



## Local Cultural Wisdom of Natural Disaster-Prone Communities in Probolinggo, Indonesia (Socio-Religious Perspective)

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**Abstract:** Values education can be realized by re-empowering existing local wisdom in accelerating the handling of disaster mitigation in Probolinggo Regency. This study explores local cultural knowledge from a religious perspective as a form of community adaptation to natural disasters in the Probolinggo area. This research is descriptive qualitative research using analytical techniques from Miles & Huberman. Data collection techniques through interviews, observation, and documentation of data sources, namely BPBD East Java Province, BPBD Probolinggo Regency and community leaders who are in the Mount Bromo disaster-prone area, Probolinggo Regency, and other parties related to the research focus. The results of data analysis concluded that the local cultural wisdom of the Tengger people relies on religion and beliefs such as the wingsuit, shamans, and several religious ceremonies such as Kasada, Karo, Unan-Unan, Kapat, Kawulu, Kasanga, Sengkolo contain some positive values in overcoming disasters and maintaining a harmonious relationship between God, humans, and the natural environment. The people of Tengger still uphold the importance of local cultural wisdom in overcoming disasters through the philosophy of "anti-pancetta." The findings of this research in the form of cultural values of local cultural knowledge can be input for local governments to make policies in disaster mitigation management in the Tengger area.

**Keywords:** Local Cultural Wisdom, Natural Disasters

**Abstrak:** Pendidikan nilai bisa diwujudkan dengan memberdayakan kembali kearifan lokal yang ada dalam mempercepat penanganan mitigasi bencana yang terjadi di Kabupaten Probolinggo. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi kearifan budaya lokal pada perspektif keagamaan sebagai bentuk adaptasi masyarakat dalam bencana alam di kawasan Probolinggo. Penelitian ini berupa deskriptif

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kualitatif, melalui teknik analisa dari Miles & Huberman. Teknik pengumpulan data melalui wawancara, observasi dan dokumentasi terhadap sumber data yaitu BPBD Provinsi Jawa Timur, BPBD Kabupaten Probolinggo serta tokoh masyarakat yang berada di kawasan rawan bencana gunung Bromo Kabupaten Probolinggo dan pihak lain yang terkait dengan fokus penelitian. Hasil analisis data diperoleh kesimpulan bahwa kearifan budaya lokal masyarakat Tengger bersandar pada agama dan kepercayaan seperti wangsit, dukun dan bebrebai upacara religi seperti Kasada, Karo, Unan-Unan, Kapat, Kawulu, Kasanga, Sengkolo mengandung beberapa nilai-nilai positif dalam menanggulangi bencana dan menjaga hubungan yang harmonis antara Tuhan, manusia dan lingkungan alam. Nilai-nilai kearifan budaya lokal dalam menanggulangi kebencanaan masih dipegang teguh oleh masyarakat Tengger melalui falsafah "sesanti pancasetia". Temuan riset ini berupa nilai budaya kearifan budaya lokal dapat menjadi bahan masukan bagi pemerintah daerah untuk membuat kebijakan dalam penanggulangan mitigasi bencana di kawasan Tengger.

**Kata Kunci:** Kearifan Budaya Lokal, Bencana Alam

## Introduction

Local wisdom is related to intelligence and policy in decision-making about using biological resources (Mungmachon, 2012). The existence of local wisdom can only be accepted or understood by the general public if the accuracy of its use can be proven, which in turn, if it is proven correct, local knowledge is born (Pesurnay, 2018). Local knowledge developed in traditional societies with wisdom values generally comes from traditional knowledge and management systems (Asikin, 2021). The accumulation of knowledge and patterns of thinking rooted in the culture of traditional communities, obtained over a long time, are defined as local knowledge (Mitchell, Setiawan, and Rahmi. 2004).

