

Multicultural Education of Tengger Community in Parenting Tradition at Bromo-Tengger-Semeru National Park

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Abstract

Parenting in a community is an important part which underlies the birth of variety characters that are owned by various ethnic communities in Indonesia. Required in-depth study about how the parenting process is done and socialization process takes place, so can form culture character of a community uniquely. The results of this study can be used as a reference in order to strengthen the basic development of "Living Values Education". The approach used in this study is qualitative research with case sectional study technique. The results showed: (1) there are several phases in cultural socialization which is run by Tengger community in doing parenting based on ethnography background in various rituals, ranging from *Sayut* ceremony, when the potential children is still in the womb, until they grow adult and enter the home life; (2) the values that can be used as guidelines, as well as the results of parenting process in Tengger, i.e.: the value of strong religious life tolerance, mutual cooperation, patience, love caring in, avoiding violence, peace, and harmony are very important in their social and cultural life, and also obedience to the leader.

Keywords: parenting, multicultural education, Tengger community

1. Introduction

During this time the existing research model is just artificial and touching the outer side of cultural communities relationship, and less touching its root causes and runway that give colour to the ethnocentrism which arise in the attitude of followers or cultural group concerned. Research about the problem of ideal shared life values among communities in different cultures, religions, and group has urgency. Academically, this research can open a wider horizon of thought about social research culture in Indonesia. This research also offers a holistic approach for several communities that illustrate cultural diversity, in hoping can obtained depth root causes of socio-cultural relationship. This study has eminence in searching formula to solve the problem about state integration and social harmony of inter cultural community in Indonesia.

So far, the biggest obstacle in this interaction is the nature of exclusivism which trammel very strong in human consciousness as a group. This research dissects understanding of tribal exclusivism and cultural values that contained in the subconscious of each tribe, by indicating unconscious aspects of their culture, which had been controlling human behaviour. That aspect occurred since parenting process in family until then developed on a tribal community in the neighborhood. With a deep understanding about how socialization and cultural development done or experienced by young people to the cultural values of community, will undoubtedly be known and found the values that are considered as the highest, most important and useful in community social life. The research approach is not intended to seek generalizations on wider empirical facts (pattern of), but rather the research findings are expected to be an attitude and behaviour model of various religious communities in Indonesia (pattern for).

The objectives of this study, i.e.: (1) to describe and analyze the parenting traditions in Tengger community which occurred against ethnography background, including involvement of Tengger leaders in this process; (2) to describe and analyze the values that can be used as guidelines, as well as the results of parenting process in Tengger. If various communities or different ethnic groups in Indonesia are given a model of national integration values and social harmony about community experience that has been able to run successfully, are expected to appear an enlightenment of their ethnic and cultural activities aspects. Enlightenment happened will bring a change from exclusivism to inclusivism of interaction. Thus, solution for national integration and social harmony problems, which have been trying to be achieved, will be found.

National integration and social harmony become the two main concepts that are highly coveted in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural community life. Conflicts among tribes, groups, religion followers and races in Indonesian social and cultural life happen almost every time. Plural society potentially saves the seeds of discord and dissension. That potency some occurred as claim of cultural superiority and the truth of confidence, while the culture and beliefs of other people or groups is weak and wrong. The emergence of that single truth is as a result of the socialization process that led, which sees their culture as the highest and despises others (ethnocentrism).

Social phenomenon which regards their own culture and beliefs as the nicest and most correct, while the others one is false, is very easily seen and heard on Indonesian culture and social interaction in daily life. There is a sharp line that becomes a frame of all someone or community behavior and actions to deal with his own and other groups, even directed against matters that concern in values of objective human relations (humanism).

Empirically, it can't be separated from cultural socialization process that is undergone by a person from birth to adult. That socialization process has established attitudes and behavior, even a person character to interact with their peers and also with other groups. Feeling of exclusivism group has been formed early, which will be crystallized in person growth and development.

