

The struggle of Tengger Tribal youths using higher education to get social and cultural status in society

Perjuangan kaum muda Suku Tengger melalui pendidikan tinggi dalam memperoleh status sosial dan kultural di masyarakat

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Abstract

The enrollment rate for the higher education of the Tengger tribe is low. However, there is a group of Tengger youths who have the determination to achieve a Bachelor's degree despite the limitations that they encounter. This study aimed to describe the meaning of education among the Tengger tribe and the efforts of the Tengger youths to continue their studies in college. This study was conducted in Ngadiwono Village Pasuruan Regency in the East Java Province and using a qualitative method. The data is analyzed by social and cultural reproduction theory by Pierre Bourdieu. The data was obtained from bachelor students and people from the older community group in order to find out the meaning of education based on their understanding. The data was collected using interviews, observations and documentation methods. The results of this study show that the success of the youths in becoming undergraduates was due to their effort and hard work. They were supported by their families who had a better understanding of the meaning of education. They have a social modal that they got from elementary education. They develop their social capital to get better education and occupations in the future.

Keywords: youth of Tengger; social reproduction; social capital; higher education

Abstrak

Angka partisipasi pendidikan tinggi suku Tengger tergolong rendah. Namun, ada sekelompok pemuda Tengger yang memiliki tekad untuk meraih gelar Sarjana meski dengan keterbatasan yang mereka hadapi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan makna pendidikan di kalangan suku Tengger dan upaya pemuda Tengger untuk melanjutkan studi di perguruan tinggi. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Desa Ngadiwono Kabupaten Pasuruan Provinsi Jawa Timur dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif. Data dianalisis dengan teori reproduksi sosial dan budaya oleh Pierre Bourdieu. Data diperoleh dari mahasiswa program sarjana dan orang-orang dari kelompok masyarakat yang lebih tua untuk mengetahui makna pendidikan berdasarkan pemahamannya. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan metode wawancara, observasi dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa keberhasilan para pemuda menjadi sarjana tidak lepas dari usaha dan kerja kerasnya. Mereka didukung oleh keluarganya yang memiliki pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang arti pendidikan. Mereka memiliki modal sosial yang mereka peroleh dari pendidikan dasar. Mereka mengembangkan modal sosialnya untuk mendapatkan pendidikan dan pekerjaan yang lebih baik di masa depan.

Kata Kunci: pemuda Tengger; reproduksi sosial; modal sosial; pendidikan yang lebih tinggi

Introduction

The Tengger tribe is a community group that inhabits the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru mountain region in East Java. Historically, the Tengger tribe is unique compared to the other communities in the East Java region because their ancestors were from the Majapahit Kingdom. When the Majapahit Kingdom collapsed due to its defeat by the Islamic kingdom led by Raden Patah, some of the Majapahit people fled to the Bromo mountains (Hidayat 2017; Anas 2013; Hisyam & Kamarudin 2015; Maksum 2015; Haryanto 2016; Marzuki 2016; Adi 2018). Since they were an escapee group trying to avoid being chased by Raden Patah's soldiers, they eventually chose to close themselves off and not interact with other communities outside the Tengger area. Although the people of the Tengger Tribe are no longer closed off, especially since the Bromo-Tengger-Semeru area is currently a leading tourist destination in East Java Province, they are still trying to preserve their customs and culture including farming. This has been passed down over the generations by their ancestors. Some of them still adhere to animism and the Shiva-Buddha religions, even though most of the Tengger community are Hindus (Sari 2013; Huda 2019; Manggala 2019).

Considering the condition of the Tengger tribe and its uniqueness, it is interesting to learn about their ability to survive, especially when confronting the changes and developments of the current times. One of the efforts made so then they can continue to survive in the midst of social change is to adapt to the development of knowledge which is generally obtained through formal education. Going to school

to the point of higher education for Tengger youths is an unusual thing. Not all Tengger youths are able to complete higher education. They often encounter various obstacles. These obstacles include the demands of their parents to preserve the customs and culture of the Tengger tribe, limited family financial capacity if they have to study at a higher education level and the infrastructure and facilities, where in that area, the number of schools is still small and the road access to the school is in an unsafe condition.

A study conducted by Sekar (2018) in Ngadas village, Tengger, showed that although Tengger youths understand that education is a useful asset for advancing the community in their village, they could not fight the limitations that must be faced including the lack of infrastructure for accessing schools and the demands of family life. This includes parents who want their children to stay in the village, to preserve their customs and culture, and to work on land cultivation. Hefner (1999), in his study in the Tengger and Tosari areas, showed that the local community did not provide support for the children to go to school because the schools were considered not to generate material outcomes directly. Many of the parents thought that school was not a necessity that must be fought for.

However, the views of most of the parents from the Tengger tribe are not completely agreed upon by the youths. Even though the youths in this region are constrained in terms of accessing education, they are still trying to access education in other ways so then they do not stop after completing the elementary level of education. The solution they take is to follow non-formal learning groups including Package B (equivalent to junior high school) and C (equivalent to senior high school). This study intended to learn more about a group of Tengger youths who have the desire to pursue higher education, even though they have to leave the village where they were born to do. These youths can be considered an anomaly given how most Tengger youths do not continue their education up to college level.