The awareness to elevate and dig up local knowledge or local cultural wisdom is due to the economic and social progress of the community (Sedyowati, Yuniarti, and Sufiyanto, 2023). While in some parts of the world, those who survive based on local or indigenous knowledge have succeeded in passing on their environmental resources (forests, land, soil, and biodiversity) intact from generation to generation (Rosyadi, 2014). This shows the importance of learning and exploring the sources of local cultural wisdom. Likewise, in the past, during the Majapahit era, the Tengger plateau (Tengger Region) was known as a peaceful, peaceful area, and the people were free from paying "Titileman" (a ceremonial state tax). This is because the people of the Tengger Tribe are obedient. Local cultural wisdom is the legacy of our ancestors in the values of life that are united in the form of religion, culture, and customs.

In its development, the community adapts to its environment by developing wisdom through knowledge or ideas and equipment, combined with customary norms, cultural values, and activities to manage the environment to meet its daily needs. (Sumardi and Wahyudiati 2021). Responding to and dealing with the possibility of disaster should start with local cultural wisdom (Rozi, 2017). Community values or traditions must be raised and re-developed, and we must respect them. For example, in the Tenggerese community, when the Mount Bromo eruption occurred, they did not want to be evacuated because of the local cultural wisdom that was there. The Tengger people feel that the eruption of Mount Bromo is a sign of the wrath of their ancestors because they lack offerings, so if the offerings are added (in

the form of Sesaji), then Mount Bromo will not erupt. In addition, the people of Tengger know better than they understand the signs that Mount Bromo is about to erupt, for example, the presence of vibrations, smoke, and other signs of disaster, "wingsuit," which makes them persist and refuse to be evacuated.

This study explores how the form of community adaptation in dealing with natural disasters is based on local cultural wisdom in the Tengger community in Probolinggo Regency, East Java Province. Understanding local cultural wisdom will reduce the number of victims and carry out recovery efforts that prioritize local cultural capabilities closely related to their religion and beliefs. So, it is essential to identify and manage local capabilities as the primary basis of disaster management activities.

This research method is descriptive qualitative, through analysis techniques from Miles & Huberman (2014). Data collection techniques through interviews, observation, and documentation of data sources, namely BPBD East Java Province, BPBD Probolinggo Regency and community leaders who are in the Mount Bromo disaster-prone area, Probolinggo Regency, and other parties related to the research focus. The interviews were taken using a purposive sampling technique, involving: 1 BPBD East Java, 1 BPBD Probolinggo Regency, Community of the Mount Bromo natural disaster area (Tengger Community), Probolinggo Regency, a total of 8 people. Qualitative data analysis techniques in this research will be carried out using a data analysis design according to the interaction model, as shown in Figure 5, where it appears that the types of analysis activities are data reduction, data presentation, drawing temporary conclusions, and verification, data collection, and conclusions.

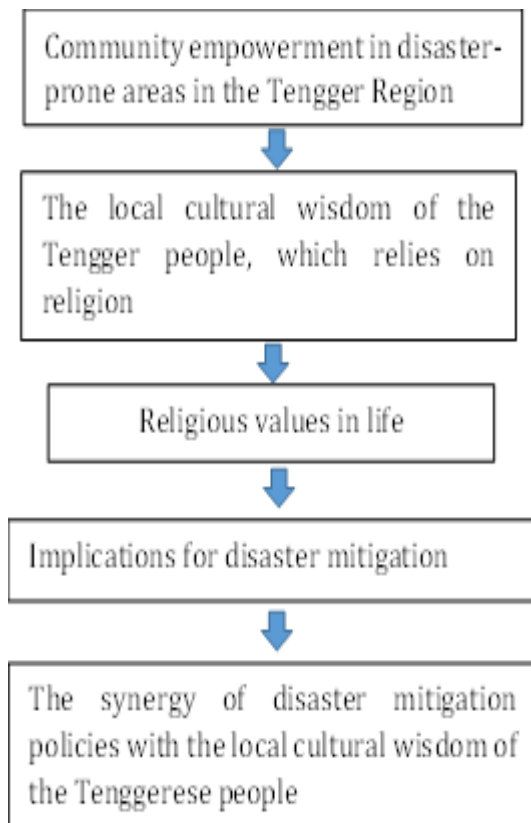


Figure 1. Theoretical framework

## Results and Discussion

### Empowerment of Disaster-Prone Communities

According to Suharto (2006), empowering disaster-prone communities is an effort to increase community capacity or reduce community vulnerability. The magnitude of a disaster is an accumulation of various hazard threats with a series of vulnerabilities in society. Empowerment of disaster-prone communities is a step towards creating community self-sufficiency in dealing with disasters so that the final results can be applied to solving disaster problems. Furthermore, of course, this method can also be used as a development plan for areas around disaster-prone areas. In this disaster-prone community empowerment approach, humans are the highest risk factor. Therefore, the fundamental side is increasing public awareness of their spatial position, which is located in a disaster-prone area.

