



# Outsider Roles in the Tenggerese's Change in Ngadas Village

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## ABSTRACT

The Tengger people are firmly in preserving the socio-cultural inherits they received from their ancestors for hundreds of years. Customary norms and institutions have been used to maintain this valuable aspect. In its development, new, complex challenges forced the community in Ngadas Village to adapt to the existing realities, transforming them. The National Tourism Strategic Area Policy and the status of this village as a tourist village have triggered many changes. This paper reflects the 2016-2020 process when the authors interacted with the Tengger community and conducted research in this village. The article was composed based on some field observations and unstructured interviews with several key persons from community representatives, complemented by descriptive analysis to reveal the extent and how this society is changing slowly. Based on this process, it can be confirmed that the Ngadas people have changed, although only in some aspects. The changes are mainly influenced by the responses of this community to its surroundings, especially by various tourism programs and activities. Customary rules, in this case, have also changed to be more flexible. At this point, various types of outsiders, including tourism actors, play a role in supporting this change process from various sides. Some outsiders influence economic change, others in socio-cultural changes, while others play a significant role in physical and environmental changes. Indeed, not all changes are positive; therefore, how the local community interacts with outsiders is critical in this long adaptation process. At the same time, it will also determine the future face of the Tenggerese in Ngadas Village.

**Keywords:** *The Tenggerese, Ngadas Village, outsider's roles, social changes, tourism management*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Change in society is inevitable, starting from inequality or heterogeneity, caused by geographical, cultural, and population composition factors or the emergence of new things in society [1]. As one of its variants in the form of social change, it includes institutional aspects and involves the social system, value system, and community behavior. [2].

Social change can occur in various types of society, one of which is traditional society. Based on studies in this field around the globe, for example, in Australia, [3] said that social change in aboriginal society is closely related to the legal aspects of the community's existence. This community's legal status is crucial in influencing the changes that emerge. Meanwhile, another study in Alaska [4] reveals aspects of flexibility

in social change. The flexibility aspect causes this traditional society, on the one hand, to prioritize cultural values but also appreciate individual attitudes and the community's vision as a whole.

Another study of socio-cultural changes in traditional societies in Bolivia (South America) shows further consequences of these changes, such as hunting behavior. [5]. While another part of North America [6] reveals the same relationship. This study's results emphasize the need for joint discussions and negotiations between the government and indigenous peoples regarding compensation due to social and cultural losses.

The Ngadas villagers discussed in this research are part of the Tengger Tribe. Referring to the changes in traditional society in the case of Ngadas village, there

have been many social and cultural characteristics that various previous researchers have revealed. These researches refer to the Tengger community and Ngadas Village, which are further explained below.

Cahyono's research [7] about the Tenggerese society reveals how the influence of modernization from outside this society, especially social media, has dramatically changed the social order. One example of the real influence is breaking down and opening the "cultural barrier" in the traditional Tenggerese society. Not only changes the balance of social relations and the social system as a whole, including the values adopted by individual behavior and behavior patterns of community groups. Not only that, problems are starting to appear in the form of fading and neglecting critical cultural aspects and being replaced by new cultural elements from outside which are generally more modern, such as information technology [8].

Other studies reveal the impact of tourism on the Tenggerese community, where many aspects of this society are affected [9]. Some relate to knowledge, expertise, and availability of traditional medicinal plant problems [10]. Furthermore, when there is a "tourism boom" followed by overdevelopment, it will usually be accompanied by an influence on the culture of the people [11]. Overdevelopment affects land quality, decreased carrying capacity, and environmental quality [12,13]. Another research by Astiyantika et al. [14] also shows a decrease in traditional knowledge, motivations, behaviors, and even Tengger culture in their study's Tenggerese society.

Other research focused on Ngadas [15] [16] highlighted harmony and tolerance as the identity of the Tenggerese in Ngadas. Another research [17] shows a culture of shame in Tengger characters, making them less likely to conflict internally and externally. Meanwhile, another study has also revealed changes in farming due to various changes [18].