This study aimed to identify and describe the struggles of Tengger youths, particularly those from Ngadiwono village, when pursuing higher education. The objective of this study is also inseparable from the desire to know the aspirations of the Tengger tribe regarding education. The Tengger people do not attach too much importance to formal education for their children because the meaning of success in the life of the Tengger tribe is being able to properly preserve their customs and nature (Larasati 2018). On the other hand, the demand for formal education for all youths, at least to the point of having graduated junior high school, is an absolute requirement set by the Ngadiwono village government. If there are residents in the village who do not pass junior high school, the village apparatus will not give them a marriage permit. This condition is one of the 'coercive' factors for the indigenous people of the Tengger tribe to send their children to school until they graduate from junior high school at minimum.

In connection with the objective of this study, the theoretical perspective used was the theory of social and cultural reproduction by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) in Harker (2005). There have also been many previous studies applying Bourdieu's theory in the analysis of social and cultural reproduction (Nash 1990; Siregar 2016; Nguyen 2016; Nairs-Wirth et al. 2017; Serna 2017; Toyibah, 2017; Arslan 2018). Pierre Bourdieu stated that social life is the result of social and cultural reproduction, and the social world experienced by agents or individuals is an arena or field. This is a place where agents struggle to maintain their social position while also reproducing their social and cultural status for the next generation. This analogy is used to understand the point of view of the agent as an individual and the viewpoint of the structure of the place where individuals are and interact with other agents. Agent involvement in the social world is basically a competition. In other words, the agent must have the ability to survive the game that they are playing. Each agent has different competencies. This is because each agent has a different habitus and capital.

Pierre Bourdieu also explained the competition arena or field, which is the realm of the social world. Within that field, the agent seeks to gain the power and status desired. Bourdieu's theoretical formula on social practice is as follows: Practice = (Habitus X Capital) + Field (Bourdieu 1984 in Harker 2005). The social practices carried out by agents are primarily the result of the habitus and capital owned by the agents used in their struggles in the social arena or field (Harker et al. 2005). Bourdieu explained that social practice is also a means for social and cultural reproduction. According to Bourdieu, education can also be considered part of the effort to carry out social and cultural reproduction. Bourdieu stated that a school is a place for the production and reproduction of the dominant group's culture. For Bourdieu, the dominant group has the authority to control the social, political, and economic basis, which they then realize in the activities at school.

The main concept of Bourdieu's theory is habitus. This concept was presented by Bourdieu as an attempt to synthesize the dualism of structure and agent. It tries to mediate between the contradictions of objectivity and subjectivity that have occurred in the social sciences, particularly sociology. For

Bourdieu, the real agent's actions cannot be separated from their social structure (Lubis 2016). Moreover, the concept of habitus is a bridge connecting the duality that Bourdieu built between objectivism and subjectivism, which was debated by earlier sociologists. The relationship between agent and structure is very dialectical and inseparable. The two of them build on each other and are built on each other in turn. These involve the agent that is built from the structures and the agent that builds the social structures. Habitus is the cognitive and mental structure of an individual or agent that is used to carry out their social world (Budirahayu 2016). Habitus begins with the history of agents in their social arena that is intended to make them natural individuals with their own habitus (Bourdieu 2013).

The term habitus is also known as habitual or habit in English. This refers to a person's custom or habit (Syakir 2016). As an agent cognitive structure, habitus processes and is processed by both the individual and the social. This process occurs mutually in each individual, even though the social world that they encounter is different. The process of forming an individual's habitus includes living in a particular environment and then observing, absorbing the surrounding values and norms, and interacting. The main emphasis of the concept of habitus is on the reciprocal relationship of reality between individual subjectivity and social objectivity (Swartz 1997). This process runs every day, and changes according to the roles that the individual obtains, as well as the social structures that they face.

Agents, according to Bourdieu, battle in the arena with the capital and habitus that they have in order to get the position and social status that they expect. Capital in social and cultural reproduction theory plays the role of control in relation to both the agents and other people. If habitus is formed from the social interaction between agents, capital is a means to fight for and defend oneself in the arena. Capital in Bourdieu's concept has four dimensions including economic capital (relating to material ownership or the economic resources owned by the agents), social capital (in the form of the social relationships formed in social networks, where the network can be an asset for the agents to use to strengthen their association with privileged groups), cultural capital (tangible such as skills, knowledge, or language abilities) and symbolic capital (analogous to the form of recognition or prestige that an agent has in their social sphere). For Bourdieu, the arena is a field where all forces can battle. This arena is very dynamic where agents who have capital and those who do not can battle (Jacky 2015). On the one hand, the field or arena is an autonomous space for agents to determine themselves within but on the other hand, the arena is also a battleground for a particular position in the social sphere (Harker et al. 1990). The battle in the arena includes the habitus and capital owned by the actor or agent used to obtain the main position in the dominant group as a power holder. The arena structure is defined as something that is obtained by the individuals directly (such as their family background) which is then equated with the distribution of capital for each agent which covers all areas of their social life. Agents battle in arenas in various fields such as art, health, politics, education, law and so on to gain power and status. In this arena, agents do not only battle. They also change and reproduce or preserve the power at stake (Harker 2005).

