

Peaceful Life Learning About Tengger Culture and Its Challenges

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This study aims to analyze the current life habitus of the Tengger Indigenous People amid the growing tourism industry in the Bromo area. **Method:** Employing a qualitative approach, data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions (FGDs), then analyzed using a social and cultural reproduction framework. **Results:** The findings reveal five core habitus that characterize the Tengger Indigenous lifestyle: Maintaining Politeness, Obeying the Rules, Straightforward and Relatively Smooth Language, Simple Reasoning, and Peaceful Living. However, transformations – referred to as a “shock” to the habitus – have emerged, triggered by external influences such as the ownership of luxury vehicles, culturally insensitive behavior by foreign tourists, and the discovery of illicit drug cultivation. These phenomena indicate social tensions disrupting the community’s traditional harmony. **Novelty:** This research offers a comprehensive understanding of the transformation in indigenous cultural habitus due to tourism, emphasizing the urgent need for balanced and respectful interactions among stakeholders in the TNBTS area to preserve traditional values while accommodating modern demands.

INTRODUCTION

The Tengger region stretches on the slopes of Mount Bromo, has a relatively sharp slope of 45 degrees, with a height of 1776 m above sea level, has a tropical climate, is relatively cooler in the dry season, ranging from 5°C-16°C during the day, to 8°C at night, rainfall is relatively high, alternating wet and foggy [1]. Since the mid-1990s, Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park has occupied the highest peak of foreign tourist visits than other national parks in Indonesia [2]. The natural beauty of Bromo and the culture of the Tengger indigenous people have been widely known, thus triggering the arrival of both foreign and domestic tourists, and has become an icon of Indonesia's leading tourism. The Tengger indigenous people always have their own charm, including the beauty of nature and their socio-cultural life, this charm attracts domestic and international tourists and scientists, enjoying the beauty of nature and conducting research related to the economic, social, and cultural aspects of the local community [3, p. 1]. The appeal of the tourism sector has contributed greatly to increasing the country's foreign exchange, along with two other sectors, namely the palm oil sector and the oil and gas sector [4]. The benefits of tourism development are: 1) providing employment; 2) developing the economic sector supporting tourism: accommodation, restaurants, transportation, money changers, and so on [5]. The Tengger tourism sector has contributed significantly to local and national development, providing employment, improving education levels, and the welfare of local residents.

The development of tourism in TNBTS is an attraction to reap greater economic benefits, especially when combined with cultural activities such as traditional

ceremonies, it will increase the number of tourist visits [6]. The growth of tourism in national parks and nature reserves in Indonesia, mostly occurs spontaneously and unplanned, without paying attention to conservation or the needs of user groups [2]. Tourism revenue has great potential as a contributor to regional income and supporting the local economy [7]. The tourism industry can be one of the media to open up regional and social isolation through various economic, social, and cultural interactions between local residents and tourists.

The development of the tourism industry in the Bromo area has influenced the economic, social, and cultural lives of local communities, so that various main infrastructures have developed better, and have succeeded in lifting the local economy, on the other hand this development has also triggered the emergence of several social problems in the community. Several studies have shown that domestic tourists have low awareness of the purpose of national parks, they also have less respect for nature but prefer hedonistic enjoyment of the environment [2]. These realities remind all parties of the need to preserve the culture of the Tengger indigenous people, one of which is through the elaboration of the habitus mechanism of the Tengger indigenous people's lives, which is carried out through education and habituation. Education is a process of gaining knowledge, skills, and positive habits, arranged systematically, aimed at developing students' academic or spiritual potential, according to Law Number 20 of 2003 [8]. Education "is a conscious and planned effort to create a learning atmosphere and learning process so that students actively develop their potential to have spiritual religious strength, self-control, personality, intelligence, noble morals and skills needed by themselves, society, nation and state" (Law No. 20 of 2003)" [9].