Refers to the previous research, this article tries to fill the knowledge gap from the outsider's roles in these change processes in the Tengger community, particularly in Ngadas Village. This knowledge is crucial to help better arrange and positively guide the transformation process.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

This article was compiled based on continuous research since 2016, carried out with site surveys in 2018, 2019, and 2022. In each survey, an observation process was carried out related to indicators that occurred in the field and interviews with several key informants to reveal the extent of occurred changes and how outsiders' role in the change process occurred. To strengthen the previous conclusions, specifically the last field survey (2022), the author had the opportunity to live directly in Ngadas Village for three weeks. During

this period, the writer interacted intensively with the people of Ngadas so that what was concluded could be confirmed more convinced. The data collection process involves interviewing key persons of various backgrounds covering differences in generation, gender, religion, and livelihood, with 49 informants.

Analyzing processes conducted by descriptive qualitative mode [19] was done by inference through a qualitative comparison between the former condition and the newer condition, which is triangulated by interviewing the sources. The presentation was delivered in a qualitative-narrative manner, reflecting an ethnographic approach to revealing the causal relationship between changes, the causing factors, and the actors behind those changes.

## 3. RESULT

Based on the 2000 national census, there were 1,072 indigenous peoples in Indonesia [9]. In more detail, it consists of 1,340 tribes or sub-ethnicities [20], with Tengger being one of them. The Tengger people (or Tenggerese) are part of the Javanese ethnicity and live around the slopes of Mount Bromo, which is in the territory of the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park or BTS NP [9,13,21,22]. According to the interviews, there are 38 villages categorized (or dominated by the Tenggeresses) of Tengger village. These villages spread over four different administrative areas of the district, namely Malang Regency (West), Pasuruan Regency (North), Probolinggo Regency (East), and Lumajang Regency (South)[9,13,22,23].

Ngadas is an enclave village within the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park; it is 2,150-2,200 m above sea level and encompasses around 395 hectares with hilly topography. The area designated for residential settlements is around 14 ha, while 381 ha are designated for agriculture. Ngadas village is divided into two hamlets: Ngadas Krajan and Jarak Ijo, and has 512 households, with 1,900-2,000 people [24,25].

The composition of the religious group of the population is 50% *Budo Jowo Sanjoto* (Buddhist Variant), 40% Islamic, and 10% Hindu [25]. However, Ngadas villagers generally see religion as merely "*ugeman*" (which can free translated as clothes or cover). This word implies that religion has a loose grip on their life, like a jacket that can be removed quickly. In carrying out their daily activities, local cultural factors have more influence. For instance, "*hong ulun basuki langgeng*," a custom greeting, has become a standard daily for all religious adherents.

In Ngadas, religious differences have not led to overt social conflicts or problematic issues. The Moslem, Hindu, and *Budo Jowo* villagers appear to live harmoniously, feeling they share common descent [15,26]. Shared traditional beliefs and ritual practices (*adat*), as cultural markers of ancestral heritage, thus

appear to serve as a binding factor [9,26] and promote what is called "*paguyuban*" or social harmony [27].

Many changes occurred in Ngadas Village during the six-year observation interval (2016-2022) and were accompanied by discussions or confirmations from the resource persons, both physical and non-physical. Indications of such changes include shifts in livelihoods, expansion of residential areas, changes in cultural ties, and changes in behavior among the younger generation.

### 3.1. The recent changes in Ngadas society

#### 3.1.1. Livelihood shift

The tourism program promoted by the government provides many new economic opportunities for the Ngadas people. The determination of the BTS National Park area and its surroundings as a KSPN (National Tourism Strategic Area) makes this opportunity even more remarkable. Some activities to benefit from tourism include the business of jeep transportation, tour guide services, construction of homestays for lodging, along with making souvenirs and local food as support, although still on a limited scale. Residents capture this opportunity by adding their profession, although it is still only for an extra income effort.

Based on interviews, the number of people who changed (or added their livelihoods) from the agricultural sector reached 30-35% of around 500 households or roughly 150 households. This figure is undoubtedly significant compared to about 15-20% of the people involved in the tourism industry six years earlier (2016). Most Ngadas villagers do side activities in the tourism sector only because the offered income is unreliable, even though the value is fantastic during the peak holiday season (Rp. 750.00 – Rp. 1,500,000/day or US\$ 50-100/day). Meanwhile, income from agriculture, especially potatoes, is still enormous. This situation makes them continue to make agricultural activities their main livelihood.