One example of a religious practice associated with disasters is Kasada, an annual ritual in which the Tengger people climb Mount Bromo and throw offerings into the mountain's crater to express gratitude and request safety. They believe that by carrying out this ritual, they can get protection from natural disasters.

In addition to religious practices, social solidarity is an essential part of dealing with disasters in the Tenggerese community. When a disaster occurs, such as a volcanic eruption or earthquake, the community helps each other in evacuating and providing assistance to those affected. The existence of close social bonds between residents helps them overcome the difficulties faced by the disaster.

One form of local wisdom can be seen at the Kasada event. So far, Kasada has been part of the cultural and social life of the Tosari sub-district community, which remains sustainable. Not only is it part of the sacred rituals of Hindus in Tengger, but its cultural values are also integrated into the local community's culture. Regarding the level of tourist visits, Kasada's momentum is the main attraction for tourist arrivals to Tosari. Both local and foreign tourists. Mount Bromo, which has an altitude of 2,329 meters above sea level (masl), has a significant meaning for the Tengger people who have lived on the slopes of the volcano until now.

According to Sutarto (2006), the Tengger people are indigenous people who live on the slopes of Mount Bromo, covering four districts, namely Probolinggo, Pasuruan, Lumajang, and Malang in East Java. They become vegetable farmers and tour guides in the Mount Bromo area. For the Tengger tribe, Mount Brahma (Bromo) is believed to be a holy mountain because the Tengger people hold the "Yadnya Kasada" ceremony once a year. The ceremony took place at a temple under the foot of Mount Bromo North; then, the ceremony continued to the top of Mount Bromo to make offerings of agricultural and livestock products. According to legend, the word "teenager" comes from the names of the married couple Roro Anteng (daughter of the king of Majapahit) and Joko Seger (son of a Brahmin), who became the forerunners of the inhabitants of the Tengger region. Meanwhile, in Lumajang Regency, most Tengger residents are in Argosari Village and Ranupane Village, Senduro District. They work as vegetable farmers on the slopes of Mount Bromo.

Mount Bromo has a critical history in the life of the Tenggerese people because the mountain, which has a height of 2,329, provides an immense blessing of life for the Tengger Tribe. According to Ayuninggar, Antariksa, and Wardhani (2011), The Tengger people consider Mount Bromo to be a sacred mountain, so the activities and lives of the Tengger people cannot be separated from Mount Bromo. Residents of Tengger in Lumajang already know that Mount Bromo's activity has increased and erupted

several times over the past few days, but it is still safe. Residents of Tengger who live on the slopes of Mount Bromo do not panic about the increased activity of Mount Bromo because they believe that the Bromo eruption will not endanger residents living on the slopes of Bromo. Furthermore, the legend about Roro Anteng and Joko Seger, who promised the Gods to hand over their youngest son, Raden Kusuma, is the Tengger Tribe's belief that Mount Bromo will not be "angry" again after Raden Kusuma becomes an offering to the crater of Mount Bromo.

Raden Kusuma's offering to the crater of Mount Bromo was the beginning of the Kasada ceremony; Tengger residents made offerings to Mount Bromo in the form of agricultural products and livestock as a form of gratitude. All Tengger residents in Lumajang always go to Bromo to participate in the Kasada Ceremony every year. They go in groups and individually to perform this sacred ritual. Gratitude because the ceremony is also known as the "Feast of Sacrifice."

