

Social Capital of Indigenous Village Communities in Maintaining Social Harmony

(Case Study of The Tenggerese Indigenous Community, Tosari, Pasuruan, East Java)

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Abstract— This article discusses social capital owned by indigenous village communities in the process of maintaining social harmonization, especially in religious life. The research is conducted in the Tenggerese community, Tosari District, Pasuruan Regency, East Java. The research aims to identify the inter-religious harmony process that occurs in the Tenggerese indigenous community; and looking for social capital relations of the indigenous people in the process of social harmonization. The method used in this study is a qualitative method and a case study approach. Data sources are obtained through in-depth interview, participatory observation, focus group discussion, and literature study. Just like other villagers, the Tenggerese indigenous community also experiences social change and transformation. The changes occur due to the unstoppable flow of modernization and the occurrence of migration which results in people becoming increasingly heterogeneous. Existing diversity brings about a challenge in the development of indigenous people. The social capital of the Tenggerese community is in the form of trust, obligation, hope, norm and sanction, as well as information is able to be a foundation for the Tenggerese community to achieve social harmony in the midst of the diverse cultures they have. Existing social capital is driven by local leadership or traditional leaders called "dukun". Dukun in the Tenggerese indigenous community has a dual role as a customary leader as well as a religious leader or in other words besides leading the community, dukun also leads the community.

Keywords—Indigenous village, social capital, social harmony

I. INTRODUCTION

The existence of a pluralistic and multicultural Indonesian society is a reality that cannot be denied. Diversity has two sides. On one side, it can be a socio-cultural capital in community development. On the other hand, the reality of existing diversity can become "ripples" in development. Diversity issues do not only exist in Indonesia as a nation-state entity, but also appear at the smallest level, namely in the community.

The problem of diversity in society is one of the popular issues in the theme of social structure at this

time. The themes of diversity and social harmony even become a strategic issue in some institutions. Several scientific forums such as seminars, conferences, symposia, and workshops on the theme of social diversity and harmony were held, both nationally and internationally. Moreover, the theme of diversity and social harmony is closely related to the issue of national security. Hence, the right formulation is needed in overcoming problems due to this diversity issue.

Villages as a government representation at the smallest level have a strategic role in addressing the problems arising from diversity. However, the issue of social disharmony can be a barrier to development, especially in the regions. Every village must have problems and ways of solving them. This is also true in the matter of the diversity and the conflict resulted from it. Moreover, the traditional village community has a variety of uniqueness and its own mechanisms in overcoming various problems.

A customary village is a separate terminology written in the Village Law. According to the Village Law No. 6 of 2014, the notion of traditional villages is the recognition of customary law communities as legal subjects in the government system, by determining the social units of customary law communities such as *Negari*, *Huta*, *kampong*, *mukim*, and others. Thus, this traditional village has the right to regulate customary rights and preserve the social and cultural values of *adat* (tradition).

Studies related to indigenous people in Indonesia in the last two years have many issues concerning legal protection or customary law [1, 2], ecology [3], local wisdom [4, 5] and only a little research with the theme of diversity in indigenous people. Hence, this article seeks to provide a new repertoire in the dryness of research that examines social diversity and harmony in indigenous people. In this study, the research subject is the indigenous people of the Tenggerese Bromo community.

The Tenggerese community is one of the indigenous communities in Indonesia. The Tenggerese Indigenous Community is an indigenous community that inhabits the

area of Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park (TNBTS). The Tenggerese community has an indigenous territory which is divided into two regions, i.e.: Sebrang Kulon (brang kulon) represented by Tosari Village, Tosari District, Pasuruan Regency and Sebrang Wetan (Brang Wetan) namely Ngadisari Village, Sukapura District, Probolinggo District. This research took one of the two indigenous territories, that is, the Tosari Village.

Many studies or researches from various scientific disciplines were conducted in the Tengger region. Different from previous studies, this article examines the social capital that indigenous villages have in maintaining social harmony. Social capital is a sociological theory used in analyzing various kinds of social reality. This theory was originally used by L.J Hanifan in West Virginia, United States [6]. This theory was used by Raga and Mudana in reviewing the process of interrogation in multiethnic communities in the Pakraman Village of Bali. While this study examines Coleman's social capital [7] used in indigenous communities to achieve social harmonization.