Based on Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural reproduction, it can be assumed that the youths of the Tengger tribe who are trying to achieve their dream of pursuing higher education are actually carrying out social practices to gain a proud social position or status in their community. However, in their social practices, the Tengger youths must fight in the social arena to gain recognition as agents who have the knowledge and ability to enter into the circle of the dominant community groups by involving their habitus and capital. Bourdieu's explanation of social practice can be considered to be in line with what this study aimed to achieve, which was describing the struggles of Tengger youths encountered when pursuing higher education and the impact that they obtained after finishing their studies.

Research Methods

The research type used in this study was qualitative using the ethnographic method because it intended to obtain data and information on the struggles of Tengger youths when pursuing higher education. The objective of qualitative research is to understand the reality of society not only in terms of what is apparent to the senses but also to understand what is happening within the reality itself. The ethnographic perspective was used in this study because it emphasizes the daily context of the research subjects and seeks to bring out the social and cultural meanings of the particular social groups being researched (Sidiq 2017; Goodall 1991; Spradley 1997; Nashihuddin 2019). By using the ethnographic perspective, the researchers were able to observe the behavior patterns, beliefs, and cultural values of the research subjects.

This study was conducted in Ngadiwono village within Tosari District, Pasuruan Regency, East Java. The selection of the research subjects was carried out using the snowball technique. The researchers first made a personal approach to one of the youths in Ngadiwono village who had pursued higher education. After getting to know them well and making them the initial informant of the study, the researcher

then asked the first research subject to provide a recommendation, specifically the name of the second research subject. This was so then the researchers could contact them and make them a participant in this study. From the second research subject, the researcher also obtained the name of the third research subject, and in the same way, the fourth research subject was obtained and so on. Through this process, 16 participants were obtained who became the research informants.

The criteria for the research subjects were youths from the Tengger tribe who had pursued higher education along with several older villagers. There were two different categories of informant group; one group of highly educated young people and a group of older people. Both were required to explain the problem or objective of this study. The informants' age ranged from 23 to 60 years old, with a composition of 6 male informants and 10 female informants. There were 10 informants with an undergraduate or equal to an undergraduate education (Bachelor's Degree/Associate Degree 4), 4 people with an elementary level of education, and 2 people with a junior high or high school level of education. The occupations of the informants were quite varied, including village staff or officials who were also farmers, junior high school teachers who were also farmers, midwives who were also farmers, elementary school teachers who were also farmers, and entrepreneurs who provide tourism facilities to Mount Bromo who were also farmers. Although the informants had occupations in the formal sector, it seems that being a farmer is commonplace for the people in the Ngadiwono village area. This is because farming is part of the effort to preserve the customs and culture of the Tengger tribe.

The data was collected by conducting in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation using various tools such as cameras and recorders. In addition, data was also collected from various sources of information relating to the lives of the people in the research location. The data collection strategies were carried out with the permission of the local residents where the researchers first introduced themselves and then lived and stayed for several months in one of the houses of the Ngadiwono villagers. Once the research data was collected and considered sufficient, the next step was to analyze the data.

The data analysis used in this study was Brewer's (2000) ethnographic data analysis method. There are seven stages as described by Brewer consisting of (1) data management, (2) coding, (3) content analysis, (4) qualitative description, (5) establishing patterns in the data, (6) developing an open code classification system and (7) examining negative cases. The last stage is to explain the excluded data and any data that is considered to be incompatible with the research objectives.

Results and Discussion

Educational facilities in Ngadiwono village

The total population of Ngadiwono village is 1.068 people, where the main livelihood is farming. With this large population, the level of education of the people of Ngadiwono village, based on the secondary data from the village head's office, indicates that most have graduated from elementary school (76%). Meanwhile, 11% have graduated from junior high school, 3.8% from senior high school and about 7% did not attend school. Only 2.2% of the population graduated from higher education. By paying attention to the distribution of the data on the level of community education, it is clear that the people of Ngadiwono village do not see education as an achievement in their social life. The relatively low level of education achieved by most of the residents of Ngadiwono village is not only caused by internal factors, such as financial limitations and a low aspiration for education, but also the lack of school building facilities in the village. Ngadiwono village only has 5 school building facilities: 2 schools for kindergarten, 2 schools at elementary school level, and 1 school at junior high school level. There is no school building for senior high school level in the village. If there are people who want to continue their education to senior high school level, they have to go to the district capital in Tosari village. The distance from Ngadiwono village to Tosari village is about five kilometers. Although the distance is relatively short, the road is meandering, passing through steep land and rocks.

