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**Bakti and Sayan traditions among the Tenggerese people in East Java:
the role of indigenous institutions in integrated elderly care
development in Indonesia**

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CHAPTER IV RESEARCH SETTING: THE TENGGERESE AND JAVANESE PEOPLE IN EAST JAVA

The Chapter presents an overview of Indonesian geography as a country in South-East Asia, and the administration structure of the Indonesian government. Indonesia is the world's largest archipelago, which has more than 17,000 islands and hundreds of distinct native ethno-cultural and linguistic groups. Java is one of the Indonesian islands; it is the world's most populous island with more than half the country's population occupying it. The Javanese are one of the largest Indonesian ethno-cultural groups, predominantly located in Central and East Java. The Javanese ethno-cultural group has many sub-groups, such as the Osing, Tenggerese, Banyumasan and Samin people. This Chapter focuses on the research setting of the Javanese people in East Java, particularly the Tenggerese people as part of the Javanese ethno-cultural groups. Moreover, this chapter also introduces the sociography of East Java, especially the Tenggerese people, including the history, demography, socio-economics, people in the household, and community structure, which are influenced by the Javanese culture.

As mentioned above, the research has been conducted in four villages representing both the Tenggerese and Javanese populations. Two villages which represent the Tenggerese people are Ngadas village in the Poncokusumo sub-district, Malang district, and Argosari village in the Senduro sub-district, Lumajang district. Both are rural areas and represent the Tenggerese people who still believe and practise their customs to the present day. The remaining two villages representing the Javanese in East Java are Ditotrunan urban village, in Lumajang sub-district, Lumajang district, and Tlogomas urban village, in Lowokwaru sub-district, Malang district. In this research, *kabupaten* is a local name for a district, regency, and municipality consisting of several *kecamatan* ('sub-district'). Moreover, the sub-district consists of *desa* ('village') and *kelurahan* ('urban village'). This research uses the term *kabupaten*, district, regency, and municipality interchangeably with a similar meaning. The village term also is used interchangeably to refer to *desa* ('village') or *kelurahan* ('urban village').

The fieldwork was carried out from May to August 2018. The research started with a preliminary study and interviews with some key informants, which was followed by qualitative research including in-depth interviews with participant observation. The quantitative research on household interviews was implemented by using a questionnaire based on an adapted analytical model of Slikkerveer (1990). The analytical model of transcultural utilisation behaviour by Slikkerveer (1990) fundamentally integrates three main levels of 'blocks' of independent, intervening, and dependent factors.

4.1 Indonesia: A Newly-Developing Country

4.1.1 Geographical and Historical Background

Indonesia, geographically, is located between the Asian and Australian continents. Indonesia is an archipelagic country located in South-East Asia lying between the Indian and Pacific Oceans (*cf.* Habid & Rajendran 2008; Indonesian Embassy of Indonesia in Washington, D.C. 1951; BPS 2018b). Indonesia, as an archipelagic country, consists of thousands of islands which extend about 5,120 km from east to west and 1,760 km from north to south. Indonesia currently has 13,466 islands that have been registered to the United Nations (2012). However, based on the data from the Ministry of Home Affairs in BPS (2018), the total number of Indonesian islands is 16,056. Indonesia also has mainlands with about a total of 1,916,862.20 km² (*cf.* BPS 2018b). Indonesia has 34 provinces spread over five main islands and four archipelagoes. The five islands include Sumatera, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua, while the four archipelagos include Riau, Bangka Belitung, Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku (*cf.* BPS 2018b). Indonesia is predominantly mountainous with approximately 400 volcanoes, of which 150 are still active (*cf.* Asiainfo 2010). Indonesia's volcanoes are part of the Pacific Ring of Fire which are located in the basin of the Pacific Ocean. It makes Indonesia susceptible to earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Some volcanoes experienced notable eruptions with significant impacts such as the Krakatau eruptions in 1883 and Mount Tambora in 1815. Indonesia still has many active volcanoes

such as Kelud and Merapi in Java (*cf.* Wikipedia 2020). Some rivers in Indonesia such as Musi and Batanghari in Sumatera are among the longest rivers which are used for transportation, similarly to the Barito, Kapuas, and Mahakam rivers in Kalimantan, and Mamberamo river in Papua. Java also has famous rivers which are used for irrigation such as Bengawan Solo, Ciliwung, Citarum, and Brantas. Bengawan Solo is the longest river in Java (*cf.* Wikipedia 2019). Indonesia’s climate is tropical consisting of two seasons: wet and dry, which change every six months.

Indonesia has several indigenous ethno-cultural and linguistic groups, where the Javanese people are forming the largest ethno-cultural group. Local people of various ethno-cultural groups mostly use local languages in their daily life. However, most Indonesians use *Bahasa Indonesia* as a *lingua franca* within the country, since it is the official national language in the Republic of Indonesia.

4.1.2 Administrative Government

Indonesia has 34 provinces, 98 cities, 416 districts, 7,217 sub-districts, and 83,344 villages (*cf.* BPS 2018b). The number of villages covers the *kelurahan* (‘urban village’) and *Unit Permukiman Transmigrasi* (‘Transmigration Settlement Unit’).

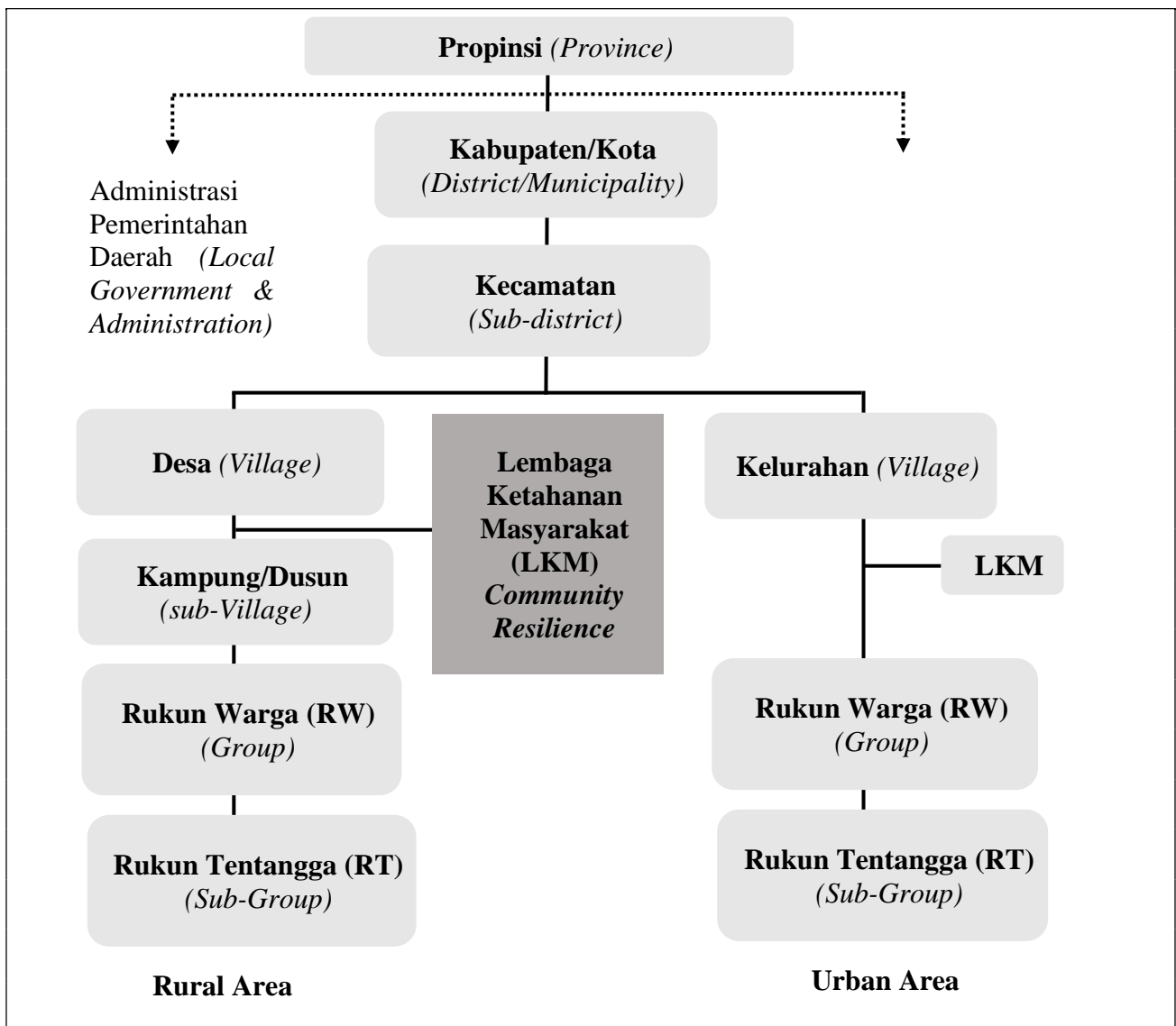


Figure 4.1 Government Administration Structure in Indonesia.

