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Local Wisdom of Tengger Indigenous Community in the Management of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park

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Abstract

Tengger indigenous community are native people who have lived in the highlands of Tengger mountains long before that area was declared a National Park in 1992. Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park is managed with a zoning system that affects the living space of the Tengger indigenous community. In fact, Act Number 5 of 1990 concerning Conservation and Biological Natural Resources and Ecosystems gives dominance to the government to manage conservation areas and there is no true genuine public participation for the native people who live inside national park areas. This article presents: (1) the forms of managements of zones in Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park area which tangens the living space of Tengger indigenous community (2) forms of local wisdom possessed by Tengger indigenous community in maintaining natural sustainability. The research method used in the article is socio-legal research which examines the application of law in Tengger indigenous community through philosophical, juridical, theoritical and sociological aspects. The result of this research indicate that government does not provide enough space for the Tengger indigenous community to participate in managing Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park. The management of national park conservation is centralized and ignores the living space and traditional rights of Tengger indigenous community.

Keywords: Local Wisdom; Genuine Public Participation; Tengger Indigenous Community; Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park; Zoning Systems

Introduction

Before being declared as national park, Tengger mountains area was a nature preverse, protected area and limited production forest with an area of 43,210 hectares as determined by the Minister of Agriculture's Statement Number 736/Mentan/X/82 dated on 14 October 1982. The Tengger mountains area was declared a national park based on the World National Park Congress meeting held in Denpasar, Bali based on considerations of nature and environment that needed to be protected as well as various



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traditional potentials that needed to be developed. On November 1992, Indonesian government inaugurated Bromo Tengger Semeru area as a national park with an area of 50.276 hectares based on the Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number 178/Menhut-II/2005 on June 29, 2005.¹

Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park is located in administrative area of four regencies, including Malang regency with an area of 18.692,96 hectares, Pasuruan regency with an area of 4.642,52 hectares, Probolinggo regency with an area of 3.600,37 hectares, and Lumajang regency with an area of 23.340,35 hectares. In article 32 of Act Number 5 of 1990 concerning the conservation and Biological Natural Resources and Their Ecosystems, it is stated that national park areas are managed using a zoning system consisting of a core zone, utilization zone and other zones according its needs. Based on that article, Bromo Tengger Semeru Nationa Park is managed with seven zoning systems which include: core zone, jungle zone, traditional zone, utilization zone, rehabilitation zone, religious, cultural and historical zone, and special zone.²

Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park are managed by special institutions called national park office, a technical implementation unit of the Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystems Conservation of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. Based on Decree of Director of Nature Conservation Pattern and Information, a special directorate under the Ministry of Environment and Forestry Number: S.138/PIKA/PNK/KSA-0/4/2019 dated on April 9, 2019 concerning the evaluation zoning results of Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park, the seven zones in that national park consist of: the core zone with an area of 17.028,67 hectares, jungle zone with an area of 26.871 hectares, utilization zone with an area of 1.293,96 hectares, traditional zone with an area of 3.140,35 hectare, rehabilitation zone with an area of 1.907,24 hectares, religious, cultural and historical zone with an area of 4,13 hectares, and special zone with an area of 30,49 hectares.³

Based on the area of each zone, Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park is dominated by jungle zone and the smallest one is religious, cultural dan historical zone. National park office were claimed that national parks in Indonesia are managed using a zoning system, which is essentially the division of management spaces in the national park landscape with the aim of ensuring that management activities are in accordance with mandate of establishing a national park. Meanwhile, what about the existence of Tengger indigenous community in the national park? According to historical records, during the reign of Thomas Stamford Raffles (1811-1816), there were around 40 Tengger villages recorded. Nowadays, there is just 17 villages that still remains which is Argosari and Ranupani villages (Lumajang regency), Ngadas, Jetak, Ngadisari, Ngadirejo, Wonotoro, Ledokombo, Sumberanom, Wonokerso villages (Probolinggo regency), Tosari, Wonokitri, Sedaeng, Ngadiwono, Podokoyo, Keduwung villages (Pasuruan regency) and Ngadas village (Malang regency).