II. METHODS

This article is the result of a field research conducted by researchers in Tosari Village, Tosari District, Pasuruan Regency, East Java. The location was chosen because it was found the phenomenon of harmonization between religious communities (Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity) that occurred because of the mechanism of adat and tradition, which is rarely found elsewhere. This field research is included in the type of qualitative research with a case study approach. Data was obtained by researchers using the following techniques: participatory observation in observing the process of interaction between religious communities, in-depth interviews with several religious and community leaders, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to find patterns of social relations in the process of harmonization, and literature study from demographic data.

In the data analysis process, researchers used descriptive qualitative data analysis. This analysis includes three stages, first is the data collection, second is data classification, third is data verification. Meanwhile, in order to ensure the truth of the data, the validation process was carried out with data triangulation techniques. This study used data triangulation technique and source triangulation technique. Source triangulation technique is carried out by comparing research data sources with other sources.

III. RESULTS

Administratively, Tosari Village is a village in the Tosari District, Pasuruan Regency, East Java. Tosari is culturally included in one of the 36 (thirty-six) villages in the Tengger Customary territory, precisely located on the west side (Brang Kulon). Geographically, Tosari is at the

foot of Mount Bromo, which is included in the area of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park (TNBTS).

Besides being led by the Village Head in the administrative structure, like other villages in general, Tosari is culturally led by the customary head. The customary leader in Tengger is called "Dukun". Hence, the thing that limits the working area of the traditional healer is the traditional territory and the people who live in the village. So, every village that belongs to the Tengger region category has a traditional healer except in certain positions. There is a village which does not have a dukun, which then borrows from another village.

As a traditional leader in Tengger, traditional healers have two roles, namely social roles, and spiritual roles. In carrying out its spiritual role, dukun received an additional title, as a dukun Pandita. Dukun Pandita has a duty to lead traditional ceremonies and Hindu religious ceremonies in the temple. While the social role of a dukun is as a community mediator in government social affairs. In addition, a dukun has the authority to take important community decisions, rules and sanctions customarily. One of the important tasks of a Tengger traditional healer is to maintain harmony between humans and their God, among humans, and between human and nature.

Religious life in the traditional village of the Tenggerese Tosari community is very harmonious. When compared to other villages in the Tengger region, Tosari Village is classified as heterogeneous especially in terms of religion. This was triggered by the large number of migrants who settled in Tosari from various regions such as Malang, Pasuruan, and several districts in East Java. Migration enters Tosari in various ways such as marriage, trade and works. This migration has an influence on the number of followers of the increasingly heterogeneous religions in Tosari. There are four religions adopted by the Indigenous People of the Tenggerese Tosari community namely Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and Catholicism. Islam is now the majority religion in Tosari, which is 64.61% of the total population. Whereas the population of Hindus is around 31.65%. Table 1 provides detailed data on the population in Tosari Village based on religion in 2016:

TABLE I.

Religion	Amount	Percentage
Islam	2,335	64.61%
Hinduism	1,144	31,65%
Christianity	123	3.4%
Catholicism	12	0.33%

Source: Tosari Village Archive

Residents of Tosari Village inhabit homes on hill slopes, with settlement patterns adjusted to land contours. This settlement pattern is also adapted to dry agricultural lands that are in between steep cliffs. Hence, the settlement pattern in the Tengger region forms a pattern of dispersed settlements. When compared to urban areas

that are clustered, the pattern of residence in the Tengger region is relatively mixed. For example, the house inhabited by a dukun Pandhita in Tosari is adjacent to other people such as Islam and Christianity. In fact, places of worship between temples, mosques and churches are adjacent and facing each other. Settlement patterns in the Tosari region show that Tenggerese's communication upholds tolerance among religious communities.