#### 3.1.2. Expansion of residential area

The position of Ngadas Village, which is an enclave in the BTS National Park area, makes them have a land scarcity problem. Apart from their residential areas, Ngadas residents can only use arable land (*pajekan*) for agriculture.

Indeed, in general, the natural growth of the people of Ngadas is prolonged. The average family only has 1-2 kids, so the development needs are relatively slow. This situation is accompanied by a customary regulation prohibiting land sale to residents outside Ngadas. However, the impact of tourism and the increase in welfare have made the settlement growth relatively remains vast. Many residents began to own more than one house, where the extra house was used for lodging or homestays. As a result, residential areas are

expanding and currently occupy areas with extreme slopes as shown at Figure 1. Apart from the fact that it has become a habit, the threat of landslide hazards needs to be anticipated better.



**Figure 1.** The expansion of the residential area in Ngadas

#### 3.1.3. The *pawon* and its meaning, and people who practice customs without fully believing it

The third change that emerges in Ngadas relates to the decline of culture in various forms. Some of them are the *pawon's* existence, the meaning and embodiment, and the participation of the villagers in ritual activities.

In some research [13,28,29], *pawon* or furnace occupies a respectable position in Tengger culture. *Pawon* is a place to cook and warm against the fairly extreme temperatures (8-20 °C) and the central place to socialize. All internal family issues will be discussed here. It also applies to discussing broader topics. *Pawon* seems to be inseparable from the culture of the Tengger people. During the traditional ceremony ritual (Karo), every Ngadas resident will respect the spirit of the *pawon* guardian (which is often called '*Kaki and Nini Thowok*') in the form of *tamping*. The embodiment of this *tamping* is like the Balinese Hindu community giving offerings on certain days and places by using woven coconut leaves (*janur*) as a place. At this point, *pawon* becomes an inseparable part of the daily life of the Tenggerese, including those in Ngadas.

In its development, it turns out that many versions of the modern *pawon* give different meanings. In some respondents' houses, the original version of the traditional *pawon* still exists. However, most (more than 60%) of the respondents' *pawons* have undergone modifications as shown at Figure 2. In general, they have distinguished the function of *pawon* as a cooking place from the function as a traditional ritual place. As an implementation, most modern versions of the cooking *pawon* function utilize gas stoves. The stove also applies to the heating function, where they use the gas stove to warm themselves and socialize. As for maintaining the ritual function, the existing *pawon* is sometimes modified with a simpler version, with a relatively luxurious ceramic material, which is

undoubtedly far from the impression of being dirty and shabby due to burning smoke.



**Figure 2.** The traditional (a) and modern (b) version of *pawon* or furnace in Ngadas

Apart from the issue of *pawon*, the participation of the community in following the ritual has also changed. Although it is still a tiny number (represented by less than 20% of respondents), some people do not believe in the benefits of the ritual. Yes, they remain loyal to participating in various ritual events, but more likely because of social considerations and harmony among residents. The action is also a manifestation of social norms strictly applied in this village. In the past, community members who do not participate in village rituals may be subject to sanctions. Even on an extreme scale, the violator may be expelled from the village, as happened around 2019.

### 3.1.4. *The behavior of the younger generation, both children and adolescents/ youth*

Children and youth are the future of a community. Their current attitudes and behavior describe what will happen in the community in 20 years. This circumstance is reflected in the daily lives of children and youth in Ngadas today. Gadgets are everyday items that children in the city always carry. Likewise, the proliferation of online games has become a natural sight. However, if it is rife in Ngadas, then it seems as if it proves that modernization has penetrated regional boundaries, which even physically still have limited access.