Source: Fang (2006), adapted from Indonesian Law No. 6/2014, No. 23/2014, and Saefullah (2019).

Note: LKMD = *Lembaga Ketahanan Masyarakat Desa* (‘Institution of Community Security at Village Level’).

The government structure of the Republic of Indonesia consists of a President, a Vice-president, the *Lembaga Tinggi Negara* ('State Supreme Agency), the *Kementerian* ('Ministry'), the *Lembaga Setingkat Menteri* ('Ministerial Level Institution'), and the *Lembaga Pemerintahan Non Kementerian* (LPNK) ('Non-ministerial Institution'). One of the ministries is the *Kementerian Dalam Negeri* ('Ministry of Home Affairs') which is responsible for the home affairs of the Government of Indonesia.

The district area is divided into sub-districts, which are again divided into *desa* or *kelurahan* ('villages'). Each province and district or municipality has a regional government. The provincial area is led by a Governor as the representative of the central government in organising general government affairs. The district or municipality areas are led by a *Bupati* or *Walikota* ('Regent or Mayor'), while the village administration level is led by a *Lurah* or *Kepala Desa* ('Village Head'). The *kelurahan* ('village') is divided into *Rukun Warga* (RW) which are further divided into *Rukun Tetangga* (RT).

The *desa* ('village') in Java is divided into smaller units called *dusun* ('hamlets or sub-villages'). RW is the administrative unit consisting of several RTs while RT is a sub-group of households in the groups (RW) of a *desa* or *kelurahan* ('village') or *dusun* ('hamlets'). As the number of villages in Indonesia reach 83,000; the number of hamlets, RW (groups) and RT (sub-groups) therefore reach hundreds of thousands. As a result, the roles of the group and sub-group heads are also very important, especially in managing and controlling the community. The group and sub-group heads work voluntarily for their community. Figure 4.1 shows the administrative structure in Indonesia.

4.1.3 Socio-Demography

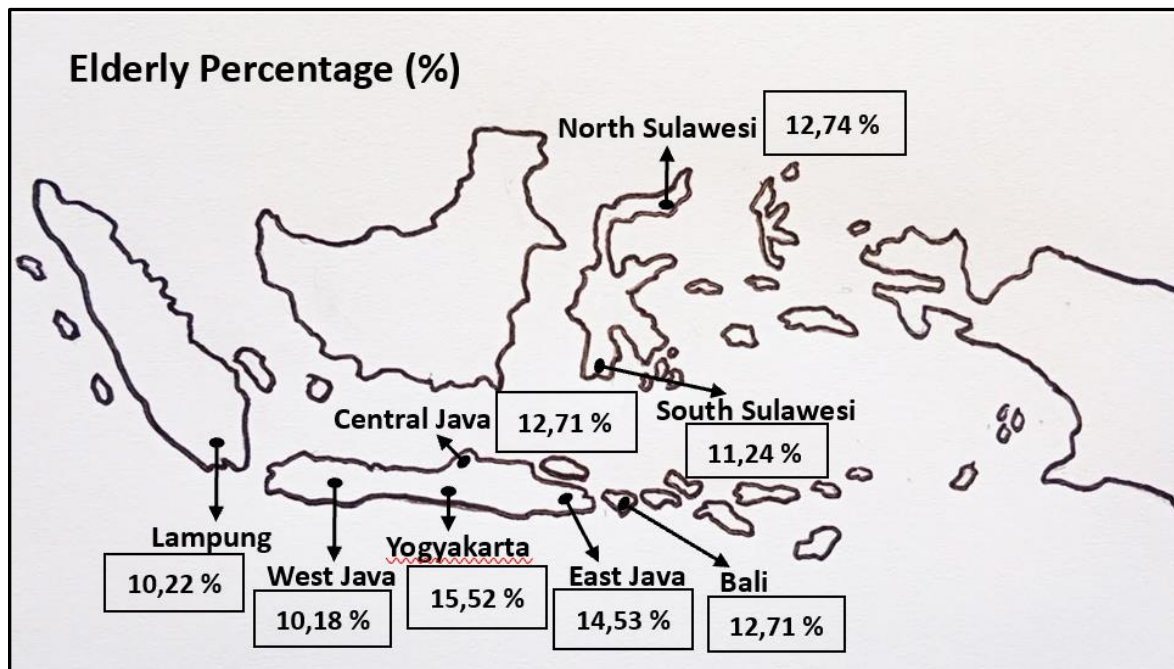
Indonesia is the largest country in South-East Asia and has a population of approximately 269 million inhabitants consisting of 133,416.9 females and 134,657.6 males in 2019 (*cf.* BPS 2020). Indonesia is also the fourth most populous country after China, India, and the United States (*cf.* United Nations 2019; Suryadinata *et al.* 2003). However, Indonesia has tried to control its population growth, which has been quite successful. President Suharto who led the new order government in the early 1970s initiated the *Program Keluarga Berencana* ('Family Planning Programme').

The programme was conducted to reduce the number of births in a typical Indonesian family (*cf.* Arifianto 2006). The programme succeeded in changing parents' perceptions of having a smaller family size (*cf.* UNFPA 2014). The changing family size triggered by the fertility rate declined from 4.73 during 1975-1980 to 2.50 for the period 2010-2015 (*cf.* UNFPA 2014; UN 2015). The impact of successfully controlling the population, low birth and death rates is reflected in the projection of the occurring demographic dividend or demographic bonus from 2015 to 2030 [4.1].

Demographers often describe the changing age structure as a changing dependency ratios. The dependency ratio is commonly used to measure the burden of dependents that the working population has to support [4.2]. When the dependency ratio is low, more people can work in the total population indicating that they have to be more productive so they can contribute to economic growth. For the government, the demographic dividend can become an opportunity and a challenge at the same time. It can be an opportunity when the population has better access to employment or create job opportunities. By then, they become more productive and are able to contribute to economic growth. On the contrary, the demographic dividend can also be a challenge when most of the population are unemployed and are not ready to work due to their limited skills. It will be a burden for the government to push economic growth. The government also needs to make policies and other efforts which are able to push economic growth during demographic dividend times. The implementation of effective policies during the demographic dividend helps in facing unprecedented high old-age dependency ratios. So, the country will be ready to face the ageing population in the future and to ensure the elderly's well-being such as better access of services for the elderly in all aspects *i.e.* health, transportation, social security, and assistance.

Indonesia has different population density in each region. Based on the main island, the majority of Indonesia's population lives in Java island, about 57% in 2010, and is projected to decline to about 54.7% in 2035. It is presumably because of the effect of the transmigration programme and lower fertility rates than elsewhere in Indonesia (*cf.* Jones 2014). In fact, the population density in Indonesia

shows an uneven distribution over the whole island. Some areas are sparsely settled, particularly on the upper slopes of Java's volcanoes and in some southern coastal areas, while some others are very densely settled, particularly in the big cities and in the agricultural areas (cf. Jones 2014). The density of population ageing among provinces in Indonesia also shows uneven distribution. Some provinces tend to have a higher density of population ageing than others. *Badan Pusat Statistik* (BPS) ('Central Bureau of Statistics') in 2021 found that five provinces already have an ageing population, i.e. DI Yogyakarta (15.52%), East Java (14.53%), North Sulawesi (12.74%), Central Java and Bali (12.71%) (cf. BPS 2021). The geographic distribution of ageing population is shown in Map 4.1 showing that three out of the five provinces with ageing population are located in Java. This research focuses on East Java as one of the provinces with a high percentage of ageing population.