One important thing in showing solidarity amid the heterogeneity of a community is the spirit of mutual cooperation and help. In a pluralistic society, the spirit of mutual cooperation has a strategic value to achieve harmonization in the community. Mutual cooperation in Tengger is known with mutual cooperation and helping each other) which is based on the slogan *sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe* which means quiet in self-interest, busy (lots or diligent) at work, and also the slogan of *genten kuat* which means mutual help. This is evident when the writer is in Tosari which coincides with Galungan (Hindu feast). Before the celebration, members of the Tenggerese community, both Hindus and Muslims, worked together to establish a genjor made of yellow janur which was set up in front.

Residing in the mountainous region influences the cultural beliefs of the people of Tosari Village. For the indigenous Tenggerese Mountain communities of Tosari, a mountain has a central role in their lives. In their view, the mountain is the center of life because it gives them life. This is because most of the Tenggerese indigenous people grow crops on mountain slopes such as farming potatoes, vegetables, and others. Moreover, Brahma or Bromo Mountain is believed by the people as a sacred place or in the local language as a land of *hila-hila*. The purity of the land in the Tengger region is contained in the Wallander Inscription (1303 Saka or 1381 AD). Walandit Prasasti tells about the prohibition of tax collection in Walandit Village by Gajahmada during the reign of Raja Hayam Wuruk, because Walandit Village (Tengger) was a servant of Sang Hyang of Mount Brahma in the Tengger Mountains.

The position of Mount Bromo as a ritual center is a belief that the land of Tengger is a sacred land and a symbol of the place of the Brahmin god. Mount Bromo is also believed by the people as a place for the spirit of the ancestor of the Tenggerese people, Dewa Kusuma. Dewa Kusuma is a descendant of Roro Anteng and Joko Seger who was sacrificed to fulfill the couple's vow. For the sake of the safety of his grandchildren, Dewa Kusuma was sacrificed in the tenth month of Tenggerese's calendar. Hence, in the tenth month of the Tenggerese' calendar, the offspring sent their harvest as a remembrance and gratitude for being saved. The tradition of giving offerings into the crater of Mount Bromo is called the Kasada Ceremony.

The Tosari Tenggerese village community has a philosophy of life, namely the concept of *Anteng-Seger* (Tengger) which means peace and prosperity. The word

Tengger in the society can be interpreted as anteng-seger or Roro Anteng and Joko Seger. The philosophy of life is taken from the mythology that developed in the community, that is, the folklore of Mount Bromo. These values are explained in the principles of the life of the Tenggerese community, namely "Sepi ing Gunem, Rame ing Gawe" which means quiet in words, active in deeds. This value is reflected in the actions of the Tenggerese community. The researchers while at Tosari, saw that there was no response or excessive talk about politics, even though at that time the regional head election was held. Strangely, on the day of voting, more than 91% of the people channeled their voting rights.

IV. DISCUSSION

The realization of social harmony in the Tenggerese community provides its own magnet for a more in-depth study. Based on the previous discussion, several interesting things that can be found in the life of the Tenggerese community as such diversity exists even in seemingly homogeneous communities. Existing differences should make them vulnerable to friction, conflict, and intolerance. Instead, they are united by nature in the form of Mount Bromo with all the traditions that follow.

Preservation of tradition by traditional village communities is in the form of traditional ceremonies, folklore, and mythology which develop into social capital in the process of social harmony. As noted in the previous sub-chapters, oral tradition in the Tosari Traditional Village continues to grow coupled with the socialization of the values and norms of establishing social capital from generation to generation. Thus, harmonization in the midst of society continues to be maintained and becomes a social capital for indigenous village communities.

Coleman [8] sees the existence of social capital can unite people in a relationship within it, which according to him social capital contains several components, among others: are, trust, obligation, expectations, and norms that sustain, sanction and round of information. Coleman further explains in his analysis that these social relations can create a source of capital that is able to provide benefits to individuals [8], in this case, social harmonization.

Coleman stated that individuals will rationally give their trust if the chance of winning, relative to the chance of losing, is greater than the amount that would be lost (if trustor loses) relative to the amount that would be won (if trustor wins) [8]. In the case of the Tenggerese indigenous customary community, the trust is given by the community to dukun as traditional leaders and religious leaders. Thus, the dukun is maintaining the trust of the community (trustor) with caution in running his life and updating his knowledge. Representation of public trust can be seen in every important event, for example in making every decision regarding a celebration date,

building houses and customary rituals, the community always consults with the dukun. This shows a representation of social relations in which there is trust.