From that 17 Tengger indigenous villages, Ngadas village in Malang regency and Ranu Pani village in Lumajang regency are enclave village which are located inside Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park. The Tengger indigenous community inhabited Bromo and Semeru mountains area long before Majapahit kingdom was founded. Tengger indigenous community's main livelihood is a farmers, who initially lived by depending on forest resources. The history of agriculture in Tengger mountains area is an ecological crisis that occurs continously. The high altitute of the Tengger villages causes agricultural land to dry out. The irrigation system does not function on agricultural land in the mountains. Tengger

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¹ Nurjaya, I Nyoman. (2022). Hukum Tata Kelola Kepariwisataan Nasional Berkelanjutan Alam dan Budaya Berbasis Masyarakat Hukum Adat. Malang: Inteligensi Media, 228

² Rudi, Bambang, et-al. (2015). Buku Informasi Taman Nasional Bromo Tengger Semeru. Balai Besar TNBTS: DIPA-BA, 2

³ Balai Besar TNBTS. (2019). Dokumen Zona Pengelolaan Taman Nasional Bromo Tengger Semeru. Jakarta: Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan Republik Indonesia, 4

⁴ Raffles, Thomas Stamford. (2008). *History of Java*. Translation: Eko Prasetyoningrum, Yogyakarta: Narasi, 266



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farmers only rely on rainy season to start farming.⁵ To survive from starving, Tengger indigenous community collecting forest resource just to fulfill basic need. They believe that forest and its contens are gift from the Almighty (*Sang Hyang Widi Wasa*) to be utilized by mankind so that their lives are happy and prosperous.⁶

Since Tengger mountains was declared as national park, Tengger indigenous community can no longer to harvest some woods, hunt an animals, pick leaves for traditional medicine, graze livestock, look for grass, clear land and others traditional activities for conservation reasons. In the management of Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park, there are many structural conflicts have been found due to unequal access and control over natural resource. That conflicts were triggered by authorities, because national park office has formal authority to determine general policy, which mean the authorities have more opportunity to control natural resources while suppressing access to Tengger indigenous community. The natural resource management conflict that occurs in Tengger indigenous community is very structural because it deals with officials. There are four types of conflict that occurs between Tengger indigenous community and national park office, such as: differences in determining the boundaries of conservation forest areas which are included in management area national park office, encroachment of forests in core zone and jungle zone, collecting of non-timber forest products, and land use of conservation by people for plantation.⁷

Religion and belief have a big role in raising Tengger indigenous community. They are believe that mount Bromo and Semeru are holy and sacred places that have been passed down from generation to generation by their ancestors. Related to local wisdom, Tengger indigenous community believe that Tengger mountains area is an ancestral herritage that can be cultivated for good survival. The cultivation is not mean arbitrarily exploitative, but rather is to maintain environmental harmony. If we examine it normatively, it was found that the substantive legal facts that legal products regarding the management of natural resources including national park areas in Indonesia tend to have a centralized, sectoral, represive and prioritizes a security approach. National park policies does not provide enough space for recognition, protection of access and rights of indigenous communities to control and utilizing of natural resources.

Based on the description above, this article discusses the result of author's research on the local wisdom of Tengger indigenous community in the management of the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park.

Research Method

1) Type of Research

This research was conducted with sociological and anthropological juridical approaches, by studying the reciprocal relationship between law and social phenomena empirically in social life and how law work as tool of control in society.

⁵ Yuliati, Yayuk. (2011). Perubahan Ekologis dan Strategi Adaptasi Masyarakat di Wilayah Pegunungan Tengger. Malang: UB Press. 8

⁶ Batoro, Jati. (2017). Keajaiban Bromo Tengger Semeru (Analisis Lingkungan Suku Tengger di Lingkungan Bromo Tengger Semeru). Malang: UB Press, 1

⁷ Safa'at, Rachmad. (2014). Rekonstruksi Politik Hukum Pangan Dari Ketahanan Pangan Menuju ke Kedaulatan Pangan. Malang: UB Press, 428

⁸ Sasongko, Lucas Triyoga. (2010). Merapi dan Orang Jawa (Persepsi dan Kepercayaannya). Jakarta: Grasindo, 5

2) Time and Place of Research

This research was conducted during March until August 2023 in Ranupani village, Senduro district, Lumajang regency and Ngadas village, Poncokusumo district, Malang regency. The research location was chosen based on location of that villages as a cantilever in Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park.