According to Huda (2019), In the Kasada ceremony, not only do Tenggerese, who are Hindus, go to Bromo to carry out the Kasada ceremony; even Tenggerese, who embrace Islam (converts), also go to Bromo. Usually, Tengger converts come to Bromo for tours and friendship with other Tengger residents. The Tengger convert did not participate in the Kasada ritual ceremony. Even so, they live harmoniously with all Tengger residents in Argosari Village. They maintain religious tolerance so that religious differences never cause conflict there.

The Tengger people have several unique characteristics and local wisdom attitudes which become their philosophy of life, such as nobility, peace, and simplicity, which are reflected as the cultural ethos of the Tengger people. Tengger residents are honest, so there are no criminal cases around the Mount Bromo tourist attraction and Tengger residents' residential areas (Sutarto, 2008).

The Tengger people have clues that lead to harmony and continuity in brotherhood, as contained in the "Anti Pancetta" (five pointers of loyalty). These instructions, namely "Setya Budaya" (obey and respect for custom), "Setya Wacana" (words must match actions), "Setya Semaya" (always keep promises), "Setya Laksana" (responsible for tasks) and "Setya Mitra" (always build solidarity) (Haliim, 2016).

The Tenggerese also have five philosophies of life obey God, obey the government, obey parents, obey teachers, and obey those who give them knowledge or knowledge (Nurcahyono & Astutik, 2018). The Tengger people's way of life is harmonious and does not recognize the word conflict (Pesurnay, 2018). They also uphold religious tolerance and live in harmony with the Tenggerese, who embrace Islam, Christianity, Protestantism, and Hinduism. Their philosophy of life is quite simple, namely respecting other people and being honest, so they never argue about issues of different beliefs, and there are almost no conflicts in the Tenggerese community.

In interviews with various informants, it can be seen that disaster mitigation policies have been implemented in these communities.

The BPBD of East Java Province has the same opinion as follows: "The people of Tengger are used to living on Mount Bromo so that when a disaster occurs, they are always more prepared to face it than the local government's readiness. This is shown when the team of volunteers came to help with the evacuation process; it turned out that the community already knew more about what needed to be done in these conditions."

Informants from BPBD Probolinggo Regency said that: "Local governments often seem unprepared to deal with disasters. This is because the related SKPDs have not synergized with the disaster management system that has to be implemented. So, it is not wrong if, at the time of the Mount Bromo disaster, the government was slow in handling it with the local community because it was better prepared to face the disaster than the government".

Meanwhile, the village head of Ngadisari, Supoyo, said: "The community's readiness to face the Mount Bromo natural disaster is due to a "Wangsit" from the ancestors through dreams or other natural signs, such as smoke from Mount Bromo that looks unusual, vibrations, and other natural clues. These signs of an impending disaster are read by "dukun" (traditional healers) or traditional leaders who are then passed on to the community so that the community is better prepared to face disasters."

Furthermore, another informant, Sunaryono, the head of the development of Ngadisari Village, said: "As a Tenggerese people, they have an active life because they do not want to be considered as a static group of people. Therefore, in the active life of the Tengger people, having people or groups of people become pioneers in mobilizing their masses so that they always survive and are dynamic. This makes the Tengger people more responsive in dealing with disasters".

Another informant, Juma'i, Kasi Welfare of Ngadisari Village, said that: "The traditional leader in the Tengger community is called a 'dukun' As a traditional leader, a shaman or customary leader can mobilize all actions taken by people to carry out traditional activities to preserve the environment and harmonize relations between Tengger community groups. 'The community considers Dukun' or traditional leaders of Tengger to be able to govern, guide and protect members of the community because of their authority, power, and authority based on the customs and laws that apply in the Tengger community."

The following informant complements some of the opinions above, conveyed by Sugiono, the temple official (dukun), who suggests that:

"The dukun or religious priest is a traditional leader who controls villages in Tengger. In the leadership of the shamans, there is no interference from outsiders because the Tengger area is considered a Perdikan area. Under these conditions, the relationship between the leadership and the people is such that the development of existing leadership is different from the forms of leadership in other regions."