Characteristics of the research subjects

The research subjects with a higher education level consisted of seven young people with an age range of 23 to 30 years old and three older people, with an age range of 43 to 60 years old. As presented in Table 1, the seven young people with a higher education level completed their studies at several universities including Brawijaya University (S), Health Polytechnic, Malang (D), Kanjuruhan University, Malang (F, W, T, L), the State University of Malang (N). The three older people had also completed their education at the State University of Malang (informants S and D) and a private university in Malang, although he did not mention the name of the university (informant K). Meanwhile, the research subjects who were not highly educated consisted of 6 people aged around 43 to 53 years old with education levels

ranging from elementary school to senior high school as illustrated in Table 2. All of informants in this study had the occupation of farmers but the 10 informants with a higher education level also had formal occupations including village staff (2 people), junior high school teachers (2 people), midwives (1 person), and elementary school teachers (5 people).

Table 1.
Research Subjects - Tengger youths with a Higher Education Level

No.	Name & age	Level of Education	Occupation
1.	S (30)	Bachelor's Degree - Agricultural Technology (Brawijaya University)	Village staff and farmer
2.	D (28)	Associate Degree 4 - Midwifery (Health Polytechnic, Malang)	Midwife and farmer
3.	L (30)	Bachelor's Degree - English Language Education (Kanjuruhan University, Malang)	Village staff and farmer
4.	T (28)	Bachelor's Degree - Mathematics Education (Kanjuruhan University, Malang)	Junior high school teacher and farmer
5.	N (29)	Bachelor's Degree - Biology Education (State University of Malang)	Junior high school teacher and farmer
6.	W (24)	Bachelor's Degree - Elementary School Education (Kanjuruhan University, Malang)	Elementary school teacher and farmer
7.	F (23)	Bachelor's Degree - Indonesian Language Education (State University of Malang)	Elementary school teacher and farmer

Source: Primary data

Table 2.
Research Subjects - Older Villagers

No.	Name & age	Educational stage	Occupation
1.	Mr. Sis (60)	Bachelor's Degree - Civic Education (State University of Malang)	Elementary school teacher and farmer
2.	Mrs. Kr (60)	Bachelor's Degree - Elementary School Education (Private University in Malang)	Elementary school teacher and farmer
3.	Mr. D (43)	Bachelor's Degree - Elementary School Education (Private University in Malang)	Elementary school teacher and farmer
4.	Mr. Su (52)	Elementary School	Farmer
5.	Mrs. A (53)	Senior High School	Farmer
6.	Mr. K (47)	Elementary School	Farmer
7.	Mrs. S (43)	Junior High School	Farmer
8.	Mrs. Kp (45)	Elementary School	Entrepreneur and farmer
9.	Mr. T (45)	Elementary School	Farmer

Source: Primary data

Considering the educational and occupational characteristics of the informants, it appears that the young people who had gone on to higher education were willing to return to their villages and obtain jobs in the formal sector. Meanwhile, the informants who did not attend higher education were only engaged in the main village occupation of farming. This phenomenon shows that the young people who were willing to pursue higher education had a more prestigious occupation waiting for them upon return to their villages, although they also had to continue working as farmers (Larasati 2018). This worthwhile effort can be demonstrated by the increase in the social, cultural, and symbolic capital of the highly educated youths. They obtained social capital from the network of friends that they formed while studying in higher education. Their cultural capital was obtained by increasing their knowledge and skill; and their symbolic capital, in the form of diplomas and the certification of expertise, were obtained from the level of education that they had completed which strengthened the economic capital that they obtained after graduating from college.

The meaning of education

Before discussing the struggles of the seven Tengger youths who had successfully pursued higher education, the following description details the meaning of education according to the older research subjects, both those who had completed higher education and those who had only completed elementary

or junior high school education. Based on the in-depth interviews conducted with the nine parents who were the subjects of this study, three categories of understanding of the meaning of education were obtained which have been listed in Table 3.

Table 3.
The meaning of education according to the older research subjects

No.	The Meaning of Education	Research Subject
1.	Education requires capital and does not guarantee a better future.	Mr. T da Mrs. Kp (graduates of elementary school)
2.	Education is to obtain an occupation better than what their parents have but it also depends on the willingness of the children to continue their studies.	Mrs. S and Mr. K (graduates of elementary and junior high schools)
3.	Education is the provision of knowledge for the future and can only be obtained from the school.	Mr. S, Mr. D, Mrs. Kr, and Mrs. A (graduates with a Bachelor's degree who had attended senior high school)

Source: Primary data

Informants with elementary school education and whose children did not attend higher education argued that education requires capital and it does not guarantee future welfare. This was stated by informants T and KP. The following is the statement of Mr. T:

“The people here, Miss, if they have the capital, they will send their children to higher education. Also, if the child is willing to attend the school, they will get the opportunity. What’s the matter? If they want to go to school, it’s easy, they only have to go to Malang. That’s school anyway, Miss, the most important part is after graduation, right? After graduating from college, then the next step is also looking for a job, the same as those who don’t go to school, what do you think, Miss? Does higher education promise a better future? In my opinion, a better life depends on our own efforts and hard work” (Informant T).