Culture is the result of social system interaction and has basic elements in the social system of human life, namely status (position in the social system that indicates a person's position), norms (a set of special rules for a habit that is right/good for individuals in a certain status) and a set of rules, which are additional habits of society in adjusting to norms [10]. Indonesian national culture is the whole process and result of intercultural interaction that lives and develops in Indonesia, this development is dynamic, marked by the existence of intercultural interaction both domestically and with other cultures from outside Indonesia, in the process of dynamic changes in the world [11]. The Tengger indigenous community is inseparable from Indonesian culture, has a local culture that is intertwined with foreign cultures, as a consequence of national and international tourist destinations. Culture is the result of human civilization, this civilization is noble, then known as culture. Furthermore, culture also means trying to get progress in life, so that in the context of the science of civilization, culture means efforts to improve human life [12, p. 23]. The local wisdom of the Tengger community is an integral part of the national culture, which is currently experiencing various problems in the dynamics of the development of global cultural transformation. The Tengger community in East Java is one of the few indigenous communities in the archipelago that still maintains unique traditions and cultural values, known as local wisdom. One of them is the *unan-unan* or traditional ceremony to complete the missing month and then

return it intact. Unique because it is held every five years in the Tengger calendar, so that each implementation always has its own attraction [13]. Indigenous communities as part of the local community, relatively small in number will be vulnerable to external pressure or larger organizations, they have difficulty defending their own interests and often lack/do not have the resources to influence decisions, or make their opinions heard by the government, local communities are on the losing side in the decision-making process that will damage cultural integrity and harm their existence [14, p. 1].

The considerations for choosing the theme of learning the culture of the Tengger Indigenous Community as the object of research, first, is that the Tengger Indigenous Community has an attraction, including the beauty of nature and its socio-cultural life. As an indigenous community, they do not close themselves off from social interaction with other cultures, but adapt and maintain their traditions and customs. Until now, these traditions and cultural values are still maintained, and are known as local wisdom. Second, the tourism aspect of Bromo, which has now become one of the driving sectors of the national and regional economy, has contributed significantly to the development and socio-cultural change in the Bromo Tengger Semeru area. Third, the implementation of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 5 of 2017 concerning the Advancement of Culture. The Tengger Indigenous Community is an inseparable part of Indonesian culture, has a local culture that interacts very closely with foreign cultures, this interaction has the potential to threaten the existence of local culture, as a consequence of the leading tourist destinations in Indonesia. Based on several considerations, the researcher analyzed several studies related to the habitus of the life of the Tengger Indigenous Community. First, Self-Narrative and Identity of Tengger Indigenous Teenagers. Qualitative method, the results of the study explain that the Tengger community and the tourism industry influence each other, even around the sacred area of Mount Bromo is also forced to provide access for the development of tourism infrastructure such as road access, various hotels and restaurants [15]. Second, The Dynamics of "Ethnic Boundary": In the Identity of the Tengger Community of Madurese Descent. Participatory observation method and in-depth interviews. The results of the study concluded that "ethnic boundaries or social boundaries of the Tengger people are attributes: sarong, Tengger language, farming community, and obedient to carry out traditional ceremonies, have values like those who live in the Tengger region: hard workers, egalitarian, love peace and always do good, obey leaders and obey customary rules, maintain family relationships and are close to the spiritual world [16].

Third, Cultural Tourism and Culinary of Tengger Tribe in Ngadas Tourism Village, Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park. Qualitative research method. Data collection techniques used are: 1) literature study & documentation; 2) observation; and 3) interviews. Data analysis is done descriptively. The results of the study show that Ngadas Tourism Village, Poncokusumo District, Malang Regency has a variety of cultural tourism attractions and various typical culinary delights [4]. Fourth, The Struggle Of Tengger Tribal Youths Using Higher Education To Get Social And Cultural Status In Society. Qualitative method. The results of the study show that the success of young

people in becoming graduates is due to effort and hard work, supported by families who have a better understanding of education, so that they have social capital obtained from basic education, and develop that social capital to get better education and jobs in the future [17]. Fifth, Development of Tengger Bromo Tribe Community Through Unan-Unan Tradition To Increase Religious Tolerance. Qualitative analysis method, research results, 1). The main elements of the Unan-Unan tradition: Preparation: the community makes careful preparations, Offerings: traditional leaders lead the procession to the crater of Bromo, Procession: wearing traditional clothes, singing traditional songs, and accompanying the offerings with prayers. Offerings: placed in several places considered sacred, and Closing: After the offerings are given, the Unan-Unan ritual is considered complete. 2). Unan-Unan reflects respect for Tengger customs, including dance, music, and traditional foods that are an integral part of the ceremony. Tolerance for cultural diversity strengthens the unity and solidarity of the Tengger community. [18]. Sixth, Dynamics of the Implementation of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park Conservation Policy. Descriptive qualitative method, the results of the study explain how to increase empowerment through three steps simultaneously: first, strengthening the social identity of Wong Tengger, so that people outside Tengger know how the social life of the Tengger community is, second, facilitating the implementation of Critical Education for the Tengger community, about the importance of land conservation around TNBTS; and third, facilitating the development of facilities and infrastructure needed by the Tengger community and TNBTS for the continuation of National Park conservation efforts. [19].