3) Data Collection and Analysis

Primary data was obtained from depth interviews with respondents including: Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park officers, Tengger shaman priests, Indonesia Hindu Dharma Parisada, Tengger traditional leaders, and other stakeholders. Secondary data was obtained from literature studies such as monographs, disertation, research reports, and statutory regulations.

Result and Discussion

1) History of the Tengger Indigenous Community

Since the arrival of Islam in Java, Hindus have been forced to leave the coast for areas that are diffucult for arrivals to reach, that place is at foot of mount Bromo. There is a term regarding the identity of Tengger people which is usually called Tiyang Tengger. The Tengger indigenous community believe that the name of "Tengger" comes from combination of the last two syllables of the legends of Rara An-Teng dan Jaka Se-Ger. Rara Anteng is believed to be daughter of King Brawijaya V of the Majapahit kingdom and Jaka Seger is the son of a Brahmin who meditated in Tengger highlands. The Tengger indigenous community are called as *Hulun Spiritual Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, which means spiritual servants who are obedient to God. Tengger indigenous community are spread across the area surrounding mount Bromo from four directions creating the concept of local wisdom of the Javanese community which is known as "kiblat papat limo pancer" or four directions and five center, which means Tengger people is four directions and mount Bromo is center. Mount Bromo is the center of all activities of the Tengger indigenous community.

According to the beliefs of Tengger indigenous community, the Tengger mountains are a sacred area which a place inhabit by 25 ancestral spirits of the children of Rara Anteng and Jaka Seger, includes: the spirit of Tumenggung Kliwung on mount Ringgit, the spirit of Hinta Wiji on mount Widangan, the spirit of Ki Baru Klinthing on Lemah Kuning, the spirit of Ki Rawit on Sumber Semani, the spirit of Ni Jinthing Jinah on mount Jemahan, the spirit of Ical on mount Ranten, the spirit of Prabu Siwa atas mount Linggah, the spirit of Cokro Pranoto on mount Gandera, the spirit of Tunggul Wulung on Cemoro Lawang, the spirit of Tumenggung Klinter on mount Penanjakan, the spirit of Bagus Waris on Watu Balang, the spirit of Ki Dukun on Watu Wungkuk, the spirit of Pranoto on Poten, the spirit of Perniti on Bayangan, the spirit of Tunggul Ametung on mount Tunggukan, the spirit of Masigit atas mount Bathok, the spirit of Puspo Ki Gentong on Widodaren, the spirit of Ni Teku on mount Guyangan, the spirit of Dadung Kawuk on Banurahing, the spirit of Ki Dumeling on mount Pusang Lingker, the spirit of Shindu Jaya on Wonongkoro, the spirit of Sapu Jagat on mount Pundak Lembu, the spirit of Ki Jenggot on mount Keramat Rujak, the spirit of Demang Diningrat at mount Semeru, and the spirit of Ki Kusuma on mount Bromo. 10

⁹ Suyono, Capt.R.P. (2009). Mistisme Tengger. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 23

Warouw, Johannes Nicolaas. (2012). Inventarisasi Komunitas Adat Tengger (Desa Ngadisari, Kecamatan Sukapura, Kabupaten Probolinggo). Yogyakarta: Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya, 18