Recently, children gathering together and playing online games have been a daily sight in Ngadas. A lack of traditional games or activities might have been considered normal for children in this traditional society. Yes, they are still talking warmly and intimately. However, the topic of discussion is still about online games, commonly found in children in big cities. Not only that, but most of them also smoke and use motorbikes. These last two habits are unusual, even for children in big cities. Again, the relatively super cold air could be the reason for that. Other reasons are related to the financial improvement of the villagers and

accelerated maturity among children today. However, as we stated above, shortly, the fragments of the events above may bring about extreme changes in the future. One thing that is quite scary for parents is that young people's "adherence" to customs will significantly decrease. The reason is the temptation of a modern lifestyle that is all practical and comfortable. Something that traditional or customary systems cannot offer. They tend to be complicated (for kids in particular), force, difficult to understand, and less transparent.

Another change's evidence is also seen among young people. One example that is quite extreme is how they have facilities and play billiards. The facility is located at the end of the village. The Ngadas youths play with it while taking care of their potato products. Generally, they do it every day, from the afternoon until the evening. Yes, this game is certainly not the prerogative of youth in big cities. However, suppose it is said that having billiard facilities and playing it in a traditional-indigenous community living in a remote area is far from normal. Once again, this indicates a change in lifestyle, orientation, and a trend in life goals among young people in Ngadas. Another indication of this, although not 100% in line with this statement (because it has a personal dimension), is the failure to regenerate the traditional shaman of Ngadas village from generation to generation.

## 3.2. *Factors causing changes in Ngadas Village*

Some factors are suspected of causing the various changes in Ngadas Village. We argued that the transformation stems from the national tourism program, starting from the high interaction with outside communities, the flow of modernization through sophisticated devices and internet networks, and natural population growth and migration.

### 3.2.1. *National tourism policy*

The determination of the BTS National Park area as one of the National Strategic of the Tourism Area or KSPN is strongly suspected of being the trigger for these various changes. Yes, this program was only launched in 2019. However, the excess is compelling, especially in the life change orientation in Ngadas Village. In less than three years since the program was launched, we can easily see its impact has been presented in this village. Mount Bromo tourism is currently approaching mass tourism, indicated by the extraordinary number of tourist visits, especially on holidays and long weekends. It is currently considered normal to encounter a very crazy traffic jam at 3 a.m. because too many tourists want to see the sunrise at Penanjakan, Teletubbies Hill, Seruni Point, or Mount Bromo Crater itself. Many parties are concerned, and the BTS National Park administrator as the manager of this area has tried to limit the number of tourists visiting

through the online booking system. However, currently, the effectiveness of this method is still not significant.

Prior to this KSPN policy, however, in the last four decades, nature and culture-based tourism programs have begun to be more seriously promoted [23], which made the growth of tourists during the 1976-2018 period very massive. Apart from the covid pandemic's obstacles, this is in line with the prediction that this area has great potential as a favorite tourist location in the future [12,30]. In this situation, the new economic opportunities offered by this policy through its various programs are tempting to capture by this community. The consequence is that this policy brings many changes directly or indirectly. Refers to Burns [31], tourism can strengthen traditional communities in this situation. On the other hand, it can also lead to forms of exploitation, and cultural values decline in traditional indigenous peoples. Among others revealed by Prideaux [30], one of its forms emphasizes that heritage and culture can be used for various purposes, including entertainment, preservation, information, education, profit-making, and propaganda in a tourism setting. Tourism makes traditional culture a commodity object for tourist attractions and triggers changes/modifications in various ethnic and cultural displays to suit the wishes and needs of tourists. [32,33]. On another side, William and Putra [34] emphasize how the contribution of change to a society's traditional culture is positive or negative, depending on the views, values, and goals of each actor involved in the tourism industry.

### 3.2.2. Social and economic interaction with the outside community

Tourism and KPSN policies are not the only factors that influence the transformation in Ngadas. The second influencing factor is the interaction of the Ngadas community with the outside community, both internally and externally. This interaction arises from the existence of social and economic needs, which is very common for ordinary people in a symbiotic mutualism form.