Likewise, Sariwoko, Head of Ngadisari, said: "The relationship between the shamans as leaders and the people as those who are led is perfect, where all people fully entrust to the shamans about their future fate. The spiritual relationship between the people and the creator is channeled through shamans' ability to maintain their predecessors' teachings. Therefore, the role of the shaman as a non-formal leader is related to not only religious or spiritual rituals but also social issues, including assisting local governments in dealing with the Mount Bromo natural disaster".

This statement was confirmed by the head of the Ngadisari village, Supoyo, who said: "High-ranking officials in Ngadisari Village cannot be separated from their role from informal leaders because officials as the highest officials at the village level must be recognized for their legitimacy by the Tengger people through traditional values that are still valid. Therefore, the role of officials in Ngadisari Village has a dual role. On the one hand, high-ranking officials as formal leaders must obey and comply with the regulations

set by the government. On the other hand, officials must comply with the rules and norms that apply to society”.

This was responded to by another informant, Pemangku Pura (dukun), who said: “High officials are the highest leaders at the village level, while shamans only cover customs and religion. This situation has become the awareness of the people of Tengger, especially the shamans, that what is held is a historical journey of leadership in Tengger, which makes them have to obey their ancestors so that even when a disaster occurs, they are reluctant to leave their homes”.

Similarly, said by Sumartono, Kasun Cemoro Lawang that: “In dealing with disaster emergency conditions, the Tengger people are controlled more by their traditional leaders than by following the government’s appeal because the Tengger people still uphold the issue of norms, rules or values in the form of customs and teachings of the Hindu religion. This is shown from the layering pattern or stratification of the Tenggerese people, that a religious leader or shaman occupies the top rank, followed by old and legendary people, owners of large land areas or are economically wealthy, then Wong Tengger in general. Meanwhile, the social ties of the Tenggerese people show that they have a very close and strong kinship. Moreover, it is strengthened by the endogamous marriage system and the enactment of bonds in the association between people through karmic law. At the same time, the prevailing leadership is very closely related to religious customs and teachings”.

The results of the interviews above show that there is already an empowerment of the local cultural wisdom of the Tengger people, which is closely related to the religion and beliefs they believe in. The socio-religious affinity of the Tengger people to disasters is reflected in their religious practices and local traditions. They believe that Mount Bromo is a sacred place inhabited by their ancestors' spirits. Therefore, they carry out a series of religious ceremonies to ask for protection and safety when facing natural disasters, primarily volcanic eruptions. Overall, the socio-religious relations of the Tengger people greatly influence how they deal with disasters. Religious practices and social solidarity play an essential role in providing the hope, support, and spiritual strength needed to overcome the challenges faced by natural disasters.

### **Local Cultural Wisdom Theory**

Based on the view of local cultural wisdom theory, this research uses Johnson's theory in Sunaryo and Joshi (2003) regarding indigenous knowledge, where local cultural wisdom is seen as a collection of knowledge created by a group of people from generation to generation who live together and in harmony with nature. This knowledge develops in the local scope, adapting to the conditions and needs of the community. This knowledge is also the result of creativity and innovation or ongoing trials involving internal input and external influences to adapt to new local conditions.

The people of Tengger still preserve culture by carrying out ritual ceremonies at certain times (Ayuninggar, Antariksa, and Wardhani, 2011); (Fermansah & Mamilianti, 2019). The Tengger people carry out various rituals, including the Karo and Kasada Ceremonies, attended by all Tengger residents spread across Probolinggo, Pasuruan, Lumajang and Malang.

Upaca Kasada is a ceremony to bring offerings in the form of crops. At the Kasada celebration, senior Tengger “dukun” also inaugurated the prospective ‘dukun’ to be legalized as shamans through the "malunion" process. Besides Karo and Kasada, there are also Kapat, Kawulu, Kasanga, and Sengkolo ceremonies and various individual rituals held by Tengger residents (Anas, 2017).

The Tengger people, with their distinctive sarong cloth, maintain cultural preservation wholeheartedly so that this culture is still preserved today. Several rituals and ceremonies performed by the descendants of Roro Anteng and Joko Seger attracted thousands of domestic and foreign tourists. Not only that, but even King Hayam Wuruk (King Hayam Wuruk also had the nickname "Bathara Hyang Wekas" in Sukha wrote it in an inscription; this event coincided with Asada Month with the number 1327 Saka or 1407 AD. This inscription reads, "A place (a kind of village) named Walandit inhabited by Hulun Hyang and the land around Walandit is called "Hila-hila" or "Suci." Walandit residents are exempt from the State Ceremony Tax or "Titileman" (Hadi, 2017).