Tengger indigenous community have characteristics as people which obey their leader and obediently to carry out traditional ceremonies. They have similar physical characteristics as generally people in Java, but there are special characteristic in terms of the clothing, which are use *kaweng*, wrapped in their shoulders. *Kaweng* is a sarong that the Tengger indigenous community use in their daily activities to warm themselves from cold weather in their highlands environment. The regional language that used by Tengger indigenous community is Javanese which has ancients nuances. Tengger indigenous community use ancient Javanese which is believed to be the original language and dialect of the Majapahit kingdom. Their dialect is a mixture of the Ngapak language typical of western central Java and Madurese. According to shaman priest, the language that used by his people shows the authenticity of Javanese language from Majapahit kingdom era. Original typical greeting used by Tengger indigenous community everyday are "*Hong Ulun Basuki Langgeng*". If someone gives that greeting, the person being greeted is obligated to reply with "*Langgeng Basuki*". The meaning of *Hong Ulun Basuki Langgeng* is may god grant us eternal safety and prosperity. That greeting is said every time to meet someone or when visit someone's house, also at official meetings at village hall, as well as in every traditional ceremonies.

2) Tengger Indigenous Community's Perception of Land

Since the beginning of Hinduism in Indonesia, Tengger mountains has been recognized as the holy land called by *Hila-Hila*. In the perspective of Tengger indigenous community, land has religious meaning and is a source of livelihood, a gift from Almighty God to serve him. The high respect for land by Tengger indigenous community are part of their life principle, called by "sungkem marang sing nguripi yaiku bhumi". Regarding the land of Hila-Hila, the existence of the sea of sand at the peak of mount Bromo are believed to be the path of human souls in purification to reach heaven. According to beliefs of Tengger indigenous community, the sea sand is the same as mount Himalaya areas which is considered a holy place.¹¹

Tengger indigenous people have a very close relationship with their traditional land, a relationship that is filled with emotional, sentimental, religious-magical values, and sometimes even irrational, so that the relationship is eternal and irreplacetable. Neglecting land same as damaging their honor and is a taboo that will bring harm, bad luck or karma. Therefore, Tengger indigenous community really care or called by about their lands. The land must be maintained and cultivated as well as possible so that it is beneficial for themselves and their families. That is become a principle and philosophy of life for Tengger indigenous community, known as "Ngayomi, Ngayoni lan Ngayemi" which means provide protection, support and create a sense of peace for the family which will make it easier to carry out the obligations of worship to the Almighty God (Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa).

In the cosmological system of Tengger indigenous community, land is seen as an integral part of chain of life which functions as a continous cycle of energy. The land is able to produce plants if it receives input in the form of blessing form supernatural, where that form of blessing gives fertility to soil. The abundance of harvest is believed by Tengger indigenous community to be a blessing from *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*. Plants products are energy input, providing strength for humans and other living creatures.

Tengger indigenous community believe that every land is inhabited by ancestral spirits. Therefore, in every Tengger village have *Sanggar Pedanyangan*, *Punden*, Tomb, and *Kutugan*. Sanggar Pedanyangan and Punden are special places bounded by walls for Tengger indigenous community to make offerings to their ancestral spirits and asking to Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa for safety. *Kutugan* is plot of land that usually has stones as markers and is covered with large trees located on the rim of Bromo

¹¹ Hefner, Nancy J. Smith and Hefner, Robert, W. (1985). Masyarakat Tengger dalam Sejarah Nasional Indonesia. Boston University, Massachusetts, 1



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caldera or on the path to the sea sand. *Kutugan* is believed to be a kind of portal or gate before heading to the sea sand. Before enter the sea sand, Tengger indigenous community usually say greetings or permission to the guardian spirit at *Kutugan*.

3) State Recognition of Tengger Indigenous Community in National Park Management

Based on historical perspective, costumary law has existed in Indonesian nation long befote the existence of state law. The plurality of Indonesian costumary law is summarized in a philosophical system Pancasila as a reflection of soul's nation. Characteristics of costumary law are traditional, magical-religious, open to good elements, combined through deliberation which prioritizes the principle of togetherness producing a noble agreement on the Indonesian nation that is concrete and visual in its unique legal culture namely Pancasila. The correlation between costumary law and Pancasila is that magical-religious paradigm is actualized into the first principle of Pancasila, paradigm of noble wisdom or costumary law morality is actualized into the second principle of Pancasila, the mutual cooperation paradigm in costumary law is actualized into the third principle of Pancasila and the communal paradigm of costumary law is actualized into fifth principle of Pancasila.