Map 4.1 The Geographic Distribution of Ageing Population in Indonesia.
 Source: Indonesian Ageing Population (BPS 2021).

4.1.4 Socio-Economics

The role of the region in formulating the national GDP shows that Java has the highest contribution of 58.49%, followed by Sumatra 21.66%, Kalimantan 8.20%, Sulawesi 6.11%, Bali and Nusa Tenggara 3.11%, and Maluku and Papua 2.43% (cf. BPS 2018a) [4.3]. It shows that Java island still holds more than half of the national economy, which means that economic activities are still concentrated in Java. Regarding the state budget, in mid-2016, the Government of Indonesia implemented a tax amnesty programme expecting to increase state revenue from taxes. In 2018, taxes were the largest source of state revenue (85.40%), while other revenue sources are *Penerimaan Negara Bukan Pajak* (PNBP) ('Non-Tax Revenue') (14.54%) and grants with the smallest percentage (0.06%) (cf. BPS 2018a). The government significantly strives for revenue which aims to finance development programs for people's welfare. In fact, the Government of Indonesia still had a deficit in the state budget until 2018, meaning that the amount of state expenditure is still greater than the income received. The government is trying to use the state budget as efficiently as possible. One of the efforts is the reduction and diversion of the subsidy budget from the financing of subsidies in the energy sector (fuel and electricity) to the non-energy subsidy budget for the poor's welfare through social protection programs. Some social protection programs include direct assistance programs to the community, such as *Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional* (JKN) ('National Health Insurance'), *Kartu Indonesia Pintar* (KIP) ('Smart Indonesia Card'), *Kartu Indonesia Sehat* (KIS) ('Healthy Indonesia Card'), rice for underprivileged families, and Bidik Misi scholarships (cf. BPS 2018a).

The Government of Indonesia also provides a state budget in the form of *hibah dana desa* ('village fund grants') aimed at building public facilities in villages to make them more advanced. The provided budget has also increased from year to year since it was first raised in 2015, amounting to Rp. 20.8 trillion, increasing by Rp. 60.0 Trillion in 2018 (*cf.* BPS 2018a). The increasing village funds budget is expected to accelerate the realisation of people's welfare to support the achievement of national priorities such as reducing the unemployment rate and increasing public access to economic, educational, health, and social protection resources in accordance with the target. Social protection consists of social security and social assistance.

On the one hand, social security comprises the key social insurance, including health and pension insurance, unemployment benefits, work injury insurance, and disability grants. Insurance financing is mainly taken from participants' contributions (*cf.* Widjaja & Simanjuntak 2010; Bappenas & GTZ 2008). On the other hand, social assistance comprises non-contributory measures, such as care of the poor, elderly, and disabled. The financing of social assistance is mainly taken from taxes (*cf.* Widjaja & Simanjuntak 2010; Bappenas & GTZ 2008). The Government of Indonesia implemented Law No. 40 in 2004 for *Sistem Jaminan Sosial Nasional* (SJSN) ('National Social Security Systems'). SJSN is important because it expands coverage of social security programs covering all Indonesians, including those working in the informal sector, the unemployed, and the poor (*cf.* Bappenas & GTZ 2008). Moreover, the Government of Indonesia established the management of its national social security system for two types of *Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial* (BPJS) ('Government Social Security Agency'): BPJS Kesehatan (BPJS Health) for administering the SJSN health programme and BPJS Ketenagakerjaan (BPJS Employment) for administering the SJSN employment programs in 2011. They are established according to the enactment of Law No. 24/2011.

Every country takes very different decisions related to the allocated budget for the public sector, particularly to invest in social security taken from the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) (*cf.* ILO 2010). Between 2010 and 2014, the Government of Indonesia spent less than 2% on health and only 1% of the state budget on social protection (*cf.* Republik Indonesia 2016). However, the government increased health and social protection expenditures, particularly for the BPJS programs. Based on the 2018 state budget, the government allocated social protection for 12.8% of the central budget and 5% for health (*cf.* BPS 2018a). BPJS health implements *Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional* (JKN) ('National Health Insurance') programme which guarantees participants' access to health care based on basic health needs. Funding for implementing JKN comes from workers' contributions, employers, and the government. For example, insurance premiums for the poor are covered by the government, while formal workers' premiums are covered by both employers and employees, and informal workers are required to register for JKN and make monthly payments individually. Based on data from BPS (2017), the elderly who have health insurance are around 63.24%, while those who have health insurance through *Penerima Bantuan Iuran* (PBI) ('Premium Assistance Beneficiary') from the government are around 33.47%. Thus, half the elderly are still dependent on the government for paying their health insurance (*cf.* BPS 2017).

Furthermore, BPS has classified economic for the elderly measured based on their expenditure. The elderly who are in the bottom 40% of the expenditure group have health insurance amounting to 60.46%; nevertheless, only 36.02% of them use health insurance. Similarly, those who are in the middle 40% of the expenditure group have health insurance amounting to 60.62% and only 38.25% of them use health insurance. On the contrary, those who are in the top 20% of the expenditure group have health insurance amounting to 73.92%, and more than half (54.77%) of them use health insurance (*cf.* BPS 2017). So, the elderly who have high economic status tend to use their health insurance compared to those who have low and middle economic status. Moreover, the Government of Indonesia also implements social security programs through BPJS Employment, namely *Jaminan Kecelakaan Kerja* (JKK) ('Work Accident Security'), *Jaminan Kematian* (JKM) ('Death Security'), and *Jaminan Hari Tua* (JHT) ('Old Age Security') and the retirement pension. Only 12.63% of elderly households have social security (*cf.* BPS 2017), meaning that the elderly's active participation is still low. The government continues trying to increase the coverage and the elderly's active participation in the social security programme.

4.1.5 Ethno-cultural Profile

Much of Indonesian history focuses on Java as the centre of the powerful Hindhu-Buddhist empires, the Islamic sultanates, and the core of the colonial Dutch East Indies. Java was also the centre of the Indonesian struggle for independence during the 1930s and 1940s. For this reason, Java dominates Indonesia politically, economically and culturally. It is divided into (1) four administrative provinces: West Java, Central Java, East Java, and Banten, and (2) two special regions: Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Indonesia has many ethno-cultural groups located in the mountainous and island areas which have their respective different characters and traditions. The Javanese are the largest ethno-cultural group in Indonesia (40.22%), followed by the Sundanese (15.5%), Batak (3.6%), Sulawesi (3.2%), Madurese (3.0%), Betawi (2.9%) ethno-cultural groups, and ca. one third of other ethno-cultural groups (*cf.* BPS 2011) [4.6]. The majority of ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia are Javanese. Most Indonesians are Muslim, and the others are Christian including Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists (*cf.* BPS 2011). *Kebatinan*, called animism *kejawen*, is also a Javanese religious tradition which can be seen from their history, culture, and traditions.

Das Gupta (1997) states that kinship systems and patterns of inheritance influence living arrangements and elderly care extremely. Kinship systems shape the relative value of girls and boys through their inheritance rules (*cf.* Das Gupta 2009). There are three types of kinship systems: matrilineal, patrilineal, and bilateral kinship systems. Matrilineality is kinship through the female line while patrilineality, also known as the male line, is a kinship system where an individual's family membership is derived from and is recorded through his or her father's lineage. Patrilineality and matrilineality involve the inheritance of property, rights, names, or titles through male or female kin. On the other hand, a bilateral relation is a kinship through both male and female lines. Some Indonesian ethno-cultural groups apply the patrilineal system such as Batak, Rejang, and Gayo, whereas the other ethno-cultural groups apply the matrilineal system such as the Minangkabau people in West Sumatra. The Javanese have bilateral kinship systems where a person is equally related to the families from both parents. Moreover, the bilateral kinship system is generally characterised by the values of showing *hormat* ('respect') and maintaining *rukun* ('harmony') towards the elderly relatives. The nuclear family, including parents, children, and spouse, is the most important kinship-based unit in the Javanese villages (*cf.* Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1957).