So far, Tengger has been analyzed from the aspects of: Self-narrative and Identity of Indigenous Tengger Youth, Dynamics of Ethnic Boundaries: Identity of the Tengger Madura Community, Cultural Tourism and Culinary of the Tengger Tribe in Ngadas Tourism Village, Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park, The struggle of young Tengger people through higher education in obtaining social and cultural status in society, Development of the Tengger Bromo Tribe Community Through the Unan-Unan Tradition to Increase Religious Tolerance, Dynamics of the Implementation of the Conservation Policy of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park. No analysis theme has been found related to the habitus of the life of the Tengger Indigenous Community, therefore the researcher considers it important to analyze this theme. Research related to the habitus of the life of the Tengger Indigenous Community today and previous research, relatively have differences in the aspect of research focus, while the similarities between previous research and this research are using qualitative methods and the theory of social and cultural reproduction by Pierre Bourdieu. The focus of this research analysis is related to the values of the life of the Tengger Indigenous Community. The purpose of this study is to analyze the habitus of the life of the Tengger Indigenous Community today? The benefits of the research are as follows: 1. It is expected to understand the picture of the habitus of the Tengger indigenous people's lives today. 2. It is expected that readers will be wiser when understanding the reality of the Tengger indigenous people's lives today. 3. Various best solutions can be found related to the

dialectics of the Indigenous Peoples today. In relation to the objectives of this research, the theoretical perspective used is the theory of social and cultural reproduction by Pierre Bourdieu [20]. Bourdieu states that social life is the result of social and cultural reproduction, and the social world experienced by agents or individuals is an arena or field where agents struggle to maintain their social position while reproducing their social and cultural status for the next generation. This analogy is used to understand the perspective of agents as individuals and the perspective of the structure where individuals are located and interact with other agents. The involvement of agents in the social world is basically a competition. Agents must have the ability to survive in the game they play, each agent has different competencies, because they have different habitus and capital [17]

Social practices are the result of the dialectical relationship between structure and agency, social practices are not determined objectively and are not the product of free will [21]. Bourdieu explains the arena of competition or field, is the realm of the social world, where agents try to gain the desired power and status. Social practice: Practice = (Habitus X Capital) + Field. Social practices by agents are the result of the habitus and capital they have, used in the struggle in the arena or social field, social practices are also a means of social and cultural reproduction. The education system is part of the effort to carry out social and cultural reproduction, schools are places of production and reproduction of the dominant group's culture, which has the authority to control the social, political, and economic bases, which are then manifested in activities at school [17]. Habitus is the generative principle of objectively classified assessment and the classification system (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. In the relationship between the two capacities that define habitus, namely producing classifiable practices and works, and distinguishing, appreciating practices, and products (taste), that the represented social world, namely the lifestyle space, has been formed/structured [20, p. [170]

Habitus is a set of dispositions that direct agents to act and react in certain ways. These dispositions produce 'regular' practices, perceptions and attitudes without being consciously coordinated or regulated by any 'rules'. The dispositions that form habitus are embedded, structured, durable, generative and transferable. Dispositions are acquired through a gradual process of cultivation, in this aspect early childhood experiences are very important, acquired through many processes of habituation training and learning [22, p. 12].