This inscription was discovered by a woman in 1880 in the Penanjakan area (a place now used to see the sunrise by Wisman and Wisnu. Moreover, the inscription was named the Walandit Inscription after the name of the place where it was found. Likewise, during the colonial era, General Thomas Stamford Raffles (The History of Java) greatly admired the Tengger region; when visiting this cool place (Tengger), General Raffles said that the people of Tengger worked diligently and were always happy. They did not know that gambling, opium, adultery, infidelity, theft, and other crimes were complicated to find in the Tengger area (Haliim, 2016).

Apart from the Kasada Ceremony, the Tengger people also carry out the Karo ceremony or Hari Raya Karo, a religious ritual for the Tengger people to remember and pay respects to their ancestral spirits. This is done because the people of Tengger hope that the ancestral spirits will continue to protect the Tengger people who are still alive in the world and keep them away from danger. At the same time, the Yadnya Kasada Ceremony is known as Hari Raya Kurban, the people of Tengger flock to the top of Mount Bromo carrying songkok containing offerings of various agricultural products, livestock, and so on and then throw them into the crater of Mount Bromo. The offerings were given to Dewa Bromo, whom the Tengger Tribe believes in living on Mount Bromo. The ceremony requests that the Tengger people get blessings and be given safety by the Almighty.

In addition to Hindu religious ceremonies, the Tenggerese people who are Muslim also have rituals called "Unan-Unan," which aim to maintain safety and keep away from catastrophe, including disaster from the existence of Mount Tengger (Marzuki, 2016).

"Unan-unit" is a form of cultural accrual of the Muslim community in the Tengger area. In the Tengger Muslim community, religious relations occur among fellow residents who interact and relate to each other because it is based on the similarity in achieving goals that they both believe to be true and bound to a culture that they produce themselves, carry out and obey themselves. (Sukmawan et al. 2020). According to Huda (2019), in the Tenggerese, there are many cultural elements contained in religion. Likewise, many achievements were achieved in the field of culture because the spirit of religion inspired them. Therefore, religion is always correlated with the culture of the local community.

Sociologically, the Tengger indigenous people prioritize a sense of kinship and tolerance, prioritizing massive (collective) cooperation in various matters (Negara, 2018). So, the process of adaptation of the Muslim community there, even though they are a minority, is not too difficult to adapt to the local cultural values of the Tengger people. For example, a strong sense of kinship; the people of Tengger feel that they are one brother, even though they have different religions. They respect and help each other. Even during Hindu holidays (Kasodo), Muslims are invited to have meals at their homes, and vice versa. When Eid al-Fitr (Idul Fitri) comes, those who are Hindus go for meals/gatherings at Muslim homes.



Table 1 summarizes some of the local cultural wisdom of the Tengger people with values that have implications for disaster.

Table 1. The value of local cultural wisdom and its implications for disaster

No	The value of local cultural wisdom of the Tengger people	Implications for disaster
1	"Wangsit" from the ancestors through dreams through religious figures	local governments need to involve traditional and religious leaders in disaster mitigation because the community trusts religious leaders
2	"Dukun" is a traditional leader of a shaman or customary leader	involving "Dukun" in disaster socialization in the Tengger area because "shamans" can govern, guide and protect citizens so that the Tengger people are more responsive in dealing with disasters.
3	"Karo Ceremony" is a religious ritual of the Tengger people to remember and pay homage to ancestral spirits for welfare and protection from disaster and distress	The Karo ceremony always reminds us of ancestral services and maintains or always increases awareness of the threat of disasters in the Tengger area
4	'Kasada Ceremony' is the ritual of bringing offerings in the form of crops (earth products)	It is a form of gratitude to God. It impacts the Tengger people's efforts to live in harmony following protecting the natural environment so that they are protected from various disasters such as landslides, floods, eruptions, Etc.
5	"Unan-Unan" is a tradition of Muslims in the Tengger tribe to neutralize negative energy on earth.	Rituals of Muslims in Tengger to maintain safety and keep away from disasters, including disasters from the existence of Mount Tengger
6	The "Kasanga Ceremony" is the process of purifying sacred objects and taking holy water is carried out at a spring, namely Goa Widodaren	Ritual Expelling evil from the surrounding environment (neutralizing nature). Protecting the water source in Widodaren Cave so that it remains sustainable so that the Tengger people are strictly prohibited from destroying the surrounding environment, including cutting down trees and using the surrounding environment for the economy. The