What informant T said implies that attending school to the point of higher education is the same as not attending school if, in the end, they have to work to make a living. According to him, why go to higher education if the school and higher education does not guarantee a better future? Informant T perceived that attending school can only be carried out by families who have wealth. This statement from T seems to be reflected in the daily life of his family. T’s two children only continued their education up to the senior high school level. He preferred to invite his children to work right away. Besides being a farmer, T’s occupation was running food stalls, becoming an intermediary between villa tenants and the villa owners, in addition to renting out a jeep to tourists who want to climb to the top of Mount Bromo. T’s statement was confirmed by informant KP. The following is an excerpt from the interview with KP: “I also thought about the education for children, Miss. For daily needs alone, it is difficult. Besides, the children are also lazy to continue their studies. Higher education also cannot promise a better life”.

Informants T and KP are two from among a number of Ngadiwono villagers who decided not to send their children to school after they graduated from either elementary or junior high school. They assume that school does not really promise a better life in the future. Effort and hard work are much more promising and result in a better life. In contrast to the answer categories of the two previous informants, some informants, who were only educated to elementary to junior high school levels, had different views on the meaning of education. Informants S and K were parents who had a positive view of education. They said that education is an important bridge to get a better occupation than that of their parents. The following is the statement of S:

“In principle, I prioritize children’s education. If my child still wants to go to school, I am very supportive, because through school, children can get a better occupation than their parents. But if my child really wants to choose to work, then I’ll just let them go with what they want” (informant S).

Mrs. S’s opinion was based on her child’s desire to continue their education. The parents have to provide financial facilities and moral support for their children. Mrs. S perceived that education is important for the future of her child and also that it will allow them to obtain a better occupation than that of their parents. According to Mrs. S, if the child has a strong willingness to attend school and if the child is able to continue their education, the parents will encourage them. Likewise, Mr. K had similar thoughts to Mrs. S. The following is an excerpt from the interview with Mr. K: “If the child is unable to continue school, then they are forced to go to school, it is actually a loss of money, because the parents pay for it, but the children do not want to go to school”.

Mr. K and Mrs. S were villagers with a low education level (elementary school and junior high school) who had good aspirations about education. This is proven by their ability to send their children away so then they can become higher education graduates. The third category was obtained from the aspirations and perceptions of the four research subjects with a Bachelor's degree education and one who had completed senior high school. The following is the statement of Mr. D, who worked as an elementary school teacher and had a Bachelor's degree in education: "Education is important Miss. Why? From education, especially school, children can obtain new knowledge and experiences too. The experience and knowledge cannot be obtained elsewhere".

According to Mr. D, schools help the younger generation to obtain knowledge about the outside world. The knowledge and experience that the children gain cannot be obtained from anywhere other than at school. The knowledge and experience that they obtain while in school become provisions for their future life. In line with Mr. D's opinion, Mrs. Kr, who was also a graduate of higher education majoring in education and who worked as an elementary school teacher, believed that school is a medium for someone to obtain useful knowledge for the future.

"Yes Miss, the purpose of attending school is that from those who don't understand to become those who understand. There are knowledge and experience which will later become provisions for the children in the future" (informant Kr)

Mrs. Kr said that, according to the teacher, the children obtain new knowledge that they do not obtain from their parents or the community around them. Formal education is important for the children because they have a need in the form of knowledge and experience. The needs of these children can be met at school by the teacher by the transferring of the knowledge and experience that the teacher has. Besides Mrs. Kr, the same opinion about the importance of education for youths to develop and have a better life was also conveyed by Mrs. A. Mrs. A saw that the success of young people can be measured by the education they obtain being higher than that of the parents. The following is the statement of Mrs. A:

"Look at Tolib. His father is a full-time farmer. His mother is also a full-time farmer. The one who graduated from elementary school is probably the mother, while the father did not graduate from elementary school. After graduating from senior high school, Tolib studied in Surabaya. He was not only an undergraduate, but continued his postgraduate, and now he has graduated. Then, now he works outside Java. That's Tolib, he has also become a lecturer" (Informant A).

According to Mrs. A, whose education only reached the senior high school level, even though the parents often do not have an educational background or have never attended school, for the children who have high willingness to attend school, there is always the possibility of them continuing their education up to college. For the parents who support their children continuing their education, besides the motivation of their children going to school, they also interpret school as a provision to survive. This is because from school, the children will have knowledge and experience that they can use and they can choose the right occupation for them in turn. They will not solely rely on the agricultural land in the village. Mrs. A's opinion seems to be in line with that of Mr. S, who is a teacher who completed his education at the State University of Malang. Mr. S saw the tendency of the people in his village to rely solely on rice fields and the land. The local people rely on agricultural land as a material that can be shared and used for living. However, according to Mr. S, that is not enough. The following is the statement of Mr. S:

"If children are only provided with the material in the form of agricultural land, it seems also worrying. If the child can work on agricultural land well, that's no problem. But if later the paddy field gets narrower, and the child has difficulty working on the fields, after a while, the material will run out. That's how it is, right?" (Informant S)

Mr. S thought that the best provision from parents for their children is education. Education makes children more open in their thinking and they are able to take advantage of things around them properly and wisely. Therefore, when children are provided with knowledge by going to school, they will be able to use their knowledge appropriately. Mr. S often meets parents in his village who underestimate education or school. They prefer to share their agricultural land and other materials with their children. However, because the children feel unable to manage the land, they prefer to sell the land and get the money used for their daily living.