Habitus provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in everyday life, orienting their actions and tendencies without strictly determining them. Habitus provides a 'feel for the game', a sense of what is appropriate in a situation and what is not, a 'practical meaning'. Habitus, and the related notions of practical sense and bodily hexis, are Bourdieu's concepts for understanding the generative principles or schemas that underlie practices and perceptions, works and appreciations. When individuals act, they always do so within a particular social context or setting. Therefore, a particular practice or perception must be seen, not as a product of the habitus itself, but as a product

of the relationship between the habitus, on the one hand, and the particular social context or social 'field' in which individuals act on the other [22, p. 14]. Habitus resides within the mind of an individual who is still in his or her conscious state, while the field resides outside the mind of the actor who constructs one's mind. The essence of Boudieu's view is intended to bridge subjectivism and objectivism [23, p. 580]. Habitus and Arena are mental or cognitive structures with which a person relates to the social world, they are equipped with a series of internalized schemes that are used to perceive, understand, appreciate, and evaluate the social world. Through these schemes, a person will produce their practices, perceive and evaluate them. Dialectically, habitus is "a product of the internalization of the structure" of the social world. Habitus is acquired as a result of occupying a position in the social world over a long period of time [23, p. 581]

Arena/Fields or Champ (French) are concrete social situations governed by a set of objective social relations, hierarchically organized. The arena is a structured space with its own rules of functioning, with its own power relations, independent of political and economic rules, except in the case of the economic and political arenas themselves [24, p. xvii] The arena is always a place of struggle as individuals try to maintain or change the distribution of specific forms of capital. The individuals participating in this struggle will have different goals, some will try to maintain the status quo, others will try to change it, and there are different chances of winning or losing, depending on where they are in the structured positional space. The conduct of struggle in a field, whether a conflict over the distribution of wealth or over the value of a work of art, always presupposes a fundamental agreement or involvement of the parties participating in the struggle [22, p. 14].

RESEARCH METHOD

This research method is qualitative, namely relying on human observation, both in its territory and in its terminology. It aims to understand the phenomenon of the research subject holistically, through descriptions in the form of words and language, in a specific natural context and utilizing various natural methods [25, p. 16]. Paradigm is a scientific analysis method that allows all problem formulations to be answered well, aiming to understand comprehensively the implementation of the habitus of the Tengger indigenous people's lives today. This study uses a descriptive qualitative study approach, through event interpretation analysis, using human instruments in research, functioning to determine the focus of the research, selecting research informants as data sources, collecting data, assessing data quality, analyzing data, interpreting data and concluding findings [26, p. 222]. The research steps are in accordance with Creswell's opinion, qualitative researchers see social phenomena comprehensively, see existing symptoms as a whole unit, a means of exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups, analyzing data inductively and obtained through literature studies, in-depth interviews, FGDs, and field observations [27, p. 22]. In-depth interviews and FGDs were conducted with consideration of objectivity, breadth of information, and competence to two main sources with the profession of Traditional Shaman and Temple Caretaker in

two districts: Probolinggo and Lumajang. The two sources include the Head of Traditional Shaman in the Bromo Tengger Semeru area and the Temple Caretaker in Lumajang.

The main data of this research/primary data is in the form of notes/transcripts of interviews with research sources. Secondary data of this research is data related to the object of study, supporting the validity of the object analysis, including general and personal data. General data: books, papers, newspapers, magazines, meeting notes, official reports. Personal data: personal journals, diaries, letters, electronic letters [27, p. 169]. The secondary data of this research comes from various scientific journal articles and various books related to tourism and the life of the Tengger indigenous people today. Analysis of the object of study based on existing data, using a descriptive qualitative approach. Understanding the habitus of the life of the Tengger indigenous people concerns interdisciplinary issues, so that the analysis connects existing and appropriate data, with various literature. The object of study is analyzed using Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural reproduction. A systematic literature review, both quantitative and qualitative, is an important process in compiling the conclusions of this research, thus enabling the effectiveness of scientific theory and data-based practice [28]. Analysis of the research data was carried out by explaining several interview quotes related to the implementation of the habitus of the life of the Tengger Indigenous People, as well as information findings during the FGD.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Description of the Habitus of the Tengger Indigenous Community

Habitus is a set of dispositions that direct agents to act and react in certain ways, these dispositions produce 'regular' practices, perceptions, and attitudes without being consciously coordinated or regulated by any 'rules'. The dispositions that form habitus are instilled, structured, durable, generative, and transferable. Dispositions are acquired through a gradual instillation process, in this aspect early childhood experiences are very important. [22, p. 12].