		Kasanga ritual reminds us to preserve the forest in order to protect the water source in Widodaren Cave so that it can prevent disasters such as landslides in the rainy season and drought in the rainy season
7	"Kawulu Ceremony"	The ceremony falls on the eighth month (Wolu) of the Saka year. Pujan Kawolu as a closing meeting. The community sends offerings to the village head with the aim of saving the earth, water, fire, wind, sun, moon, and stars.
8	"Kapat Ceremony"	Achieve safety for humankind, plants, and pets. This Kapat (four) month ceremony is related to the agricultural cycle. This ceremony emphasizes the community's efforts to reject reinforcements to avoid various disasters that can harm humans, plants, and pets.
9	"Sengkolo Ceremony"	It is carried out if the agricultural products are not profitable, even very detrimental. Make the people of Tengger aware of the law of karma because there is an act that is not good, resulting in a disaster.

Based on Table 1 above, it can be concluded that various local cultural wisdom values of the Tengger people rely on religion and beliefs that are still held firmly. These local cultural wisdom values function strategically in preventing disasters. The functions that prevent disasters from happening are the most dominant in dealing with disaster problems. According to Achmadi et al. (2019), Value education can be realized by re-empowering existing local wisdom. Many local traditions and customs that are rich in values about the harmonious relationship between humans and nature are no longer popular. Natural disasters can be prevented, and damage to nature can be avoided if humans coexist well with nature.

The awareness to elevate and dig up local cultural values because the economic and social progress of the world community has now been accompanied by various environmental damages (Wijayanto, 2012). In the future, there will be an increase in both the area and intensity of degradation of land and environmental resources as well as pollution in the biosphere, hydrosphere, and atmosphere (Tehupeiory, 2016). Meanwhile, in some parts of the world, those who persist with agricultural practices based on local and indigenous knowledge have succeeded in passing on their environmental resources (forests, land, soil, and biodiversity) intact from generation to generation. This shows the importance of learning and exploring the sources of local cultural wisdom (Fadli, 2018).

## Conclusion

Traditional communities in Indonesia own local wisdom that reflects its utilization for disaster mitigation. The Tengger people, with their diversity, have local cultural wisdom that relies on religion to maintain harmony with nature. The local cultural wisdom of various religions is consistent with government policies in dealing with disasters in the Tengger Probolinggo area. Local cultural wisdom based on religion and belief should be synergized with government policies in disaster mitigation in the

Tengger area. The people of Tengger still uphold the values of local cultural wisdom in overcoming disasters through the philosophy of "anti-pancetta."

Various local cultural wisdom values have positive implications in maintaining the living relationship between God, the natural environment, and human life so that we can avoid disasters and live in prosperity. If local cultural wisdom can go hand in hand by creating reciprocal and mutually beneficial relationships, then a pattern of harmonious life will be created. Thus, local cultural wisdom based on religion and belief in the Tengger people in disaster mitigation will always be known as one of Indonesia's cultural assets with ethnic and cultural diversity. A wealth of the Indonesian nation that is not owned by other nations. The findings of this research in the form of cultural values of local cultural wisdom can be input for local governments to make policies in disaster mitigation in the Tengger area. So far, local government policies through the BPBD have not synergized with the local cultural wisdom values of the Tengger people, even though the Tengger people believe more in the orders of "dukun" or local religious leaders than the local government. For this reason, local governments must continually synergize with religious leaders in making policies through a cultural approach.

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