Understanding the local people's characteristics of ethnocultural groups, kinship systems, knowledge and living arrangements in the community is important to comprehensively understand the behaviour patterns related to elderly care in each ethno-cultural group. Moreover, it is also important to know the management of elderly care and services based on the adult child's perspective.

4.2 East Java Province

4.2.1 Geography and Demography of the Province of East Java

East Java is one of the provinces in Indonesia located in the east part of Java. East Java borders the Java Sea in the north, the Strait of Bali in the east, the Indian Ocean in the south, and Central Java province in the west. It has 431 islands, and the total area is 47,799.75 km² (*cf.* BPS 2018b). It has the widest area compared to other provinces in Java, *i.e.* West Java, Central Java, Banten, and two special regions: Jakarta and Yogyakarta. Surabaya is the capital of East Java Province. East Java has Mount Semeru, known as Mahameru summit, located between Lumajang and Malang districts. Mount Semeru is the highest mount in Java (3,676 m) and the third highest volcano in Indonesia. Moreover, Mount Semeru belongs to the Semeru-Tenggerese volcanic massif (*cf.* Thouret *et al.* 2007). Like Semeru, Mount Bromo is also an active volcano and part of the Tenggerese massif. Mount Bromo is popular for its crater which is located between Mount Semeru and Tenggerese massif in East Java. The Tenggerese massif has the peak of Mount Bromo 2,192 meters above sea level, and Mount Semeru 3,676 meters above sea level.



Illustration 4.1 Picture of Mount Bromo, Tenggerese Caldera, and Mount Semeru in East Java.
 Source: Alfred Molon.

The massif area is one of the most visited tourist attractions in East Java. Volcanoes in those areas are within the area of Bromo Tenggerese Semeru National Park. People who live in the Bromo Tenggerese Semeru National Park areas are called *wong Tengger* ('Tenggerese people'). Figure 4.2 shows a picture of Mount Bromo, Tenggerese Caldera, and Mount Semeru in East Java. East Java province also has two famous rivers, Brantas and Bengawan Solo. The Brantas river comes from East Java and ends in the city of Surabaya, while Bengawan Solo comes from Central Java and ends in the Gresik district, East Java (cf. Lelono 2010).

Based on administration divisions, East Java consists of 29 *kabupaten* ('district'), 9 municipalities, 666 sub-districts, 5,674 villages, and 2,827 urban villages (cf. BPS 2019). Based on the demography, it is the second most populous Indonesian province after West Java, with total population projections for 2018 at 39,5 million: 19,5 million male and 20 million female (cf. BPS 2019).

Besides the national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, East Java people use Javanese as a daily language. Poedjosoedarmo (1968) describes three main speech levels in Javanese. First, *Kromo* is the most polite and formal, or respectful language (*alus*). Second, *Madyo* is the middle level which is semi-polite and semi-formal, and *Ngoko* is the base level which is non-polite and informal. In the western part of East Java, people speak *Kromo*, similar to the language spoken in Central Java, the Mataram dialect spoken around Surakarta and Yogyakarta. In the eastern part, such as Surabaya and Malang, people speak *Bahasa Jawa Timuran* (East Java language) which stresses less on the speech level and is a more egalitarian version of Javanese. However, some ethno-cultural sub-groups have a specific dialect, such as Surabayan (*Boso Suroboyoan*), and Malang (*Boso Walikan*). The Madurese also speak Madurese (*Bahasa Madura*). In the Tenggerese ethno-cultural group, Tenggerese people speak the Tenggerese language which sounds similar to the Javanese language. Its dialect is characterised by several variations of standard Javanese, such as different pronunciations of -a in open syllables and some restricted use of formal kromo Javanese (cf. Hefner 1985). The Osing ethno-cultural group also speak the Osing language in Banyuwangi. In terms of religion, the majority of people in East Java (96% of the total population) is Muslim. On a smaller scale, Buddhism and Hinduism are also found in the Javanese community in East Java. The Tenggerese people generally profess Hinduism as their religion, but they have also incorporated many Buddhist and Animist elements.

4.2.2 Socio-economic Profile and the Elderly Care System

Measures of socio-economic status are used as a proxy indicator of the need for health care or other services. Grundy & Holt (2001) state that there are three points in the relation between socio-economic status and health. The first is a materialist one, such as income where those with higher incomes have better access to health care. The second point emphasises behavioural or ‘lifestyle’ factors, such as appropriate uses of health care, which may differ depending on cognitive skills and information access. It is closely related to education. The third point emphasises psychosocial factors such as empowerment, social status, and social integration. Occupation can also be used as an indicator of the elderly’s socioeconomic status.

Nearly half the elderly in Indonesia (47.92%) are still actively working: the percentage of older people working in rural areas is higher than those in urban areas (55.34% compared to 40.93%). This is because informal employment is more available in rural areas, such as the agricultural sector which does not require special skills. Most of the elderly who work in the agricultural sector (55.18%) only have education at elementary school level (82.05%) and earn income lower than other sectors such as industry, trade and services. 50.50% of the elderly earn less than 1,000,000 IDR per month. Meanwhile, 62.64% of the elderly live with their extended families either with their families in two generations or three generations (*cf.* BPS 2017) [4.7].

This research focuses on the three types of care of the elderly: traditional institutions, and transitional and modern organisations. Traditional institutions include family home care while transitional organisations are community-based care. In this context, community-based care includes the *Posyandu Lansia*, and the *Karang Werda*. East Java has 54,522 units of *Posyandu Lansia*, a rather large amount of integrated health services for the elderly compared to other provinces in Indonesia (*cf.* Kemenkes 2016). Modern elderly care organisations consist of the *Puskesmas Santun Lansia*, and *Panti Jompo*, which are owned by both the government and privately. The number of *Puskesmas Santun Lansia* in Indonesia is 824 units of which 131 are located in East Java, in second position after West Java with 158 units (*cf.* Kemenkes 2016). The *Panti Jompo* are the last option for elderly care in Indonesia targeting the elderly who are abandoned by their family, or do not have family or relatives.

4.2.3 Cultural Divisions in the Indigenous Communities in East Java

The East Java province is home not only to the Javanese but also to the Madurese, particularly in the eastern part, *i.e.* Madura Island (*cf.* Suryadinata *et al.* 2003). The Javanese are the majority ethno-cultural group in East Java. Meanwhile, the Javanese also have ethno-cultural sub-groups such as the Tenggerese people in Bromo, the Samin people and the Osing people in Banyuwangi where the percentage of their population is less than the Javanese population in East Java. Although the Javanese represent a single ethno-cultural group, by convention the Javanese are generally divided into three areas (*cf.* Whitten *et al.* 1996). The first area is known as the *Kejawen*, extending from Banyumas to Blitar, the heartland of the ‘real’ Javanese culture. The second area is known as *pesisir* located in the northern plain, from Cirebon to Surabaya and Pasuruan. The third Javanese area is Blambangan known as *Kawasan Tapal Kuda* (‘Horseshoe Region’). The *Tapal Kuda* areas include Probolinggo, Banyuwangi, Bondowoso, Jember, Lumajang, Pasuruan, and Situbondo. These areas are also occupied by the Madurese.