When doing research previously (Hadi & Purwaningsih, 2007), found an interesting fact that in a remote village, which according to the anthropological theory indeed difficult to accept cultural changes, especially changes (conversion) for religious beliefs, it turns out that many religion followers of "Budo", which is Tengger original religion, have done converting to religions State, such as Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Relations between each religious follower walk with a dynamic and peace. Each religion followers do their own religion teachings, and also in active to give respect or significantly assistance to the other religious followers who perform rituals and religious ceremonies, or other social problems.

2. Literature Review

Peaceful socio-cultural relations needed to be explored in order to obtain a value model for Tengger younger generation about how to interact with other people, so that in their daily lives will appears peace and harmony in living together (Suseno, 2003). Image of good character seems in line with inheritance of Tengger community important values (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Community studied in Ranupani Village embraces some religions such as Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Community of Wonokitri and Ngadisari Village almost 100% embrace Hindu. Community of Ngadas Village embraces some state religion, i.e. 30% in Islam, 60% in Buddhist, and 10% in Hindu. Almost the entire population in four nearby villages of Mount Bromo livelihood as vegetable farmer, and some are engaged in services, such as become teacher, tour guide, or vendors of transportation, food and beverage, hostelry, clothing for cold regions and various souvenirs.

Tengger region physically is very spacious mountain, with Mount Bromo (3,676 meters above sea level) as the center. Tengger area is approximately 40 km stretching from north to south, and 20-30 km from east to west, above an altitude between 1.000-3.676 meters (Widyaprakosa, 1994). Since 1982 Tengger is designated as Bromo-Tengger-Semeru (BTS) National Park with Minister of Agriculture Decree No. 376/MENTAN/1982 date October 14, 1982. Beautiful natural surroundings of Semeru Mountain, religious nuances of the sea sand and Mount Bromo crater, and some isolated environmental conditions, cause the disparity of life and culture in some Tengger villages.

Tengger people have distinctive customs based on their original scriptures known as the *Adam Makna*. There is also *Welas Asih Pepitu* teaching (seven elements of love) consists of love for: (1) fellow creatures, (2) animals, especially to the horse which regarded as sacred animal and their meat should not be eaten, (3) plants, (4) mother and father, (5) yourself, (6) place of residence, and (7) God (Hadi, 1990). In addition there are customary Tengger norms known as *Panca Sradha*, include believing in The One Almighty God, soul, law of karma, reincarnation, and moksa.

In carrying out their customs, they are always bound by sense of togetherness. Until now they still hold traditions and essential sublime values, as a legacy from their ancestors that can be traced from Majapahit period (Hefner, 1990). The traditional ceremonies still grow in very much variety, which can be broadly categorized: (1) traditional ceremonies associated with society life on annual cycle, (2) traditional ceremonies associated with person life cycle, (3) traditional ceremonies associated with agricultural cycles, setting up home and natural phenomena.

Cultural socialization passed include three stages (Koentjaraningrat, 2000), i.e. (1) internalization process, a long process since the individual was born until he died, where he learns to instill in his personality all the feelings, desires, passions, and emotions needed throughout life; (2) socialization process, which is associated with learning cultural process related with the social system; (3) enculturation process, where person learns and adjusts the minds and attitudes with customs, norms system and regulations that live in the culture. Cultural value system, which has ingrained within each individual, will be hardly replaced with other values (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Tengger people who live in remote locations have done culture socialization since their children were born. Many habits included understanding and cultivating of religious belief have been done by the traditional elders, as well done by individuals actively, by utilizing various traditional ceremonies (Suyitno, 2001). Berger and Luckmann (1990) argued about cultural socialization, as the learning process of traditional values in society following the pattern: (1) objectification, (2) internalization, and (3) subjectification.