We must take into account the three categories of the meaning of education based on the thoughts and experiences of the parents from Ngadiwono village who were the subject of this study. First, there was a division in terms of the meaning of education among the people of the Tengger tribe, particularly in Ngadiwono village where the division of meaning was more due to life experience, the limited educational facilities, and capital ownership of each resident. Second, the higher a person's level of

education, the more they tended to interpret education as a necessity for a better future life and not only being able to earn a living. Third, the residents who had been involved as educators (in this case teachers) had the opportunity to better understand the meaning of education, meaning that going to school was not only interpreted as an obligation (Prasetya 2019). It is this community situation that the Tengger tribe youths are in. The situation and condition of the community, including the perception to do with attending school, is actually an arena that becomes the domain of the struggle for the Tengger tribe youths who wish to continue their education to a higher level.

The struggles of Tengger youths when pursuing a Bachelor's degree

Tengger youths encounter various challenges when pursuing higher education. The first challenge they encountered was the limited educational facilities and infrastructure in Ngadiwono village. The school in the village only consists of kindergarten, elementary, and junior high schools. If they want to continue their education to the senior high school level, the children of Ngadiwono village must go to Tosari village which is quite far from their homes. Alternatively, they must go to a city where the quality of the school is good.

The seven subjects of this study had varied experiences in relation to their education. F and W went to elementary school and junior high school in their village, and then continued on to senior high school in Tosari village. After graduating from high school, they continued on to higher education in Malang. A different thing was experienced by L, where after completing junior high school in her village, she headed to Malang city to continue to senior high school. She stayed in Malang to continue her higher education. The experiences of N, S, D, and T show that they left the village earlier. After graduating from elementary school, the four informants separated from their parents to continue their education at junior high school, senior high school, and then university in Malang. The following is L's statement about her experience when she had to continue her education at junior high school in Malang.

“After I graduated from junior high school, my parents asked me, where would I go to school? Incidentally, at that time, I had the desire to go to school in Malang. Then, my parents gave me the opportunity to go to school in Malang, as long as I make every effort for it. In fact, my parents told me Hindu-based schools in Malang that were quite good, and advised me to make every effort to go to school” (informant L).

L's experience seems to be almost the same as N and T. Informant N had already continued being educated at his junior high school in Tosari village but because the trip to Tosari village was quite difficult for children of N's age, N's parents finally suggested that he go to school in Malang City even though it was far from their parents. The journey to school was not as difficult as that in Tosari village. The following is N's statement about his educational journey from the village to the city.

“Previously, his school was far in Tosari. Initially, my parents wanted me to go to school there. The school is indeed far away, even though it is still one district. If I go to Tosari, I have to walk, through hilly roads, past lakes and cemeteries. Finally, my parents felt sorry for me, and chose a school that was far from the village but with better facilities, which was in Malang” (informant N).

The parents of L, N, and T had the same view about a good place to study. The parents had considered the costs and everything needed for their children to go to school in a place that was considered good. The interesting part is that T's parents gave T the option; if he wanted to stay in school in Ngadiwono village, he had to raise pigs at home. The offer from T's parents was actually an insinuation for T to be brave and willing to go to school far from his parents if he wanted to obtain a good education. The following is T's statement about his history of attending school in Malang since junior high school.

“Since junior high school, I have been told by my parents. If you want a proper or good school, you should go down the mountain, which means in the city. Well, in Pasuruan, the quality is not good. Finally, I chose Malang. Then, my parents said, if I wanted to go to school unseriously, just here. Don't go far. But later when I go to school here, they will prepare two pigs. Just raising pigs. I immediately said, my goodness, I don't want it, Dad” (informant T).

The second challenge faced by the Tengger youths who want to continue on to higher education is limited finances. Most of the people in Ngadiwono village are farmers with incomes that may not be that much compared to what is needed for college fees. However, from the observations and in-depth interviews with the local residents, information was obtained indicating that although the residents' income from agricultural products was not large, among the parents who wanted their children to go to university, they tried to save up and live simply to support their children's dreams. The following is an excerpt from an interview with F, who was initially hesitant to continue her education due to her parents' financial limitations.

Fatjerin & Budirahayu: "The struggle of Tengger tribal youth"

"Initially, I didn't have the desire to go to college, I wanted to go to senior high school, that's the final one. Then, when I almost graduate from senior high school, in less than one week, I said, to my mother, how about going to college? I only asked. Because the tuition costs are not cheap. That's why I asked if I could go to college or not" (informant F).