The East Java area is divided into ten *tlatah* or cultural areas. There are four big cultures, *i.e.* Mataraman, Arek, Madura Island, and Pendalungan, and six small cultures, *i.e.* Jawa Panaragan, Osing, Tengger, Madura Bawean, Madura Kangean, and Samin (*cf.* Ekaraga *et al.* 2018; Lukiyanto 2016). First, Mataraman *tlatah* is located across the west part of East Java, *i.e.* Madiun, Ngawi, Pacitan, Ponorogo, Magetan, Kediri, Nganjuk, Tulungagung, Trenggalek, Tuban, Lamongan, and Bojonegoro. Those areas in the Mataraman *tlatah* are still strongly influenced by the Mataram empire whose customs are similar to Central Java, particularly Yogyakarta and Surakarta, as they tend to speak with respectful language (*alus*). Second, in the east part of Mataraman *tlatah* is Arek *tlatah* where Malang and Surabaya are the centre of it. Arek *tlatah* includes the areas around Malang and Surabaya, such as

Batu, Sidoarjo, Mojokerto, Jombang, and Gresik. Third, Madura *tlatah* includes Madura Island, which is the largest island in East Java and separated from mainland Java by the Strait of Madura. The border of Madura is the Kangean Islands in the most eastern, Masalembu Islands in the northernmost, and Nusa Barung Island and Sempu Islands in the southern. The Madurese occupy the Bangkalan, Pamekasan, Sampang, and Sumenep regencies. One of the Madurese's characteristics is to be adventurous. Moreover, since the Madurese spread throughout the island, which makes them not have 'village solidarity', social relations in Madura are centred on the individual (cf. Ekaraga *et al.* 2018). The land in Madura Island is not fertile, unlike in Java, leading to many Madurese migrating to East Java. The last *tlatah* is Pendalungan: a combination of the Madurese and Javanese cultures which includes Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Situbondo, Bondowoso, Lumajang, and Jember. Map 4.2 shows the division of cultural areas in East Java. Javanese cultures and customs in the western part of East Java were influenced much by the Mataraman *tlatah* whose cultures are similar to Central Java's. *Wayang Kulit* ('shadow puppets') and *Ketoprak* are quite popular in the western part of East Java, which tells the life of the palace.



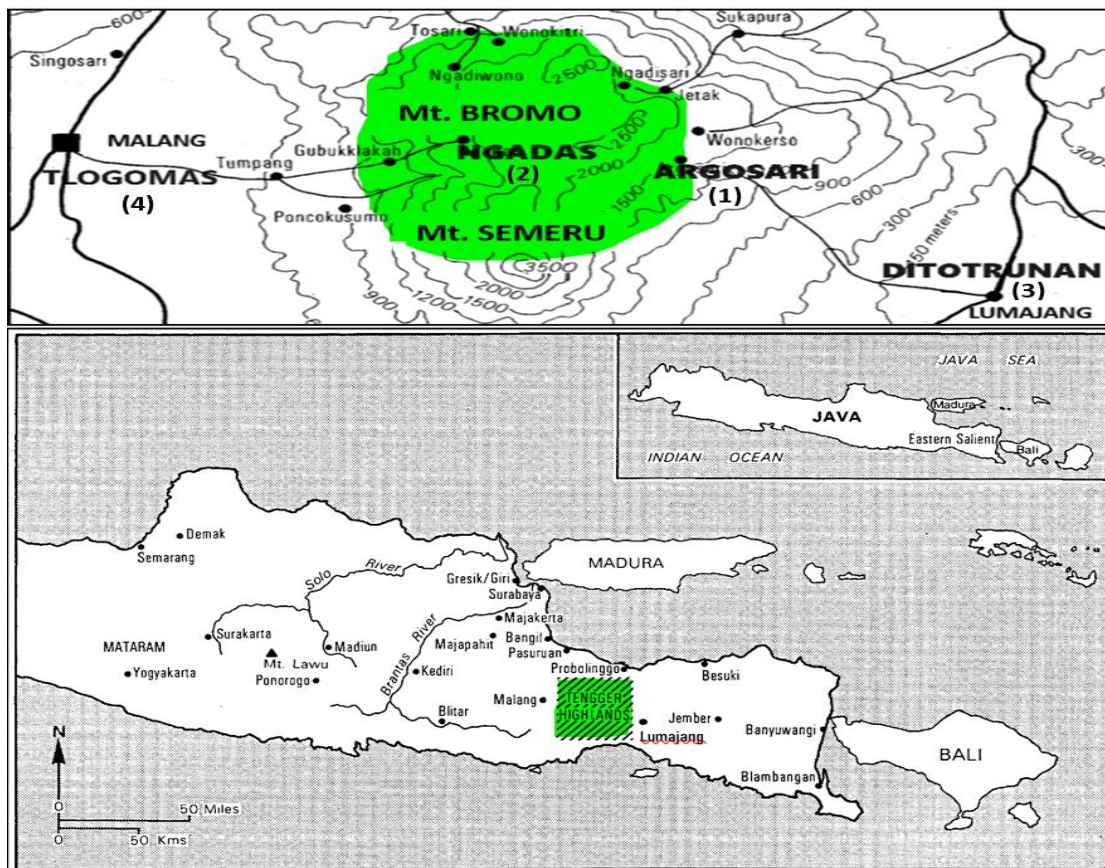
Map 4.2 The Division of Cultural Areas in East Java.

Source: Malangcorner in <https://www.goodnewsfromindonesia.id/2016/12/27>

Meanwhile, some areas in Tuban, Lamongan, and Gresik were heavily influenced by Islamic culture. Five of the nine members of the *Walisongo* are buried in this area. *Ludruk* is one of the East Javanese art works in the form of traditional drama telling about the story of common people's daily life interspersed with jokes or humour and social criticism, and accompanied by the gamelan as the background. *Ludruk* groups can be found in the area of Surabaya, Mojokerto, and Jombang. Usually, *Remo* dance is used as the opening of *Ludruk* to welcome a guest. *Tari Topeng* ('Mask Dance') is also a famous dance from Malang. *Reog* Ponorogo becomes the icon of East Javanese art performance where the main dancer is a person wearing a lion-headed mask with a peacock feather decoration accompanied by *Kuda Lumping* ('Horse Braid') and several mask dancers as well as merry gamelan music. *Reog* is one of the Indonesian cultures that is still very strong with mystical elements, while Madura Island is also famous for its *Karapan Sapi* ('Bull Race') as one of the attractive icons of Madurese culture.'

The Javanese ethno-cultural group also has many ethno-cultural sub-groups such as Banyumasan in the western part of Central Java, Osing in Banyuwangi, and the Tengger. In East Java, Osing is a blend of Java, Madura, and Bali, while the Tenggerese people live in the Tenggerese highlands surrounded by Mount Bromo and Semeru. The Tenggerese highlands are located within four administrative *kabupaten* ('districts'): Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang, and Malang.

This research has been conducted to understand a specific behaviour of the Tenggerese and Javanese people in East Java. The Tenggerese and Javanese people in this research are represented by two *tlatah*: Malang as Arek *tlatah* and Lumajang as Pandalungan *tlatah*. Based on the two districts, the sub-district and villages were selected, representing the Javanese and Tenggerese people. *Firstly*, the research was conducted in Ngadas village in Poncokusumo sub-district representing the Tenggerese people, and Tlogomas village in the Lowokwaru sub-district representing the Javanese in Malang. *Secondly*, the research was also conducted in Argosari village in the Senduro sub-district representing the Tenggerese, and Ditotrnan village in the Lumajang sub-district representing the Javanese in Lumajang. Map 4.3 shows the Tenggerese and Javanese areas in East Java.



Map 4.3 Location of the Tenggerese and Javanese People in East Java: (1) Argosari and (2) Ngadas represent Tenggerese People; (3) Ditotrnan and (4) Tlogomas represent Javanese People. The green color refers to Tengger Highlands.

Source: Hefner (1985 & 1990) modified.

4.3 Selected Research in Two Districts of East Java

4.3.1 Lumajang and Malang: Home of the Tenggerese and Javanese Peoples

The geography, demography, and socioeconomic characteristics of the two districts in East Java: Malang and Lumajang representing the Tenggerese and Javanese people in East Java are described as follows.

The Lumajang district is 179,090.00 km² and has borders with the Jember district to the east part, Probolinggo district to the north part, Malang district to the west part, and the Indian Ocean to the

south part. Lumajang is a fertile land because it is flanked by three volcanoes: Mount Semeru (3,676 m), Mount Bromo (2,329 m), and Mount Lamongan (1,651 m). Lumajang is divided into 21 sub-districts, 198 villages, and 7 urban villages (*cf.* BPS 2019a). Its population in 2018 was about 1,039,794 people consisting of 507,781 males and 532,013 females.