Life style is a modern world hallmark, which some occurred as result of development process. It departs from the assumption that lifestyle is a human response to production or production result, which in turn will also bring up consumerism attitude (Chaney, 1996). Lifestyle is personal characteristic which shows an overview of values system and attitudes towards themselves and their environment. Those characteristics relate to the usage patterns of leisure time, money, place, object, and also social relationship that are intertwined. Lifestyle is a combination and totality of means, procedures, habits, choices, and supporting objects, which the implementation is based on the specific value or belief system (Piliang, 1998). Two approaches often used as

theoretical perspectives to look at the social phenomenon is an ideological and socio-cultural approach. Ideological approach argues that lifestyle based on a particular ideology which determines the shape and direction. How to dress, food style, ways of relating socially, and type of reading are expressions of the community group way to associate their lives with their existence condition, which the combination will form ideology of social class. While socio-cultural approach states that lifestyle is a form of social and cultural expression. Every form of using time, space or object will reveal certain socio-cultural symbolic meanings.

Cultural dynamic, which has been caused by technological progress through the development process, has also been able to change human idealization that bears mass culture behavior, consumerism culture, and ecstasy as lifestyle (Ibrahim, 1997). The situation is now underway global, as a result of development acceleration emerges lifestyle that defies the strength of material. Community members are motivated not only for the rich, but also how can appear and respected as a rich man. At this stage the one that is consumed by people no longer something that just based on the useful and using value, but has entered into symbolic aspect. Effort to create a self-image in front of the community is very important.

3. Research Methods

The approach used in this study is qualitative research. In accordance with this approach, researchers make working hypotheses (Moleong, 2005), formulated in research questions. Important aim of this research is to find a scheme or model of national integration value and social harmony in living together from social and cultural life experiences of Tengger community which now has diverse cultural traditions and embraced several different religions. That activity pattern is a complex entity and needed to be understood in depth and holistic. Therefore, selection of design research with qualitative approach was carried out in order to obtain the raw value model based on the indigenous culture of people concerned.

To collect the data used several techniques, i.e. observation, in-deep interviews in a participatory manner to the point of saturation, and documentation study. The primary data source consists of: Tengger informal leaders (Shaman, *Wong Sepuh*, and *Pak Legen*), Tengger religious leaders in, formal leaders (Village Head with related village officers), youths, mothers and citizens of Tengger. They have been selected based on purposive sampling (Nasution, 1992). Data analyzed with interactive model developed by Miles and Huberman (1992), i.e. data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion withdrawal. To ensure the validity of data used several criteria, i.e. credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Moleong, 2005).

4. Findings and Discussion

From the results of a critical assessment can be found:

a. Cultural socialization phases that were run by Tengger community in doing parenting conducted ethnographic background and role of leaders within it.

Villages in the Tengger are administratively located in Lumajang (Ranupani), Malang (Ngadas), Probolinggo (Ngadisari) and Pasuruan (Wonokitri) area. Ngadas Village is located in the southwest slopes of Mount Bromo, while Ranupani is in the south, Wonokitri is in the north and Ngadisari is in the east. Geographically these villages are located in state forest zone which is a protected forest. Population data of these communities studied can be expressed as follows: Ngadas Village population consisted of 655 families, Wonokitri has 700 families, Ngadisari has 1.100 families, and Ranupani has 540 families. Tengger Villages region have hilly topography with an altitude of 2,033 meters above sea level. The landscape is a very broad hilly topography. Most of the agricultural land is field with moderate fertility levels and rainfed character. Thus natural state makes Tengger farmers become tenacious vegetable farmers. All day husband and wife are in the field with their children.

Most of Tengger community still adheres to Tengger customs, although they have switched to the state religions. They still run various ceremonies. Inter-religious life goes peacefully, without conflict. Togetherness between religious followers in this ritual can be seen from the neighbor involvement in ritual preparation and implementation. Such state of social life can't be separated from life processes that are already undergone for a long time as cultural socialization process (Koentjaraningrat, 2000). Tengger community has done socialization to the younger generation by using their cultural value system. Cultural value system consists of life conceptions in the large part of citizen minds, on matters that they deem to be most valuable in life, and function as the supreme guideline for human behavior. That is why in community social life practice, harmony and peace become the supreme value in their lives applied.