The financial problem faced by F was also experienced by L. The condition of most families in Ngadiwono village, whose income levels are relatively low, makes the children in the village reluctant to have high aspirations. If there is no strong determination from the children to continue their education and no support from their parents, it will be difficult for the children in the area to be able to continue on to higher education. The following is L's statement on her doubts related to continuing on to higher education. As informant L stated: "Yes, at first it was difficult, Miss, because there was no money, but my parents made it because I saw that none of my siblings went to higher education".

The parents' support of their children's wishes is a special form of encouragement for the children who wish to continue their education in the city. It will be good if the support is accompanied by the preparation of tuition fees, even though the family economy may not be sufficient. The following is the statement given by Mrs. S, who really wants her children to be highly educated so then they can be beneficial to society, even though her family's economic condition is not sufficient.

"I am only a junior high school graduate, Miss. So, I think about how I make my child graduate from college. At least, education should be above mine. It should be... it can't be the same as me who only graduated from junior high school. I want my children to go to high school so they can serve in the community. That's my motivation, Miss. So that they all will not work the field" (informant S).

Informant W attended elementary school, junior high school and senior high school in the villages of Ngadiwono and Tosari. She did not immediately leave her hometown to study in the city due to the limited finances of her parents. W's parents only completed elementary school and her parents were farmers. Despite this, the insight into the importance of knowledge of W's parents was quite extensive. This is shown by the high aspirations of her parents regarding the education of their children. W's parents tried to send their children to higher education, even to the point of prioritizing their education. However, due to the limited finances and their knowledge of school quality, W continued to finish her high school education in Tosari village. The following is W's statement on her parents' limited knowledge:

"I attended elementary to senior high school in the area around here. There are none other than those in Tosari. So, I can't help but end up in Tosari. Then, when I went to college, I left Ngadiwono Village. My mother was willing to send me to school but did not allow me to be far from the village because, besides there were no funds, if I had to go to school outside the city, she also did not know which senior high schools in Pasuruan Regency could be entered apart from those in Tosari" (informant W).

The third challenge encountered by the informants when pursuing higher education is the ability to adapt to new environments. The adaptation of the Tengger youths who go to school in the city can help to form their own habitus within themselves. The adaptation was carried out by building solidarity among the students of the Tengger tribe who had migrated to Malang City. They often meet and even form organizational groups whose members consist of Tengger students. The community also functions to preserve their customs and culture through the various Javanese Hindu religious ceremonies that are attended by Tengger students who migrated to the city. With the formation of this organizational group, the Tengger students, who at first felt strange and lonely because they were far from their homeland, became calmer because they found friends with the same purpose of studying. The following is S's statement. They became one of the founders of the Tengger tribe student community, an organization group in Malang.

"I founded the Tengger student community in Malang. Previously, there were those from Probolinggo, Pasuruan, we didn't know. We also didn't know those from other villages. Finally, so that we knew each other even though we were from different districts but from the same ethnic group, I formed a community to get to know each other. The students from between these villages used to be unfamiliar with each other. Whoever studied in Malang, they did not know each other back then. So, to unite the Tengger students who go to school in Malang, finally we held regular meetings, and from there, there are good results, we can share" (informant S).

The association is useful and has a positive function. The main benefit of this association is that they can jointly carry out religious activities during their spare time. Another benefit is to help the students who have newly come from the village so then they do not feel lonely in the city. They are invited to meet and gather so then they can get to know the others who have already gone to school and live in Malang City.

Thanks to the presence of the Tengger student association, those who previously did not feel at home and who wanted to return to their hometown can begin to feel at home living in Malang. This is because they feel that they are not alone. The following is S's statement of his experience fostering Tengger tribe youths studying in Malang City.

“Most of them are already halfway through school, they come home because they don't feel at home, because they are far from their parents. So, I founded the community, we meet every week or at least once a month. There are activities, social services too, that's for the Tengger students in Malang. Then, if there are religious or traditional activities, well, we remind each other, also, we go home together or go to the temple together” (informant S).

The fourth challenge encountered by the Tengger youths who wished to continue their education was the community's habit of encouraging their daughters to marry after graduating from junior or senior high school. The habit that may also be a cultural norm is applied to most members of society. If there are girls who wish to continue their education to higher education and delay marriage, this can be considered against the norm. The following is the story of L who had this dilemma because of the social norms regarding marriage at a young age.

“After I was in senior high school, people in the village asked me whether I wanted to continue studying or work, or get married. Most of the people here, after graduating from senior high school, get married at a young age. Well, you know, Miss, that's what villagers think, after graduating from school, if you don't work, get married. Well, what to do if not get married?” (Informant L).

The same thing was experienced by T, who was also confused between leaving his education at the level of senior high school or continuing on to college. This hesitation is due to the fact that not many girls in his village go on to higher education because of the custom in the local community to marry off their daughters at a young age.

“Well, finally I went to college too. Because my parents wanted me to go to college, I also thought that I'm already in Malang. So, I went to college too because if I returned to the village after graduating from senior high school, it would just be like that. It would be better if I go to college” (informant T).