Indeed, Ngadas was an isolated village in the past because its position was quite challenging to reach. But along with the times, which brought changes in infrastructure development, including road access and transportation systems in the last ten years. The impact is significant because it makes the flow to and from Ngadas easier. The people of Ngadas are already relatively easy to travel outside with various needs. On the other hand, so do outsiders. Some of these interactions include economic interactions in the form of buying and selling agricultural products and all their accessories, such as fertilizers, plant medicines (herbicides, fungicides, etc.), then daily needs of the community (food and clothing), secondary, and consumptive goods. This interaction can occur in Ngadas or surrounding places, such as Tumpang,

Poncokusumo, or Malang City. Extraordinary people go to Ngadas to sell vegetables and shop for daily consumption needs by motorbike or car (*mlijo*) as shown at Figure 3. On the other hand, Ngadas people often go to the Tumpang market, shops, and malls in Malang City to fulfill their daily needs.



**Figure 3.** Outsider traders by car (a) and motorcycle (b) interact with Ngadas Villager

This interaction rate also brings ideas for change, both positive and negative. Conversations and discussions to see real examples in the field affect the perspective of the Ngadas people in seeing themselves and their environment. This idea is gradually being implemented in Ngadas, which ultimately changes Ngadas today and may become even more significant in the future.

### 3.2.3. The modernization influenced by TV, cellphone, the internet, and social media

The current modernization brought about by TV, gadgets, internet networks, and social media was the next important factor that brought about many changes in Ngadas. Many TV shows, international, national, and local, present many modern lifestyles unsuitable for the Ngadas people's culture. However, the sustained intensity made things unsuitable to be enjoyed and gradually adopted by the Ngadas Villagers. This effect also applies to cellphones, the internet, and social media.

The gadget is the primary communication medium that currently dominates the people of Ngadas. Its current position has largely replaced conventional communication. Communication patterns change through various devices or applications like WA (Whatsapp). The fast flow of communication through the media has dramatically accelerated the process of change that has taken place, which has more or less weakened the various existed values in the Ngadas community. The number of social media also exacerbates this that Ngadas residents increasingly enjoy.

Admittedly, TikTok has advantages in terms of ease of participation-it can be made by anyone, with any content-and easy access for every user. The situation also applies in this community. Not only young people

and kids but even the mothers and fathers in their adult age are also involved in this TikTok fever. On the one hand, TikTok content can be positive and beneficial. But not infrequently, the content is very ordinary, not valuable, and can even be harmful.

In the context of the Ngadas community, all content offered by the media is consumed freely. The customary regulations in this village can somewhat filter outsiders' influence through the rules. However, rejecting or limiting media such as TikTok is almost impossible. As a result, it can be assumed that cultural customs from outside the community and even abroad, which are very different, flow freely into the Ngadas people. The older generation may still have a filter to accept what is appropriate and not follow the original Ngadas customs. However, different conditions apply to children and young people. So many trends from outside that affect their mindset. As a result, changes in attitudes and culture will gradually and inevitably occur. Moreover, conditions also apply and are accompanied by the impact of other social media, although, in our view, not as extreme as TikTok. Facebook, Instagram, telegram, and the like (including Twitter) also affect the Ngadas community. However, because it is more exclusive than TikTok, the impact is not as significant as the TikTok.

### 3.2.4. Population growth

The logic is certain that population growth will also increase space requirements. Based on statistical records, population growth naturally tends to be slow, where the number of births is relatively low. However, another influential factor comes from in-migration through the marriage mechanism. This factor has implications for the increasing need for residential space and the entry of new ideas from new community members. Indeed, most of these immigrants came from around Ngadas itself. However, transformation ideas could come from anywhere, including the surrounding area with different customary rules rather than the Ngadas people.

## 3.3 Outsiders and their role in the change in Ngadas Village

Some parties outside the community have a significant role in the change process in Ngadas Village. We argued that there are at least four categories: tourists, traders, national park officials, and other agencies, and the last is the role of actors from university.

### 3.3.1. The Tourist

It makes sense to place tourists as the outsiders who influence change in Ngadas. More and more tourists are arriving, just passing through to the leading tourist destination of Mount Bromo or those who further live in Ngadas. Their interaction with residents certainly brings a lot of influence. Conversations, lifestyles, and the Tourist's perspective on the surrounding environment

will undoubtedly make the Ngadas residents imitate them gradually. Aspects of practicality, aesthetics, assessment of the material, and the placement of self between personal and social interests are a series of traits and habits that the Ngadas people might adapt. Indeed these changes take time in the process.