There are several phases in culture socialization which is run in parenting based on ethnographic background in various rituals, i.e.: (1) *Sayut* ceremony (when the mother's womb is 7 months old). So actually socialization value in Tengger children began since the fetus was still in mother's womb. A pregnant woman has a lot of restrictions, as should not say and behave disrespectful. They also carry out the core values contained in *Welas Asih Pepitu* teaching (Hadi, 1990). All of these contain a philosophy in order to the children conceived will imitate all behavior and speech of the parent. Related to parenting in this time, it is also emphasized especially to prospective father not to kill or injure an animal, even if unintentionally, because it can cause a

walat for the unborn baby. *Sayut* ceremony is done simply. The ceremonial procession is led by Shaman with giving spell offerings, and continued with bathing the expectant mother with water containing flowers. Ceremony will be end with saying thanks to the Shaman, and deliver offerings to *petren* (where ancestors live under a big tree) by the pregnant mother. If there are two or more siblings pregnant at the same time, they will exchange *stagen* (fabric belt). This contains implication that they will forever remain close and love each other.

(2) Birth ceremony. The major role is carried out by Midwife Shaman. In this event the placenta of baby born will be inserted into a clean pot. The umbilicus then will be washed cleanly, after that given salt and some equipment such as pencils or books. Pot contained umbilicus then planted in the corner of the house. This event has symbol of hope so that the born child likes something clean. The use of tools such as pencils and books, wrapped in white cloth along with the placenta, implicated that the child will be smart and loves to read and write. This matter seems to be influenced from modernization to Tengger which bring out their improving hopes on enhancement of children living standard through education. Education is believed as an entrance to be a successful society member.

Giving child name is done on the day of birth. In contrast with the outside of Tengger community that often hold a big event for the birth ceremonies, such as cutting the goat and others, it does not happen in Tengger. The birth event runs very simple. About a week after birth, the baby umbilical will be off. The family will make offerings so that the baby will be safe and not suffer disease. The offerings prepared are various colors porridge with purpose in the growth and development of children's personality will be a good son, escape from selfish and arrogant attitude. Then, there is done *Kekerik* ceremony when the child is aged around 44 days with seven type offerings consist of rice, side dishes, cakes and drinks. The purpose of this activity is hoping children grow properly, avoid disaster, and always get protection from God.

(3) *Among-Among* ceremony (for children under five years old). For five years, there will be stand out that child is always together with the mother. Throughout the day they almost never separated from the mother's arms. An interesting sight when in a ceremony, many Tengger young women carry their children. *Among-Among* ceremony will be organized when the parent already have enough money. Equipment provided usually is a cone with 10 chickens. The interesting thing, compared with common Javanese traditional ceremony by urban or village communities in lowland area, is the absence of *Tedak Siten* ceremony (Land Down) in Tengger. It was unclear whether this is related to the ecological situation on the slopes of cold and humid Bromo-Semeru mountains or other reasons. It is rarely seen babies or children who practice crawling or creeping in Tengger. In many opportunities there were seen children picked up by mother with sarong (sling). That children were not heard their voice, they seem to delight in the warm embrace of the mother.

(4) *Tugel Kuncung* ceremony (cutting hair in the central part of head) is aimed for boys, meanwhile for girls there is held *Tugel Gombak* ceremony. Both ceremonies are undertaken by children when they are about 12 years old. That hair cutting is only done symbolically, only a small part, as a symbol of disposing bad luck that might be fall to the child later in life. Currently, after Tengger children do *Tugel Kuncung* ceremony, they carry out the *Khitanan* (circumcision) ceremony. In Tengger tradition, circumcision is only intended for boys. They don't know circumcisions on girls as occurred in some villages in Java. This ceremony is usually done together with *Entas-Entas* ceremony (ceremony to drive ancestors toward nirvana). *Khitanan* ceremony is a sign that the child has been adults.