There are five indicators of the description of the habitus of the Tengger Indigenous Community in everyday life as found in interview excerpts, including: Maintaining good manners, obeying rules, speaking straightforwardly and relatively politely, using simple analogies, and living peacefully. The following is an excerpt that describes the habitus of the Tengger Indigenous Community:

...Inggi pangapunten ten mriki wonten tiyang six official clothes sedoyo, mlebet ten puro, lha kulo inggi tanglet, sir njenengan wau permission kalih sinten? You know, I'm the police... you know, I'm sorry, I'm the police officer, I'm sorry, but you know, you're mature, you're sinten? mosok matur karo sopo ning kene, inggi mustine matur kalih kulo. Njenengan niku police ten office sir, ten police station..., niki tokoe kulo really. Niki's office, if you're going to work at the office, you're going to be furious without your permission. Lek Niki is a police officer, you are opening the door of Tigo Niki, the door

is Ngajeng Setunggal, the door is Niki Setunggal, the door is Niki Setunggal, Sampyan Niku Sanes is a police officer, Sampyan Niku is a thief, sir. Why... a closed door should be knocked first, don't open it yourself. If you dare to open the door yourself, that's not in the government's nature, not in human nature, it's in the nature of a thief, sir. Pangapunten sir. If you're too lazy to indulge in singing, if you want to be cool. Toto rules niku nduwe sir. Akhire inggih nkoten, inggih pangapunten pak, Akhire pangapunten, weigh jagongan ten mriki, less sae pak, monggo pinarak ten griyo. Well, if I'm singing, how come I'm nderek ten griyo niki groupe ulo golek gepuk, right? I'm going to be singing. Finally, I advise you to come to my house. Any officer must have logic in their order, don't you dare open the door yourself. Wherever you are, not only in Puro, not only in the mosque. If you want to visit, whoever's house, whether you know them or not, if the door is closed, knock first, if you don't knock first, you're considered a thief, this is logic. The police are not thieves. They are polite but they are rude, (while laughing a little hiihii...) you know, if you are rude, if you are rude, if you are polite but if you are rude, you will understand... (KYN: April 17, 2021)

Tenggerese people obey the rules, no Tenggerese people demonstrate, no one, no one makes a problem of it, the important thing is that all Tenggerese people are heading towards good things, well that is supported by Tenggerese people, if not, it's not like that. If Tenggerese people, starting from their ancestors, what was taught was peace, that has been instilled by our ancestors Roro Anteng and Joko Seger. That's not a coincidence, what are Anteng and Seger ... well that, not just people's names, not just ancestral names, Roro Anteng Joko Seger, right, so Tengger ... what is anteng ... anteng is calm, peaceful, fresh, steady, teteg tan owah tan gingsir, what is seger, physical and spiritual well-being, if both become one, that is what is truly aspired to, peace, prosperity, sufficient clothing and food, sarwo gemah ripah lemah wowoh loh jinawi. That is the human ideal, whatever the kitchen account is, it must be the same, wanting prosperity, peace, of course physical and spiritual prosperity is health and so on, right, that's Roro Anteng Joko Seger, the Tengger people, right... that (STM, June 18, 2021)

Table 1. Interview Quotes

No	Indicators of Tengger Community Life Habitus	Interview Quotes
1	Maintaining Good Manners	1. With the police, Niku understands, but with you, you know, you're mature, are you sinten? mosok matur karo sopo ning kene, inggih mustine matur kalih kulo. 2. For example, if you are in the office, if you don't ask permission, you will definitely get angry
2	Comply with the Rules	1. Toto rules niku nduwe sir. 2. Tengger people obey the rules, there are no Tengger people who

		demonstrate, there are none, they are cool, you know
3	Speaking Straightforwardly and Relatively Smoothly	1. Nek has a nice look but she has to prick his feelings Inggih pangapunten sir, Akhire pangapunten, weigh jagongan ten mriki, less sae sir, monggo pinarak ten griyo
4	Simple Analogy	1. If the door is closed, knock first, if not knocked first it is considered a thief, this is logic niku. 2. The order as any officer must have logic
5	Live in Peace	1. If the Tengger people, starting from their ancestors, what they were taught was peace, that was instilled by our ancestors Roro Anteng and Joko Seger. 2. What is anteng...anteng is calm, peaceful, fresh, steady, teteg tan owah tan gingsir, what is seger, physical and spiritual well-being, if both become one, that is what is truly aspired to, peace and prosperity, sufficient clothing and food, sarwo gemah ripah lemah wowoh loh jinawi.