### 3.2.2. The traders and agricultural collectors

The traders and agricultural collectors were the first parties to connect the Ngadas people with the outside world. With a routine that can be said to be daily, of course, their interaction with the Ngadas people is also quite intensive. The existence of these agricultural traders and collectors not only translates various information, gossip, or whatever happens from outside Ngadas but also carries out the same process internally in Ngadas. Assuming that every Ngadas household does daily shopping or carries out agricultural transactions with Ngadas residents daily, one can envisage their role in storing and transferring information in a sequential, routine, and possibly quite massive manner. They also function to provide various goods, including electronic goods, which accelerate the modernization process as stated above.

### 3.2.3. National Park officer

The BTS National Park has limited personnel and routinely only guards at Coban Trisula Resort. Only occasionally do these officers interact with Ngadas residents. However, their role cannot be underestimated. In addition to providing awareness of the position of Ngadas in the enclave area of the national park, these officers also provide various updates regarding conditions outside Ngadas. This BTS National Park officer also greatly influenced the thinking of the Ngadas residents regarding the concept of law and the state. This material is something they rarely receive due to their relative lack of formal education. The excellent adherence to their customs also makes them sometimes forget that Ngadas Village is part of the state of the Republic of Indonesia. At this point, Ngadas used to be an excellent example of a self-governance system in traditional societies [35]. This transfer of thought becomes very important in the future because the influences of the government's programs and policies will be very intensive. For that, how they can behave and react appropriately can be a crucial factor in getting the maximum benefit value for themselves.

### 3.2.4. Universities: research lecturers and public servants, field practice students

It is considered that many educational institutions have significantly influenced Ngadas. Through various existing mechanisms, such as research and community service for lecturers and KKN (Student's Community Dedication) schemes. Some higher education institutions have interacted with the Ngadas community

to carry out their activities. The interview results revealed that a minimum of four universities came from the Malang downtown, which had given a lot of (predominantly positive) impressions to the Ngadas Villagers.

Physically, we can see many contributions to activities from educational institution actors, such as the entrance gate to the village and the background for selfie spots. What is more crucial, however, is how their communication and interaction with the Ngadas residents have opened the veil and the shackles of thinking that have positively hindered the Ngadas people's progress. These academic thoughts have infused various modern ideas into Ngadas residents through discussions, training, and various practices to solve their problems. Indeed, sometimes this thought is not always in line with what the Ngadas residents themselves have practiced through the mechanism of customary rules. Ngadas Villagers also need sufficient time to learn, understand, and master this progressive thinking pattern. However, at the very least, this provides an alternative capital that will enable them to be better prepared and, at the same time, better adapt to the near-future challenges.

### *3.2.5. Other non-permanent external actors (teachers and health workers)*

Other actors are also significant in influencing change in the Ngadas community. They are not explicitly mentioned due to their sometimes non-permanent position. After interacting for a while, their tendency to stay in Ngadas made their status will be no longer outsiders.

A teacher is a highly respected profession in Ngadas. Culturally, their position is equal, and sometimes their opinions are heard more than ordinary parents. For this reason, their opinions, views, behavior, and actions become a reference for many villagers. Although in Ngadas, there are only elementary schools (SD) and the Junior High School (SMP), the teachers receive high appreciation from Ngadas residents.

An adequate adaptation process is needed to become a good teacher in Ngadas. This adaptation is mainly related to efforts to synchronize teachers' habits and teaching methods with other customs and habits of the Ngadas people. When this process is complete, and the community has accepted the teachers, the impact of their existence is tremendous. For public affairs, many residents ask for their opinion. Not infrequently, village heads and village shamans, as traditional authority holders, invite discussions related to occurred issues in the community.

At this point, the teacher's presence is significant in three places: the students they face daily, the general public who ask questions, and the village officials and

the shaman who invite them to discuss crucial issues. From this illustration, we can argue how central teachers' position is, which is also vital in influencing the thinking patterns of the Ngadas Villagers themselves.

