This study re-examines the definition of community or local group in Java. Former studies of Java tend to emphasize loose social structure and dyadic social relations. These studies can be classified into two categories, which point out the existence of certain community or local groups in Java based on the agrarian system, and the other point out the absence of certain community or local group in Java based on dyadic social relations. But, both of them take rituals into account to study the social relations in Java.

I conducted fieldwork in a community near the Surakarta (Solo) city in central Java over a period of 22 months between 2001 and 2003. Additional study was carried out in March 2004, February-March 2005, March 2007, September 2007 and March 2009.

_Slametan_ (prayer and division of food by male neighbors), a component of rituals has been an important object of study for Javanese scholars. _Slametan_ aims to generate equality and create harmony among participants. The all-male ritual presents an ideal image of harmony in the community. However, as discussed in this study, _rewang_ also has a significant effect on social relations. Neighbor women participate in the _rewang_ practice by helping to prepare for rituals mainly by cooking. Many informants mentioned to me that _rewang_ is an occasion to meet friends and become involved in mutual help. It is also important for creating harmony among the participants, as with the all-male rituals. But as we will see in the case study, _rewang_ also brings about conflicts or even deepens them. This study aims to explore several aspects of social relations among the Javanese from the women’s viewpoint.

At my study site in Central Java, some component of ritual, which includes mainly offerings to the spirits, is no longer common since it is perceived to be and explained as a non-Islamic component. A new comer in the community, who studied in Saudi Arabia, emphasizes the true Islam and is critical of non-Islamic components of rituals. His arguments and lectures on Islam had an effect on neighbors. Nowadays new Islamic components are replacing the practice of offerings to the spirits. Does this change of rituals affect the community and the neighborhood?

Former studies also discuss ritual change but they do not pay much attention to the female role. Women play an important role for this change since they are responsible for the preparation and form of the rituals. Women also actively participate in religious activities by attending Islamic lectures. In this study, we see two kinds of rituals that have taken place in the study site: one is communal ritual concerning Ramadan, and the other is rites of passage, the core rituals that take
place at births, weddings, funerals and after death. In both ritual cases, the people at the study site emphasize Islamic elements, but in fact non-Islamic elements, based on Javanese tradition, are not omitted totally. What is important to the ritual are the social ties among neighbors, so even as its form changes the function of the rituals remains the same. For example, the Sadranan ritual, before Ramadan takes place at the mosque. The form of this ritual has changed since some components are perceived as non-Islamic and some neighbor men do not go to the ritual since they perceive this ritual is a non-Islamic one. But, neighbor women still contribute the food for this ritual. Since the cooking is not conceived of as non-Islamic activity.

At the rewang practice, neighbor women contribute a cash gift to the host family who is holding the ritual. The host family prepares food and distributing it in boxes to neighbors. It is an important occasion for mutual help based on the reciprocity rule, which creates and maintains social relations among neighbors. Some women emphasized that what is important with this food is to give the same amount and quality to each neighbor in an egalitarian way. But in fact, some neighbors get more food from the host and can be classified in three types: key persons in the community, hired women for special work of rewang and close neighbors or friends of the host. Additionally, task assignments of women at a rewang also differ based on social status in the community. This can not happen at the all-male ritual that emphasis equality.

This study presents a case study of conflict between two women that arose from a catering business and ended up with the segregation of one of the women from her neighbors. The description is mainly based on fieldwork I conducted in central Java. Iri (envy or jealously) relates to this situation between neighbors, who believe they should be equal socially. Gossip and actions based on iri feelings are aimed toward the equalization of neighbors. From analysis of this conflict case, we can see the existence of common feeling among neighbors. Thus social relations are not merely based on dyadic relations, as former studies have pointed out. This feeling of community is created and maintained through the mutual-help network.

And as mentioned above, rituals in Java are due to the influence of Islam, but the importance of cooking and food sharing remains the same. For example, some non-Islamic rituals were discontinued but the division and distribution of boxed food which is done by neighbour women is still maintained from the traditional ritual practice. For the occasion of Islamic lectures, food is also an important component. The participants of lectures are served tea and snacks. They eat only a little and each participant brings the snack to their household. This resembles the all-male ritual Slamentan. The form changes but the component, cooking and food, remain important to the form and the maintenance of Javanese community.