The majority of people in Lumajang work as farmers (270,981 people), entrepreneurs (213,137 people), employees (43,681 people), laborers (32,562 people), traders (12,643 people), etc. (*cf.* BPS 2019a). In terms of religion, the majority of people in Lumajang are Muslim (1,105,487 people), followed by Christian (11,379 people), Hindu (6,031 people), Catholic (2,585 people), Budha (486 people), Konghuchu (19 people) and others (18 people). Lumajang has Mandhara Giri Semeru Agung which is the oldest temple in Indonesia. It is located in the Senduro sub-district, Lumajang district.

Hindus occupy the second position (4,316 people) after the Muslims (44,999 people) in the Senduro sub-district. Senduro is one of the sub-districts inhabited by the Tenggerese people in the Lumajang district. Senduro's area covers around 228.68 km² or 12.77% of the total area of Lumajang. Its population is about 52,313 inhabitants, of which 26,004 are males and 26,309 are females (*cf.* BPS 2019b). The Senduro sub-district has 12 villages; one of the villages, Argosari, is inhabited by the Tenggerese people. The majority of the Tenggerese people are Hindu while the majority of people in the Lumajang district are Javanese although some of them are Madurese.

The Malang district has borders with six other districts and the Indonesian Ocean. The north-east borders the Pasuruan and Probolinggo districts, the east with Lumajang district, the south with the Indonesian Ocean, the west with Blitar district, and the north-west with Kediri and Mojokerto districts. Malang municipality is located in the middle of Malang district. The Malang municipality area is 110.06 km² and divided into five sub-districts: Kedungkandang, Sukun, Klojen, Blimbing, and Lowokwaru. The population of Malang municipality is about 866,118 people (*cf.* BPS 2019c). The Javanese are the majority ethno-cultural group in the Malang district/municipality. On the other hand, the Malang district area is 2,977.05 km² and divided into 33 sub-districts, 12 urban villages, and 378 villages (*cf.* BPS 2019d). The population of Malang district is 2,591,795 people consisting of 1,302,771 males and 1,289,024 females (*cf.* BPS 2019d). Poncokusumo is one of the sub-districts inhabited by the Tenggerese people in the Malang district. Poncokusumo covers around 100.43 km² or 3.46% of the total area of Malang district. The population of Poncokusumo is 100,074 inhabitants, of which 50,242 are males and 49,832 are females (*cf.* BPS 2018c). Poncokusumo has 17 villages. One of the villages is inhabited by the Tenggerese people: Ngadas village. The majority of people in Ngadas village, representing the Tenggerese people, is Budhist (45%), Muslim (40%), and Hindu (15%) (*cf.* Profil Ngadas 2015).

4.4 Characteristics of Respondents in the Research Areas

4.4.1 Argosari Village in Senduro Sub-District

Argosari is one of the villages in the Senduro sub-district, Lumajang district, which represents the Tenggerese people. In 1907, the Lumajang district government formally changed the name of Argosari village; it was previously known as Summersari. Argosari initially consists of 5 hamlets: Argosari, Gedok, Bakalan, Pusung Duwur, and Ranupani (*cf.* Profil Argosari 2015). Based on the interview with Mr. Markatun as the former head of Argosari village from 1998 to 2008, he revealed that there were administrative matters concerning the distance between Ranupani hamlet and the village office in Argosari village.

People in Ranupani complain that their location is quite far from Argosari village so they find it difficult to process their administrative needs. Finally, the government of the Lumajang regency decided that the Ranupani hamlet was a village having its own government and was separated from Argosari village in 1999. Argosari and Ranupani villages are still in the sub-district of Senduro. Currently, Argosari village consists of 4 hamlets: Krajan Argosari, Gedog, Pusung Duwur, and Bakalan. Moreover, Argosari village has 7 RW and 24 RT. Krajan hamlet is the location of Argosari village office (*cf.* BPS 2019b; Profile Argosari 2015). Figure 4.2 and 4.3 show the entrance gate to

Argosari Village and the village office in Argosari Village. Geographically, Argosari village has borders with some other villages. In the north part, Argosari village borders Ledok Ombo village, Sumber sub-district, Probolinggo district. In the south part, it borders Ranupani village, Senduro sub-district. In the east part, it borders Kandang Tepus village, Senduro sub-district, and in the west part, it borders Ngadisari village, Sukapura sub-district, Probolinggo district. The distance of Argosari village to Senduro sub-district is 17 km, while the distance of Argosari village to Lumajang district is 35 km.

The Tenggerese population in Argosari is 4,228 includes 2,139 males and 2,089 females. Meanwhile the number of *Kartu Keluarga* (KK) ('family card') is 1,259 families (*cf.* BPS 2019b). The area of Argosari includes the upper slope mountain zones or highlands extending 2,200 m above sea level.



Illustration 4.2 Entrance Gate to Argosari Village
Source: Field Notes (2018) and Profile of Argosari (2015)



Illustration 4.3 Village Office of the Argosari Village.
Source: Field Notes (2018) and Profile of Argosari (2015)

Based on that geology, the type of agricultural land which is suitable for cultivation is *tegal* ('dry land'). Some vegetable products are produced in Argosari, *i.e.* potatoes, cabbages, carrots, and onions. The land covers about ± 56.05 km² or 5,603.68 hectares (*cf.* BPS 2019b). Moreover, the area of Argosari is bordered by the state protected forest, Mount Bromo and Mount Semeru, known as Bromo Tenggerese Semeru National Park. The location of Argosari's land area that borders the state forest land encourages the Ministry of Forestry to provide an opportunity for some people in Argosari to cultivate a few hectares of the forest land with a rental system and profit-sharing.

The inhabitants of Argosari village are Tenggerese people where the majority works as farmers (467 inhabitants), farm labourers (1,526 inhabitants), and others such as construction workers (50 inhabitants), transportation (55 inhabitants), trade (74 inhabitants), services and civil servants (10

inhabitants) (cf. BPS 2019b). Those who work as farm labourers generally do not own agricultural land or have only a small amount of land. They work as farm labourers by helping to cultivate agricultural land belonging to others to meet their needs. In addition, some Tenggerese people in Argosari also have livestock such as free-range chickens, beef cattle, goats, and pigs. However, the agriculture sector is still the main livelihood in the Tenggerese highlands. Argosari village has a tourist attraction known as the peak B-29 which has an altitude of 2,900 m above sea level. The B-29 tourist attraction is also called *Negeri di atas Awan* ('Country above the Clouds'). The existence of this tourist attraction also causes some Tenggerese people to provide motorcycle transportation services to get to the B-29 tourist site.

The majority religion in Argosari is Hindu, with the exception of the Gedok hamlet where many people embrace Islam (cf. Profile Argosari 2015; Field Notes 2018). It is indicated by the existence *Taman Pendidikan Al-qur'an* ('Islamic education') in the Gedog hamlet. Moreover, there are 3 *masjid* ('mosques'), 6 *musholla/langgar* ('prayer rooms'), 4 *pure* ('temples'), and 4 *sanggar* in Argosari village (cf. BPS 2019b). Even though the majority of people in Argosari are Hindu, they do not apply the caste system ('social strata') in their community's life. It is different from the general Hindu community in Bali (cf. Batoro 2017).

In addition, they also do not apply *pembakaran mayat* or *ngaben* ('cremation ritual') as performed in Bali (cf. Yuliati 2011). There are some schools in Argosari, i.e. two playgroups and two kindergartens, and three public elementary schools in each hamlet, i.e. Krajan Argosari, Gedok, and Bakalan. The highest school level is the junior high school in Krajan Argosari hamlet (cf. BPS 2019b; Profile Argosari 2015). For health facilities, there is one auxiliary health centre in Argosari, i.e. *Puskesmas Pembantu (Pustu) Desa Argosari* ('Argosari Village Auxiliary Puskesmas'), four *Posyandu* ('Integrated Health Post'), and one *Pos Kesehatan Desa (Poskesdes)* ('Village Health Post') (cf. BPS 2017a; Field Notes 2018). Moreover, there is also one *Puskesmas* ('Primary Health Care Centre') in Senduro sub-district (cf. BPS 2017a).