Since constitutionalism requires the positivization of human rights into constitutional norms as a form of social contract, at that time the rights of indigenous peoples were freezed in the constitutional texts. The existence of indigenous people and their rights were dilemmatic. On the one side, costumary law community require positivization because their existence is only recognized if regulated in written law made by state institution. In a contrario, it is said that if it is not legally recognized, the existence of costumary law community is considered to disapper or does not exist. Traditional rights are autonomous rights and not given, so even though they are not written in the constitution or other legal regulations, traditional rights are still part of life in indigenous community. ¹² In constitution, the state's recognition of costumary law community is contained in Article 18 (B) paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic Indonesia:

"the state recognizes and respects costumary law community units and their traditional rights as long as they are still alive and in accordance with the development of society and the principle of unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia as regulated in acts".

According Satjipto Rahardjo's opinion, four requirements in Article 18 (B) paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic Indonesia are still written in an absolute and hegemonial tradition and showed how the state has the authority and power to determine what happens in the Republic of Indonesia, including whether costumary law is still valid or not. That conditional recognition is an obstacle to standart self-determination as the main principle of implementating the human rights of indigenous law community.¹³

Theoritically, homogenization is a development paradigm that is characterized by legal centralism, through the implementation of unification politics, codification of state which is marginalizes, displaces, and ignores the existence of costumary law because law is built and functioned as government social control. Indigenous communities have experienced many material and spiritual losses due to the implementation of centralized development politics over the last few decades. That oppression occurs in economic, legal, social and cultural aspects. That condition is ironic because in reality, indigenous communities are the largest elements of the structure of Indonesia nation. Unfair

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¹² Tanya, Bernard L. (2006). Teori Hukum, Strategi Tertib Manusia Lintas Ruang dan Generasi. Surabaya: CV. Kita, 179

¹³ Mariene, Irene. (2014). Kearifan Lokal Pengelolaan Hukum Adat. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 83

treatment can be seen clearly through unilateral categorization and definition of indigenous community as isolated communities, shifting cultivators, and vulnerable communities.

Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park is geographically located between 7°54'-8°13' South Latitude and 112°51'-113°04' East Longitude, located in four regional government areas including Malang, Pasuruan, Probolinggo and Lumajang regencies. That national park is at various altitudes, from 750 to 3676 meters about sea level. Based on provisions in Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 105 of 2015 concerning Amandments to Government Regulation Number 28 of 2011 concerning Management of Nature Reverse Area and Nature Conservation Area, indigenous communities that living in national park areas are only permitted to access and utilize two of the seven zones which are traditional zone and religious, cultural and hisctorical zone. An area within a Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park is designated as a traditional zone if it contains forage for livestock that has been used by local community. The forage plants referred to is only calliandra. The Tengger indigenous community is only allowed to reproduce existing calliandra and is prohibited from planting different types, even if the plants are for traditional ritual, traditional medicine, and non-timber forest products for daily food needs.

Based on the results of author's research, there is no traditional zone and only small area of religious, cultural and historical zone in Ranupani and Ngadas villages in the Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park area is a pseudo-recognition by the government of traditional rights of Tengger indigenous community. Religious, cultural and historical zone with a total area of 4,13 hectares in Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park includes the Luhur Poten temple with an area of 3,96 hectares which is geographically located at 7°55'57.70"-7°50'24. 41" South Latitude, 122°57'8.53"-122°57'8.53"-122°57'19.30" East Longitude and Rondo Kuning temple with an area of 0,17 hectare which is geographically located at 8°0'40.51"-8°0'42.28" South Latitude, 122°56'44.94"-122°56'46.72" East Longitude. The Luhur Poten temple and Rondo Kuning temple as a places of prayers for Tengger indigenous community are managed using a cooperation system between Indonesia Hindu Dharma Parisada and national park office through an agreement that must be extended every five years.

