strengthen traditional identity, (2) Become a medium for learning ancestral values, (3) Bind social solidarity.

CONCLUSION

This study successfully addresses its research objectives by revealing that traditional snacks in the *nyongkolan* tradition serve not merely as ceremonial refreshments but, more importantly, function as a critical medium for mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*) and a profound symbol of cultural identity for the Sasak community. The preparation of these snacks is a collective endeavor that strengthens social solidarity and reinforces a shared sense of belonging among community members. These findings significantly enrich the academic study of traditional gastronomy by demonstrating how everyday culinary practices can serve as a powerful entry point for understanding the deep complexity of socio-

cultural values, beliefs, and social structures within a society. In particular, by carefully capturing the crucial yet frequently underestimated role of women as the main actors and stewards of intangible cultural property, this study significantly advances gender studies. Through the careful practice of snack creation, it emphasizes how women maintain and transmit traditional values, social norms, and knowledge throughout generations, so establishing their position as essential cultural agents.

The findings regarding the sophisticated effectiveness of the *banjar* system in strategically distributing responsibilities, labour, and material resources, alongside its facilitation of cultural adaptation strategies amidst mounting modernization pressures, represent an important contribution to the sociology of culture. This study compellingly demonstrates that authentic cultural resilience is not only about rigidly preserving traditions in a static form but also, and more crucially, about the community's dynamic ability to manage and innovate adaptive social mechanisms. The *banjar* operates as a flexible institutional framework that allows for pragmatic adjustments to contemporary challenges while tenaciously maintaining the core values that define the community's ethos. These foundational principles, such as "mutual respect and obedience" (*tunduk patuh*) and "mutual assistance" (*gotong royong*), are thus actively performed and renewed through the system's logistical support of traditions like snack production for the *nyongkolan*, ensuring their continued relevance.

In light of these results, the study strongly suggests that in order to avoid the loss of this intangible heritage, the complete traditional snack production process—including recipes, symbolic meanings, and techniques—needs to be more thoroughly and formally documented. Additionally, it suggests a better and more moral way to combine this practice with the growth of sustainable cultural tourism, which puts the good of the community and cultural authenticity ahead of commercialization. This study highlights the urgent need for more thorough investigation into creative, community-based cultural preservation approaches that might succeed in the age of digitization. This includes specific investigations into the economic impact of cultural tourism practices on the sustainability of traditions such as *nyongkolan*, examining whether economic incentives support or distort traditional values, and exploring the potential for traditional gastronomy to serve as a pillar for sustainable local economic development.

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