More or less story occurs in the world of health. The existence of midwives and nurses who manage the health issues in Ngadas also has a similar pattern to that of teachers. Their task is not only on health issues but more expanded. Social and cultural issues often involve them. Not infrequently, village and sub-district governments take advantage of their influence in the Ngadas community to support and make development programs more successful in other sectors. At this point, the position of health workers is very strategic in determining the direction of the Ngadas community's perception of specific issues. How big the nature (positive-negative) and their existence will influence the extent of the transformation in Ngadas.

## **4. DISCUSSION**

After recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples by the UN (2007), at least three things want to be emphasized: land, self-determination, and rights related to cultural aspects. [36]. On the other hand, in community development processes of the indigenous peoples, it is necessary to focus more on understanding these communities' identity and cultural aspects [37]. There is a strong wedge between the two arguments: apart from land aspects, identity or self-determination, studies of specific cultural aspects belonging to traditional communities must be studied in depth.

In Indonesia, issues related to indigenous peoples have begun to focus on how to discuss them and legalize their existence in the regions in the context of local regulations [21,38]. This issue is related to the recognition and dialectic efforts of various supporting elements of this type of society, such as AMAN (Indigenous Society Alliance of Indonesia). One of these efforts is to overcome the general problem of marginalization in three different terms: alienated communities, isolated communities, and backward communities. At this time, the Tenggerese in Ngadas are only categorized as isolated communities. Even as access and infrastructure development occurs, this status might be will no longer be relevant in the next few years. At this point, the Ngadas's significant achievement must be appreciated, but it also becomes a warning since modernization in traditional communities always has two sides.

Modernization and globalization are common reasons for changes in traditional societies, which often live in remote areas [7,39,40]. For example, Suneki's research [40] emphasizes that globalization raises various problems in the field of culture, such as the loss of the native culture of a country and the deprivation of

cultural values. Moreover, globalization also decreased the sense of nationalism, which led to the loss of family sense, cooperation, and self-confidence. This lifestyle is not following *adat*. Cahyono [7] then points out how modernization also had an equally tremendous impact, for example, with the rise of social media, which has strongly influenced-social life in the Tengger society by dissolving cultural barriers between the traditional people. It has led to changes in the equilibrium of social relations, which has affected its social system, including its values, attitudes, and group behavior patterns. Our recent data and analysis confirm this.

Globalization has become a formidable challenge for a traditional society such as Tengger to maintain its centuries-old life traditions [9,41]. Indigenous peoples in rural areas, such as in Ngadas, also experience difficulties maintaining their cultural heritage and way of life from the influence of the outside world [35]. The roles and meaning's change of *pawon*, and the declining faith in traditional rituals in Ngadas have convincingly proved those claims. In this sense, external influences in the form of globalization raise various problems, including the cultural aspect, especially in the loss of "native culture" or the erosion of cultural values [40].

The Tenggerese in Ngadas with their culture should not be immutable because culture is fluid and not static [47]. However, the change processes need to be "controlled" to avoid more significant follow-up impacts, such as the loss of culture. Cultural dissolution can affect social-society divisions and weaken the socio-moral bonds of the community itself [48].

It is also necessary to be more concerned about seeing the loss of faith in practicing rituals in Ngadas. In an indigenous community, ritual is not merely an ordinary daily activity. It has more profound and philosophical meanings. Hart [42] argued that ritual is part of social action, ultimately producing social solidarity and corroborates with political symbols and other powers. In the long term, what happens in Ngadas could indicate two meanings. It does not indicate the social change only but could also bring social cohesion wane. At this point, changes in collective ritual practices due to external influences could also change the community's cultural identity.

Like other indigenous people around the globe, cultural identity is also very urgent for the Tenggerese in Ngadas. In her research, Raadik-Cottrell [43] emphasizes that cultural identity is essential for traditional societies. If there is an identity conflict involving community entities, a negotiation process is needed to reduce the conflict. However, identity and culture itself are also flexible and elastic. On the contrary, it can be used to manage conflicts that occur in traditional societies so that, in principle, the two must go hand in hand. Flexible and elastic can also be interpreted as being able to change. Still, the change

process must be able to adapt and accommodate various changes [4], both internally and externally, to anticipate a better future.