4) Local Wisdom of Tengger Indigenous Community in National Park Management

Noble behavior lived by Tengger indigenous community is an attitude of living harmony and balance with God, humans and nature. The teachings passed down by their ancestors were not to dominate nature, but how to balancing themselves with nature. Violation of nature by destroying it will cause an imbalance of the cosmos. That paradigm is identical to philosophical concept in Bali which is based on the teachings of *Tri Hita Karana*. As a small universe or microcosm, Tengger indigenous community are always tried to harmonize themselves with the big universe or macrocosm which are in their belief, universe is the place of the gods and ancestral spirits. They will always strive for harmony between the will of the gods and ancestral spirits that lived around them. Therefore, Tengger indigenous community always hold rituals to maintain harmony in life. In their perspective, holding ritual are considered a form of respect for the ancestors who give them to birth and provide guidance for life.

The local wisdom of Tengger indigenous community regarding land are reflected in the teachings of norms that passed down from their ancestors such as: "tanah iku seng nguripi, kudu dijogo" which means land gives us life, so it is needs to be protected, "banyu niku sumber paling tuwo, kudu dijogo sumbere" which means water is the oldest source, so that source must be protected, "tanaman niku salah satunggale sumber urip, mulane niku perlu diopeni sing apik", which means plants are a source of life, so it is must be protected properly, "ojo negor, sakdurunge nandur" which means do not cut down trees before planting it. Tengger indigenous community believed in the concept of karma as an effort to restrain themselves from bad action. In their perspective, nobility of character is priceless because it can prevent themselves from karma, such as disasters that can befall them because bad actions or disobedience to

traditions and local wisdom that passed down from their ancestors. The Tengger legend has been passed down from generation to generation by folklore, especially from shaman priests.

Tengger indigenous community have three guidelines for life, which are Tattwa, Susila and rituals. Tattwa is knowledge about religious philosophy which is understood by Tengger indigenous community as *Panca Shadra* namely *Brahman*, meaning belief in god (*Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*). *Atman* meaning belief in ancestral spirits. *Kharmapala* or cause and effect, means believing in *Samsara* which is the core teachings of Hinduism and Buddhism that all human actions are bounded by law of cause and effect. *Punarbawa* or reincarnation means that humans are bounded by the living law in many times accordance with the *Dharma* of previous lives. *Moksa* or disappearance, that is when humans have achieved *Moksa* and no longer bounded to *Purnabawa* and they will be in eternal peace. According to the Tengger indigenous community, *Susila* is understood as knowledge of manners and etiquette. Susila is interpreted as *Trikaya Parisuda*, which are think, say and act correctly. They are also hold the *Titiluri* principles in maintain, preserve their cultures and the ancestors are the role models. The ancestral practices are passed down from generation to generation and form traditional costumaries. The *Titiluri* principles are actualized in Tengger daily activities such as rituals, traditional ceremonies and other cultural activities.

The *Titiluri* principle reflects the identity of Tengger indigenous community, such as live with a simple life, hardwork, and other daily living habits. The *Titiluri* complexity moves in all aspect of Tengger indigenous community activities. *Titiluri* must be followed and carried out by all Tengger people because they are believe that the ancestors have sent down blessings to be followed and not be ignored. ¹⁴ Obedient to traditional customs has contributed to conducive social relations and strong ability of Tengger people to maintain its identity as an indigenous community. Through inheritance of traditional values that have existed over millenia, Tengger indigenous community have practiced manage various natural environtments both physical and social, which has become and ecological wisdom in forming social and physical harmonization in a more dynamic ways. According to Tengger indigenous community, space and time are elements that form reality and frame of life. A combination between space and time to keep life running as it should. If space and time are disturbed, it will threaten the balance of life.

Conclusion

The paradigm of Tengger indigenous community towards the Tengger mountains area or Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park both physically, spatially, and mystically are part of environmental ethics. Naming the area, understanding its location and how to maintain it are forms of conservation within the framework of local wisdom. They are considered nature as a living entity that has equal rights to be respected and protected. Tengger traditional ceremonial activities spread positive energy that drives the nature conservation behavior of indigenous community. Therefore, in the performance of nature conservation in Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park area, the potential cultural values of Tengger indigenous community must be integrated into collaborative management strategis so that it is can run effectively.

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