4.4.2 Ngadas Village in Poncokusumo Sub-District

Ngadas village is one of the villages in the Poncokusumo sub-district, Malang district which represents the Tenggerese people. The history behind the name of the village is based on the story of the local community about a man named *Mbah Sidik (Sedek)* from Surakarta, Central Java. His family and relatives supposedly did logging until it was developed into a village, namely Ngadas. The word '*Das*' is taken from the *Adas Pulo Waras* plant that is commonly found in Ngadas village. Until now, the tomb of *Mbah Sidik (Sedek)* is guarded by the Ngadas people because they believe that he was the founder of the village (cf. Profil Ngadas 2015). Figure 4.4 shows the tomb of *Mbah Sidik (Sedek)*.



Illustration 4.4 The Tomb of *Mbah Sidik (Sedek)*.
Source: Field Notes (2018).

Geographically, Ngadas village borders some other villages. In the north part, it borders Kandanghari village, Tukur sub-district, Pasuruan district. In the south part, it borders Ranupani village, Senduro sub-district. In the east part, it borders Ngadisari village in Sukapura sub-district in Probolinggo district. In the west part, it borders with Gubugklakah village, Poncokusumo sub-district, Malang district (*cf.* Profil Ngadas 2015). Ngadas village has an area of 4.14 km² which is also bordered by a protected forest, the Bromo Tenggerese Semeru National Park area. The distance from Ngadas village to Poncokusumo sub-district is 25 km, while the distance from Ngadas village to Malang district is 42 km. Ngadas village consists of 2 hamlets: Ngadas hamlet and Jarak Ijo hamlet. Ngadas hamlet is the location of Ngadas village office. Moreover, it consists of 2 RW and 12 RT (*cf.* BPS 2018c; Profil Ngadas 2015). Figure 4.5 shows the entrance gate to Ngadas village.

The area of the Ngadas village, similarly with Argosari, includes upper slope mountain zones or highlands extending more than 2200 meters above sea level. Ngadas village includes the Tenggerese highlands flanked by mountains, both non-volcanic and volcanic mountains such as Mount Bromo and Mount Semeru. The type of agricultural land which is suitable for cultivation is *tegal* ('dry land'). The same vegetables are cultivated as those planted in Argosari, *i.e.* potatoes, cabbages, carrots, and onions.



Illustration 4.5 Entrance Gate to Ngadas Village.
Source: Preliminary Field Notes (2016).

Furthermore, the number of the Tenggerese inhabitants of the Ngadas is 1,996 includes 1,031 males and 965 females while the number of family heads is 484 households (*cf.* BPS 2018c). Ngadas people predominantly work in agriculture (1,446 inhabitants), service and trade (103 inhabitants) (*cf.* Profil Ngadas 2015). They work in agriculture as owners of agricultural land or as tenants, but some people only work as agricultural labourers.

In general, those who have agricultural land are only a few; therefore, they can rent the land from the Ministry of Forestry through profit-sharing systems. For those who do not have land, they can work as farm labourers to help cultivate others' agricultural land to meet their needs. Initially, the Tenggerese people believed in animism and dynamism. In the 19th century, they recognise the '*Budo*' religion to refer to those who are not Muslim. The term '*Budo*' is used to show resistance towards Islam (*cf.* Yuliati 2011; Hadi 2009). The majority of the Tenggerese people in Ngadas are *Budha Jawa Sanyata* ('Javanese Buddhist Sanyata'), an original and hereditary belief of the ancestors of the Ngadas people that is different from Buddhist beliefs and rites in general (*cf.* Yuliati 2011; Hadi 2009). The difference between '*Budo*' (*Budha Jawa Sanyata*) and Buddhism made the government take an initiative to do an in-depth research through the Department of Religion on the religions of Ngadas people. In 1973, the government of the new order era determined that the belief of the Tenggerese people was *Mahayana Buddhism*. The decision of the *Departemen Agama* ('Department of Religion') was not yet

final, because three years later after further research was conducted, in 1976 the government set Hindu as the Tenggerese's religion (cf. Maksum 2015) [4.8]. However, many of the Tenggerese people still believe in the '*Budo*' although there are some who eventually embraced Hindu. Especially in Ngadas village, many also converted to Islam because of Islam influence in the modern era (cf. Hefner 1985; Hadi 2009). In fact, Ngadas people, whatever their religion—Buddha, Hindu, or Islam— still uphold and practice Tenggerese ceremonial traditions such as Karo, Kasada, Entas-entas, and Unan-unan (cf. Yuliati 2011; Hadi 2009). Togetherness among the Tenggerese people can be observed not only from their cultural practices but also the religious celebrations of each belief.

There is mutual tolerance between religious communities. Some Tenggerese people have the opinion that their religion is no more a 'cliche' as it sounds or just a 'dress' that it used only to fill in their *Identitas Diri* (ID) ('Personal Identity Information') (cf. Maksum 2015). Based on the data from BPS, the Tenggerese people in Ngadas village embrace various religions: Buddhism (973 inhabitants), Islam (605 inhabitants), and Hinduism (93 inhabitants) (cf. BPS 2018c). Moreover, there are 3 *masjid* ('mosques'), 4 *musholla/langgar* ('prayer rooms'), 1 *pure* ('temple'), and one *vihara* in Ngadas village (cf. BPS 2018c). There are some schools in the Ngadas village: 1 kindergarten in Ngadas hamlet, and 2 elementary schools in each hamlet *i.e.* Ngadas and Jarak Ijo. The highest school level is junior high school in Ngadas hamlet (cf. Profil Ngadas 2015; BPS 2018c). For health facilities in Ngadas village, there are two *Posyandu* ('Intgrated Health Post') and one *Poliklinik Desa* (*Polindes*) ('Village Clinic'). Moreover, there are also *Puskesmas Pembantu* (*Pustu*) and *Puskesmas* ('Primary Health Care Centre') in the Poncokusumo sub-district (cf. BPS 2018c; BPS 2019d).

4.4.3 Ditotrunan Village in Lumajang Sub-District

Ditotrunan is one of the villages in the Lumajang sub-district. In the north part, Ditotrunan borders with Rogotrunan village. In the south part, it borders with Grati village. In the west part, it borders with Citrodiwangsan village. In the east part, it borders with Jogotrunan village (cf. www.prodeskel.binapemdeskemendagri.go.id). The area of Ditotrunan is 19.03 km². It consists of 2 hamlets, 7 RW, and 33 RT (cf. BPS 2017a). The total population is 6,428 people consisting of 3,167 males and 3,261 females, with under 1,840 households (cf. BPS 2017a). The majority of people work in trade (356 people), services (395 people), as farm labourers (306 people), civil servants (108 people), transportation and communication (89 people), and farmers (65 people) (cf. BPS 2017a). Based on the data, it can be concluded that the Ditotrunan's typology is industry or services (cf. www.prodeskel.binapemdes.kemendagri.go.id).

In Ditotrunan, the number of people who are Muslim is 6,117 people, 84 are Protestant, 63 are Catholics, one is Hindu, and three are Confucian (cf. BPS 2017a). They have two *masjid* ('mosques') and 62 *mushola* ('prayer rooms'). For educational facilities, the village has three playgroups, two public elementary schools, and one public junior high school. For health facilities, it has a *Posyandu Lansia* in each RW, namely *Posyandu* Nusantara, Kartini, Nusa Indah, Srikandi, Margi Rahayu, Sekarsari, Cendrawasih, and Pertiwi. The activities of a *Posyandu Lansia* are conducted in *Puskesmas* Rogotrunan and *Puskesmas Pembantu* (*Pustu*) Blukon (cf. BPS 2017a). Lumajang district has a programme called *Gerakan Membangun Masyarakat Sehat* (*Gerbangmas*) ('Movement to Build a Healthy Society') in the *Puskesmas* and *Posyandu* programmes. Moreover, Lumajang sub-district in Lumajang district with a majority of Javanese inhabitants has one old age home owned by the government through *Dinas Sosial* ('Social Affairs Office').