Ngadas, with its strong cultural values, has difficulty reconciling its local wisdom with the economic opportunities the national tourism programs offer. A win-win solution strategy is needed to compromise various interests among the Ngadas Villagers and other involved parties. Regarding studies based on cultural tourism, Picard and Wood [44] show one relevant example of the conflict between cultural and economic values, using Balinese culture as their research background. Based on their study, Picard and Wood reveal how Balinese people try to adapt and accommodate the values of economic capital without compromising their traditional values and identity. However, in conditions where tourism has exceeded its threshold (over-exploited), it will be tough to avoid the occurrence of "over-development," and the consequences will harm the social structure and cultural aspects of the community [11]. Therefore, visiting tourists and other outsiders need to be more aware and respectful of the local cultural values in Ngadas. Instead of negatively influencing the local community, the tourist could learn a lot of local wisdom from the villagers. A comprehensive educational strategy combined with a touristic program option could be the best answer for this.

Teachers and (high) education institutions are crucial in improving the Ngadas situation. It is in line with Nasir et al.'s argument that education is also one of the factors that can change the situation in traditional societies [45]. For this reason, in Ngadas in the future, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of increasing education, capacity, and life skills for this community to make the adaptation process to existing changes will become better and smoother.

Another thing that should be paid more attention to this change is the disappearance of the original positive culture of the Ngadas people. In his book [41], Geertz said that cultural decay has led to social fragmentation, and the loss of solid folk traditions has weakened the moral ties between individuals (p. 163). Substantive matters began to be abandoned and replaced by new cultures that came from outside and were considered more modern [8]. This bitter illustration is not significantly happening in Ngadas yet. However, it may happen sooner or later. A well and better preparation and strategy are needed to avoid that poor possibility, as well as arrange better adaptation processes by the Ngadas community.

Traditional communities in Ngadas thrive in adapting to the various changes brought about, which has commonalities to the case in Banten Kidul. In this case, customary institutions become one of the critical factors in helping to communicate the changes that



occur to the community and formulating the adaptation process needed to reduce the negative impact on them without losing their most important traditional identity [39]. Refers to this, the shaman in Ngadas should be more involved in the broader decision-making processes rather than the limited ritual issues. In this sense, indigenous peoples need effective engagement in decision-making to ensure that the resulting policies are accepted and implemented consistently, effectively, and efficiently [46].

Coordination between authorities, in terms of local leaders (village heads), traditional leaders (shamans), and also collaborating with park administrators (BB TN BTS) is one of the keys to controlling change in Ngadas to be more positive. Good communication patterns with external parties must be maintained and the process must be more transparent. Whether this needs to be regulated through official local regulations, such as village regulations (*perdes*), or instead can be done with more flexible mechanisms, needs to be discussed in further research.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The results of this research, in many ways, strengthen several conclusions from previous research about how modernization and information technology are extreme in changing this society's social and cultural joints [7,8,29,40]. Likewise, tourism policies have massively changed Ngadas physically and non-physically [9,11,12].

This research also reveals various changes that occur slowly, both physically and non-physically. Some of them are shifts in livelihoods, expansion of residential areas, shifts in the meaning of cultural objects, and changes in attitudes and behavior of Ngadas children and youth.

This research, in particular, also reveals the role of outsiders in the process of change in Ngadas. Tourists, daily needs sellers and collectors of agricultural products, BTS National Park officers, and other actors such as teachers and health workers play a significant role in the Ngadas's change process.

Apart from the conclusions above, the weaknesses can also be used as material for further research. The weaknesses relate to efforts to uncover clear patterns of changes, their causes, and the actors who directly influence them. A statistical approach could have advantages to better conclude in this regard conclusively. Research to reveal strategies applied by the local community facing the outsider and modernization could be another alternative as the continuity of this article.

## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Endratno Budi S contributed to developing research ideas, formulating problems, analyzing, and concocting until the final form. M. Rizki Firdaus contributed to exploring supporting theories, surveys and interviews, and spatial reviews.

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