(5) Wedding and Wologoro ceremony (ceremony usually accompanies wedding ceremony). With this ceremony the two beings who will enter next stage of life become an independent family. Many physically and mentally preparations are considered sufficient when a child enters world life as a new family. In physically various necessary of life such as house and clothes have been able to be actualized by them. In mentally various preparations also have been done. Values of living together with husband/wife forever have been prepared. That is why Tengger family always lives in harmony. The existence of polygamy is not found in Tengger. Overall steps in child development ceremony are steps of parenting process in Tengger. It implies about the formation of Tengger children character which is done gradually. Presumably it is suitable with social construction proposed by Berger and Luckmann (1990). The most important thing of that various ceremony processes is part of parenting tradition, not only for the involved child in ceremony, but also as a life experience for his siblings or other youth as moral education in harmony with the values honored.

b. The values that can be used as guidelines, as well as the results of parenting process in Tengger.

There are several values associated with parenting in Tengger. Some prominent values, i.e.: (1) value of mutual cooperation. Tengger people are diligent and independent hard workers. They like working alone in their wide fields, but in social and cultural life, they turn out to be very peaceful and calm. Spirit of togetherness is demonstrated in various social activities, including religious social aspect. (2) Value of patience, especially in social relationship with other communities of religions. Almost all community members are patient in performing religious worship. The existence of this attitude can't be released by their social economic life as a vegetable farmer who has many hopes in friendly natural environment, so they have to be patient to face all the problems. The existence of patience in behaving against social problems can be seen in their efforts in fulfilling

all demands of the life, especially the needs of foods, clothes and shelters.

(3) Obedience to the leader as a value that really stands out and owned by community members, both to the formal leaders such as village head and related village officers, also to the informal leaders, such as Shaman, *Wong Sepuh* and *Pak Legen*, and also to the head of local religious. A leader is everything in Tengger social and cultural life. Everything has been taken as their leader's decision will be followed exactly. People never dispute the religion professed by the leaders. Like case in Ranupani Village, although the largest number of religious followers is Islam, but the one who is elected as village head is a Christian who comes from outside Tengger. The same thing happened in Ngadas Village. Although most religion followers there is Buddhist (about 60%), but the one who is elected in two periods as village head is a Muslim. A problem indeed occurred in Wonokitri Village, where barely a year elected, the village head committed suicide for economic crush issues. This last case still requires a very deep contemplation, because it is a very rare case in Tengger whose thick communal nuance. Against traditional spiritual leaders (like Shaman, *Wong Sepuh* and *Pak Legen*), the community respect is very high. They are characters who are very adhered to. Being a Shaman is not an easy work. He should be able to memorize various spells, be public reference and point depends of various spiritual and mundane problems, and also as a model in social life.

(4) Value of bowing to the norm, there is a set of values and norms that commonly done and adhered in community social life. Those values and norms become a reference source of behavior teaching in Tengger community, especially for Tengger younger generation that is in transition episode of life, there seems their concern about the applied norms. Tengger people as known, based on a set of values: *Welas Asih Pepitu* and *Panca Srada* norms, and avoided from M-5: *Maling* (stealing), *Main* (gambling), *Madat* (drugs), *Minum* (alcohol), and *Madon* (fornicate). Instead Tengger people love and appreciate the values of W-5: *Waras* (physically and mentally healthy), *Wareg* (satiety), *Wastra* (clothing), *Wasis* (clever), and *Wismo* (home). In addition there are *pepalihe tiang gesang* teaching (teaching for life) which includes: (1) *ajrih dateng luput* (fear of sin); (2) *senajan bener nanging kudu bener* (true to conscience); (3) *kudu sempurno ing budhi* (perfect in doing and working); (4) *kedah tepo marang sepodo padan* (mutual respect among fellow); (5) *kedah welas marang sepadaning urip* (must love fellow human beings); (6) *ojo nilik barang sing dhuduk mestine* (never take things that are not rights); and (7) *ajrih dateng hukum* (fear of the law, whether karma or nature laws). The all teachings greatly influence individual behavior, especially Tengger younger generation. The norms are always noticed and imparted since childhood until adults.