Obligations that are built and expectations in the future make the participation rate in general election in Tosari District quite high. More than 90% of the total permanent voter list (DPT) gives voting rights. This is very different from other regions such as in urban areas where there is less political participation. In addition, villages in the Tosari Subdistrict region received Government awards for paying taxes. The people in the Tengger customary area are very obedient in carrying out their obligations to pay taxes, especially land and building tax (PBB) because they believe that the life they come from is the motherland and they must leave their property and energy to the earth.

In living their lives, the Tenggerese indigenous people believe in the concept of *karma* reward and the law of *tumibal lahir*. The concept of karma reward states that human life or destiny depends on what he did. Whereas the law arising from birth is a law of life that must be obeyed which said *sapa nandur kebecikan bakal ngundhuh kabecikan, sapa nandur barang ora becik bakal ngundhuh kacilakan*" Which means that those who make goodness will get goodness. Those who make evil will get badness. Some concepts of life that develop in the community are valuable capital that drives their mindset to social relations.

Information and traditions as guidelines for life. According to Coleman, a tool that can be used by individuals to obtain information in a social relation is the use of social relations maintained for other purposes [9]. In the Tosari community, in every opportunity of worship both at the Temple, Church, and Mosque, religious leaders often remind their people to live mutual tolerance and uphold harmony, of course with the basis of their respective religions. For Hindus, for example during the galungan ceremony, Pendharma discourse provides information about history, life philosophy and future expectations about the condition of their people. In addition to this task, there is also the traditional dukun to provide information, especially in the social relations of his people.

Norms and sanctions as collaborative and reciprocal relationships. Coleman also sees the interrelationship between mutual interests. This requires a combined action in the form of reciprocal transfer of rights which then forms the norm. But in order for norms to be effective, effective sanctions are needed to enforce the existing norm. Like other traditional villages, the Tosari traditional village also upholds the customary laws they believe in. As is well known that obligations and expectations are part of a social relationship and each actor continues to control some of the events that are of interest to other actors. Then comes the control that is inherent in every social relation and can be used for the purpose of developing sanctions [8].

V. CONCLUSION

The culture of each community is different, this is because of the process of community adaptation and the process of meeting different needs. In addition, the process of preserving and managing the culture of each community is different. Tosari Village is one of the villages that belongs to the cultural area of the Tenggerese community. It is located in the area of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park (TNBTS) which is classified as a mountainous community and forms a different culture from the regions in the lowlands. Although classified as an indigenous community characterized by its cultural homogeneity, Tosari village is on a journey classified as an indigenous community that is diverse in terms of religion, politics, and economics.

Tosari Village is also inhabited by most of the Tenggerese community, which has 3 different religions namely Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. In the process of carrying out their lives, the adherents of the three religions live in harmony and tolerance. Although there are already differences in religious life and the inclusion of new cultural elements from outside, the Tenggerese community still maintain traditions and customs. Hence, they focus on efforts to maintain values passed down from generation to generation that have been recognized and carried out as part of the code of conduct and code of ethics. The social capital formed in the Tenggerese indigenous community is classified as a social bonding capital typology.

Social capital in Tosari Village built on the values and conceptions contained in the oral tradition of the community. Existing and developing oral traditions are based on the mythology of Mount Bromo as the center of the religious system of society in Tosari Village. Existing social capital built on trust, obligations and expectations, norms and sanctions, and information that are in the oral tradition of the community. Existing social capital can be a foundation for the Tenggerese community, especially in Tosari Village to achieve harmonization conditions because it has one goal, namely to live peacefully, in harmony and peace in accordance with the message contained in mythology (Mount Tengger mythology and Tosari Village). In addition to having a formal leader namely the village head, the Tenggerese indigenous community has a local leadership called "dukun". Dukun in the Tenggerese community has a dual role besides being adat leaders, also as religious leaders. Dukun also has important social capital in creating social harmony in the Indigenous Village of Tosari medicines.

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