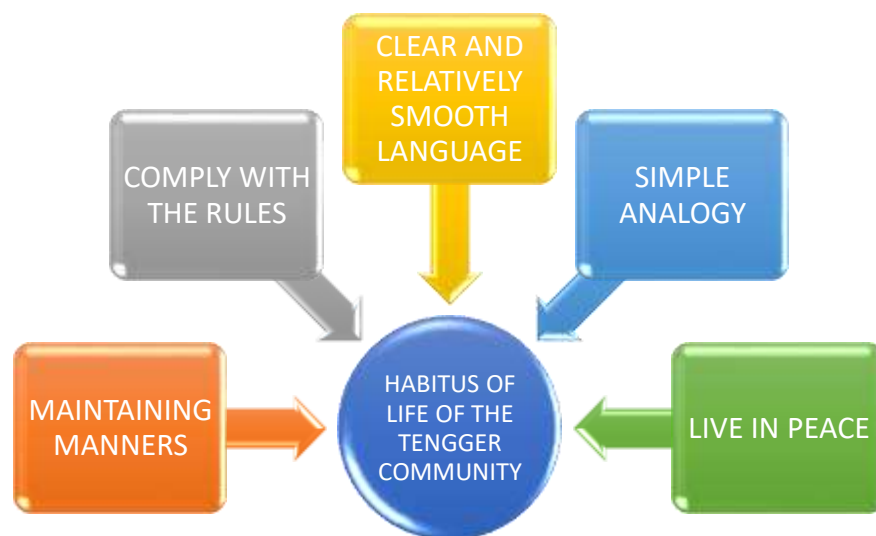


Figure 2. Diagram of Habitus Indicators of the Life of the Tengger Indigenous Community

Discussion

Analysis

Based on the findings of the research interview with the main informant, five indicators of the habitus of the Tengger Indigenous Community Life were found, including: Maintaining Good Manners, Obeying Rules, Speaking Straightforwardly and Relatively Refined, Making Simple Analogies, and Living in Peace. The social practices of the Tengger people have been going on for centuries, they inherit attitudes and lifestyles from their predecessors which were taught since childhood, through habituation and direct practice in the family and Tengger community environment. This reality is in accordance with Bordieu's opinion that social practices are the result of the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Practices are not determined objectively and are not a product of free will.

Social life is the result of social and cultural reproduction, the social world experienced by agents or individuals is an arena where the struggle to maintain their social position, while reproducing their social and cultural status for the next generation. The rapid economic, social, and cultural changes around the Bromo mountains have had a significant impact on the social life of the local community. If in the past the Tengger people were relatively identical to being known as field farmers, simple, friendly, polite and courteous, now this identity is starting to blur because there has been a shift. Currently, many residents work as tourism industry players, jeep drivers, home stay providers, tour guides, and others, they are not only farmers. The Bromo tourism industry and foreign tourists have had a significant impact on the lives and social identities of the local community.

Significant influence related to simple, friendly, polite and courteous behavior, is an indicator of changes in the habitus of the Tengger indigenous people. Researchers have found several events that could be indicators of a 'shock' related to the habitus of the Tengger indigenous people today. First, related to simple behavior, if using transportation/cars as an assessment instrument, we can currently see several types of the latest cars owned by Tengger residents. At the Tengger shaman pandita conference held on October 21-23, 2024 in Pasuruan City, researchers who were also present and interacted with several participants and the organizing committee, saw firsthand one of the village heads who was present driving one of the latest production cars, even researchers had time to walk together to the parking lot. This phenomenon can be an indicator that the economic welfare of some Tengger residents has increased, so that they can afford it, so it is questionable whether it is still relevant to mention this simplicity, even though not all residents have it.