(5) Succumbing, avoiding violence, and living in peace are very prominent values in children communication. They seem to get along very well in friendship life, not only for things that they used to live in society, but also for organizing various traditional and religious rituals. Almost never encountered contention furthermore fights between citizens, especially in children and adolescents. It seems a strange thing, but that is the fact occurred, that fight is physically never seen. Attitudes of succumbing, avoiding violence and living in peace are prominent values indeed socialized to Tengger children. Their attitudes show the success of value socialization to Tengger younger generation. Inevitably, the difference opinion or attitude toward the problem must be something there. Above all they have entered into different religions and have some differences. However, public statements to show the differences and hostility as often happens outside the Tengger had not been shown.

(6) Value of maintain the harmony is easily found in various chances of Tengger community life. Religious preference problem is the most crucial issue, but its application in Tengger community becomes a regular problem. Society as a whole was never concerned about the fundamental choices that will be taken by their children about religious choices. This makes the situation in Tengger seen from the circumstances of each family as a beautiful picture of colorful rainbow. The spirit that they hold is to maintain the harmony. Harmony becomes a keyword in the implementation of beautiful, harmony, and peace social life.

(7) Value of mutual respect and appreciate become important values in their social lives. More specifically respect attitude is shown by many younger to the older generations, or committed by children against their old siblings and parents. Instead attitude to love is many shown by older sibling towards their younger one. On the issue of cherish for others, there is seen their efforts to respect the differences. Case mentioned above also can be used to clarify the respect attitude in Tengger community. They highly respect about problem of different religious, moreover about daily problems. The respect value has been automatically attached to them.

(8) Belief about not immortal wealth and power. If noticed physically, Tengger people have built magnificent home, but in daily life they live very simply, help and give each other. City people with large homes, high gates, and tightly closed doors, usually have a strong sense of individualism, but in Tengger a great house does not have high fence, and almost certainly the house is always open to receive guests. Tengger people are very appreciative to the guests, whether local guests, neighbors or guests from outside of the village. They usually meet guests in kitchen, and at the same time they keep warm and enjoy foods and drinks. The food that is almost always served is rice with a simple side dish, with coffee or sweet tea. Likewise, about the problem of power, it is sounded weird and funny if Tengger people are eager to gain power, such as become a Shaman or

village head. It departs from belief that power and wealth are only temporary and not for being contested. In their belief, power and wealth are trusts. The fundamental values of society life emerge, evolve and internalized in parenting process. The values presented are the ideal values of Java community (Suseno, 2003), and it is also good for character and mental development (Koentjaraningrat, 1984).

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions: (1) There are several phases in culture socialization run by Tengger community in doing parenting based on ethnographic background in various ceremonies, began with *Sayut* ceremony, until they grow up and enter the home life. Their leadership characteristics and role cultural socialization process are quite prominent. The leaders have a very large role in fostering the harmony of religious life and resolving the conflict. The position of parents and children in socialization process is harmony with relationship between the leader and member of Tengger community, so the relationship between parents and children is also a harmonious relationship. (2) There are a lot of values and norms that can be used as guidelines, as well as the results of parenting process in Tengger, include: value of mutual cooperation, patience, obedience to the leader and norms, caving in, avoiding violence, living in peace, maintain harmony, and mutual respect, which become very important in social and cultural life. Another prominent thing, especially about the younger generation who are in transition episodes of life, is their concern about the norms, like *Welas Asih Pepitu* and *Panca Srada* norm, also love of W-5 and attitude of avoiding M-5.

Suggestions: (1) cultural socialization process in Tengger is very unique and interesting accordance to their ethnography background. It is needs to be preserved because its shape of actualization through social processes and system is very important to be preserved in order to maintain social harmony and national integration. (2) Authenticity of Tengger community culture must be preserved, particularly the visible part in the implementation of traditional ceremonies, because through that instrument, Tengger parenting process goes towards the establishment of community togetherness can be properly maintained.

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