Considering the life journey and persistence of the informants in continuing their education, their struggle to pursue higher education until they obtain a Bachelor's degree becomes meaningful. It is considered meaningful because they have struggle when they encounter the various obstacles or challenges which consist of (1) the limited infrastructure, (2) limited parental financial abilities, (3) community norms that do not support the youths continuing their education to a higher level and (4) the potential for there to be a problem in their adaptation ability if they go to school far from their parents (Pradikto 2014; Arnawan 2016).

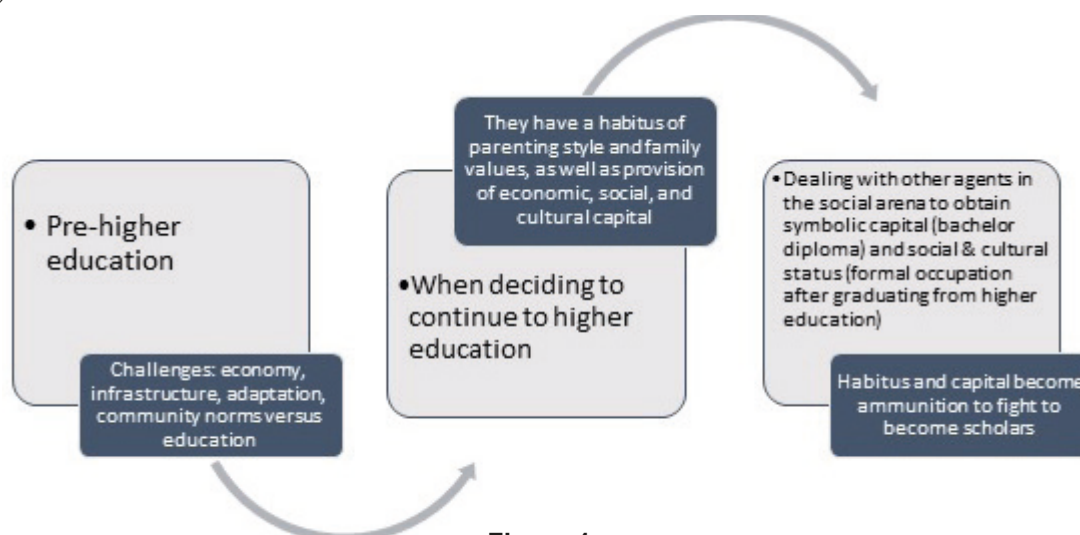


Figure 1.
The struggles of Tengger youths in education
Source: Processed primary data

The struggles of the Tengger youths who had succeeded in pursuing higher education, when using Bourdieu's theory, were provided with the habitus that had already formed in them. The habitus owned by the youths who were the subject of this study can be considered different from most children in Ngadiwono village. The habitus formed in the seven informants was in the form of life experiences that

had been embedded since they were young, both by their parents and by their teachers in school. This is in addition to the values and norms of the parents that they internalized. This habitus was confronted by the habitus of the Ngadiwono villagers in general who thought that education is not very useful. They also prioritize the value of being married at a young age, particularly for the girls in the village.

The habitus was then continually strengthened by their parents and influenced by the availability of capital, which was not only in the form of economic capital (education funds from their parents) but also cultural capital (knowledge of quality educational institutions in other cities), social capital (a network of friends consisting of Tengger students and students studying in the city) and symbolic capital (the diplomas and degrees that they obtain after college). Through the habitus and capital that they had, they were ready to fight against the various obstacles that existed in their social arena, both in their own community and when they had to struggle to get qualifications in school and in college. Their struggle was not in vain because after graduating from college, they returned to the village to get a better social and cultural status to help to build their village according to their field of expertise. If the struggles of Tengger youths in pursuing education are illustrated in a cycle, it can be described as presented in Figure 1.

Conclusion

Upon re-reading the objective of this study as it was mentioned in the introduction, this study found out that the success of the Tengger tribe youths in pursuing higher education was not easy. They encountered a number of challenges, including the economic limitations of their parents, the inadequate educational facilities in the village, the community norms that do not support the importance of education, and difficulties associated with adapting to a new environment. This challenge will be difficult to face if they do not have capital, particularly cultural capital in the form of moral support from their parents and a high motivation to achieve their goals. The fighting ability of the youths was based on their habitus (high values and aspirations of parents for education) and the support of other capital. This was not always in the form of economic capital but also social capital, in which the value was not necessarily large.

Tengger youths who succeeded in pursuing a Bachelor's degree were part of a social arena that hindered or supported their ideals. There were obstacles because the young people were in a village community environment that is assumed to be opposed to the importance of higher education. On the contrary, it was considered to be supportive because the young people were also in a city that had a good educational atmosphere. This was supported by the ability of the Tengger youths to network in order to build their social capital with Tengger youths from other areas who were studying in the same city. The struggle of the Tengger youths who came from Ngadiwono village reproduced the structure and socio-cultural status of the upper-middle class in Ngadiwono village. This is where the highly educated youths in the village were able to accumulate symbolic capital through the respectful formal occupations that they obtained in their village such as being a teacher, a health worker or being part of the village government bureaucracy (village apparatus).

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