Second, the incident of horse riding tourism service providers asking for Rp 50 thousand from tourists who recorded their activities. The Head of the Data, Evaluation and Public Relations Sub-Division of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park Center (BB TNBTS) Sarif Hidayat emphasized that horse riding tourism service providers and other services in the area are indeed local residents, but this incident is not actually a general description of the behavior of horse riding tourism service providers in the

Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park area [29]. This incident requires us to be wiser in responding because it was only carried out by certain residents, but it can be an indicator related to the shift in friendly and simple attitudes that have been identical to Tengger residents, although it was carried out by one of the residents, through social media, this incident has shaken the tourism industry in Bromo. The next incident was the inappropriate behavior of foreign tourists from the Netherlands who showed off their backs/butts around the Bromo area, they showed off on a jeep that entered the Pasuruan area, precisely the Widodaren Valley area [30]. All parties should understand that the Bromo area is a sacred land, so tourists must maintain their behavior, speech, and attitude during their visit. The impolite behavior of tourists quickly spread, so that it can be an indicator of shock to the existing habitus of the Tengger indigenous community. The inappropriate behavior of tourists greatly affects the tranquility and peace of the Bromo mountain area so far.

The next incident was the discovery of a marijuana field on the slopes of Bromo, which had never happened before. At the trial on March 18 at the Lumajang District Court, the defendants agreed to plant marijuana because they were promised a wage of four million per kg at harvest time, by the main perpetrator who is currently still at large [31]. The simple behavior that has been identical to the Tengger community has become unclear because of this case, the economic motive that drove the total of six residents who became suspects. Economic needs have changed the habitus. The simple behavior of the six people, which has been taught since childhood in the family and community environment, becoming rich in a short time may seem more attractive than living simply as taught by their ancestors.

Social practice: $\text{Practice} = (\text{Habitus} \times \text{Capital}) + \text{Domain}$. Social practices carried out by agents are basically the result of the habitus and capital owned by the agents, which are used in their struggles in the social arena or field, social practices are also a means of social and cultural reproduction. The social practices of the Tengger indigenous people are the result of the habitus and capital owned by the agents, if in the past generation the Tengger indigenous people were identical with the habitus: Maintaining Good Manners, Obeying Rules, Speaking Straightforwardly and Relatively Refined, Making Simple Analogies, and Living in Peace, at this time, the habitus is experiencing "shocks". The phenomenon of owning the latest cars, inappropriate behavior of foreign tourists, the discovery of marijuana fields are some indicators of the "shocks" to the habitus of the lives of Tengger residents today. It is feared that there are still several other conflicts that have not been exposed, it is even possible that new, more extreme conflicts will emerge in the future.

As a tourist area, it is important for all related parties to understand the emergence of various potential conflicts between tourism interests and local communities, because in the end they will be required to transform from their previous way of life to be in line with the development of the tourism industry, even the strong socio-cultural ties of the local community, will be seen as an obstacle to being able to work "professionally" in the tourism industry [32]. In addition to the impact of changes in community behavior that

tend to be consumptive, there is also the potential for new conflicts to arise between tourism actors and local communities if the initial agreement between them is not reached [33]. As a leading tourist area, it is important to ensure that the substance of the Tengger indigenous community's relationship is equal to all parties, not only becoming an object of exploitation, various ritual ceremonies and noble values of the indigenous community must be maintained, and the economic interests of the tourism industry and the needs of tourists can be met, without any party being harmed. Thus, cooperation and understanding are needed by all parties in developing the TNBTS tourist area. Regardless of the motive, currently the Bromo slopes area is experiencing a process of cultural acculturation and socio-economic changes in its community as a consequence of the leading tourist area. Hopefully their local wisdom will continue to be able to adapt and interact with foreign cultures, and provide a positive impact to improve the standard of living of local communities.

CONCLUSION

Fundamental Finding : This study identifies five key habitus that define the life of the Tengger Indigenous People – Maintaining Politeness, Obeying the Rules, Using Straightforward and Relatively Gentle Language, Simple Reasoning, and Living Peacefully – which are currently experiencing a significant transformation due to the rapid development of tourism in the Bromo region. **Implication :** These changes highlight the need for a more equitable approach to tourism development, one that respects and protects the cultural values and traditions of the Tengger community while also addressing the interests of economic actors and tourists. Policymakers, tourism operators, and local stakeholders must collaboratively establish a framework that ensures cultural preservation and social harmony. **Limitation :** This study is limited to qualitative data within a specific geographic and sociocultural context, thus may not fully capture broader dynamics or longitudinal transformations in other indigenous communities. **Future Research :** Further studies should explore comparative habitus transformations in other indigenous groups affected by tourism, using mixed methods and longitudinal data to assess deeper cultural shifts and strategies for sustainable and inclusive development.

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