4.4.4 Tlogomas Village in Lowokwaru Sub-District

Tlogomas is one of the urban villages of the Lowokwaru sub-district in the Malang district. In 1982, Tlogomas village became the Tlogomas urban village (cf. Profil Tlogomas 2013). The terms 'urban village' and 'village' are interchangeable in this research but the two refers to the same administrative level (cf. Figure 4.1). Tlogomas village consists of 9 RW and 49 RT with a total population of about

19,450 people consisting of 9,692 males and 9,758 females (cf. BPS 2018d). Geographically, Tlogomas village borders with some other villages. In the north part, Tlogomas village borders with Tunggal Wulung village. In the south part, it borders with Merjosari village. In the east part, it borders with Dinoyo village. In the west part, it borders with Landungsari village (cf. Profil Tlogomas 2013).

Based on the typology, Tlogomas village includes industrial and service areas as large as 167.59 hectares (cf. www.prodeskel.binapemdes.kemendagri.go.id; Profil Tlogomas 2013). The industrial and service area in Tlogomas village is evident from the many buildings that have been erected, such as residential land, school buildings, offices, markets, shopping areas (malls), and shops. As a result, the area of paddy fields in Tlogomas village is decreasing.

The livelihoods of the population in Tlogomas village are civil servants (521 people), army personnel (47 people), private workers (95 people), service workers (257 people), entrepreneurs/traders (205 people), carpenters (158 people), farmers (128 people), labourers (97 people), and pensioners (108 people) (cf. Profil Tlogomas 2013). Based on this data, it can be seen that the number of residents working as farmers or farm laborers is not much compared to those who work as employees, entrepreneurs, or traders.

Tlogomas village has seven playgroups, six kindergartens, two elementary schools, two junior high schools, four senior high schools, and four universities. Moreover, Tlogomas village has ten mosques and twentyone prayer rooms (cf. Profil Tlogomas 2013). For health facilities, Tlogomas village has nine *Posyandu Lansia* in each RW, one *Puskesmas Pembantu (Pustu)*, and *Puskesmas* Dinoyo in the Lowokwaru sub-district (cf. BPS 2019e; Profil Tlogomas 2013; Field Notes 2018). There is one hospital in Tlogomas village (cf. BPS 2019e). Lowokwaru sub-district has two *Panti Jompo* owned by the government through *Dinas Sosial* ('Social Affairs Office') and privately.

The study was conducted in the two villages representing the Tenggerese people and two villages representing the Javanese. This research focuses on the management of care of the elderly, and the utilisation of elderly care institutions and organisations in East Java. Table 4.1 contains a brief description of the village samples and the number of samples for the present research.

Table 4.1 Sample of the Four Villages in East Java

No.	Village Name	Sub-district Name	District/ of village	Municipality	Social structure	Total	
						N	%
1.	Argosari	Senduro		Lumajang	Rural and Tenggerese	86	27.6
2.	Ditotrunan	Lumajang		Lumajang	Semi Urban and Javanese	69	22.1
3.	Ngadas	Poncokusumo		Malang	Rural and Tenggerese	71	22.7
4.	Tlogomas	Lowokwaru		Malang	Urban and Javanese	86	27.6
Total						312	100.0

Source: Fieldwork (2018).

4.5 Socio-Demographic Variables of Respondents

4.5.1 Age, Place of Birth, Ethno-cultural Affiliation, Religion, and Marital Status

On the basis of identifying the sample population of the selected research areas, Table 4.2 presents the age of the household members of the sample over the four villages.

BPS uses a three-group division related to the age of the population, *i.e.* the young (*usia muda*) are those aged less than 15 years, the productive (*usia produktif*) are those aged 15 to 64 years, and the elderly (*usia tua*) are those aged 65 and over (cf. BPS 2013).

Based on the division of age group, the ratio of the working-age population (67.90%) is bigger than the elderly (15.30%) and the young (16.80%). It is in line with the projection of the Indonesian demographic bonus where the percentage of working-age groups is higher than the percentage of non-working age groups, particularly from the years 2015 to 2030. Non-working age groups are those aged 65 years and over, and those under 15 years old.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Age of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Age	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-4	27	7.3	7	2.5	26	7.4	17	4.1	77	5.5
5-9	11	3.0	11	4.0	23	6.5	25	6.1	70	5.0
10-14	19	5.1	19	6.8	22	6.2	30	7.3	90	6.4
15-19	22	6.0	21	7.6	29	8.2	27	6.6	99	7.0
20-24	57	15.4	17	6.1	20	5.7	40	9.7	134	9.5
25-29	43	11.7	14	5.0	8	7.9	23	5.6	108	7.7
30-34	29	7.9	18	6.5	31	8.8	20	4.9	98	6.9
35-39	12	3.3	21	7.6	35	9.9	20	4.9	88	6.2
40-44	13	3.5	23	8.3	14	4.0	34	8.3	84	6.0
45-49	11	3.0	19	6.8	22	6.2	32	7.8	84	6.0
50-54	14	3.8	19	6.8	9	2.5	22	5.4	64	4.5
55-59	1	0.3	6	2.2	8	2.3	18	4.4	33	2.3
60-64	62	16.8	31	11.2	46	13.0	27	6.6	166	11.8
65-69	18	4.9	17	6.1	12	3.4	19	4.6	66	4.7
70-74	9	2.4	12	4.3	13	3.7	22	5.4	56	4.0
75-79	7	1.9	10	3.6	3	0.8	14	3.4	34	2.4
80-84	8	2.2	8	2.9	8	2.3	14	3.4	38	2.7
85-89	1	0.3	3	1.1	1	0.3	6	1.5	11	0.8
90-94	1	0.3	0	0.0	2	0.6	1	0.2	4	0.3
>95	4	1.1	2	0.7	1	0.3	0	0.0	7	0.5
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

Moreover, the elderly's classification can refer to the definition of the elderly based on Law No. 13/1998 about *Kesejahteraan Lanjut Usia* ('elderly welfare'). The elderly are those aged 60 years and over. Based on Table 4.2, the elderly, those aged 60-64 years old, contribute to the majority of household members in the four research villages (11.8%, n=166) followed by those aged 20-24 years (9.5%, n=134).

The total of the elderly from the four villages shows a large number in accordance with the facts, that East Java is one of the provinces with ageing population categories (*cf.* BPS 2017). Particularly in Argosari, the majority of ages are distributed between 60 to 64 years (16.8%, n=62), an age distribution similar to Ditotrunan (11.2%, n=31) and Ngadas (13%, n=46). In Tlogomas, the majority of ages are distributed between 20 to 24 years (9.7%, n=40).

Table 4.3 Distribution of Place of Birth of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Place of birth	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
In this place	360	97.6	249	89.6	322	91.2	308	74.9	1239	87.8
Elsewhere	9	2.4	29	10.4	31	8.8	103	25.1	172	12.2
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

Table 4.3 shows a large percentage of 'births in this place' from a total of four villages (87.8%, n=1239), meaning that many of the household members are born and live in the same place. Table 4.3 also shows the birth percentage of 'in this place' from the household members in each village: Argosari (97.6%, n=360), Ditotrunan (89.6%, n=249), Ngadas (91.2%, n=322), and Tlogomas (74.9%, n=308). On the other hand, those reporting being born and living in different places contribute only a small percentage: Argosari (2.4%, n=9), Ditotrunan (10.4%, n=29), Ngadas (8.8%, n=31), and Tlogomas (25.1%, n=103). Specifically for household members in Ngadas and Argosari, they choose to grow up and live in their villages. They think it is their responsibility to live with their traditions by living in their village. Thus, only a few residents in Ngadas and Argosari villages decide to live outside of their place of birth.

Table 4.4 Distribution of Ethno-cultural Affiliation of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Ethnicity	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Tenggerese	367	99.5	0	0.0	326	92.4	0	0.0	693	49.1
Javanese	2	0.5	271	97.5	26	7.4	410	99.8	709	50.2
Sundanese	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0	1	0.2	2	0.1
Madurese	0	0.0	6	2.2	1	0.3	0	0.0	7	0.5
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

While the household members report a general even distribution of ethno-cultural groups of Tenggerese (49.1% n=693) and Javanese (50.2%, n=709) in the research area, Argosari and Ngadas show an almost entire majority of Tenggerese respondents, respectively 99.5% (n=367) and 92.4% (n=326), respondents from Ditotrunan report 97.5% (n=271) and Tlogomas for 99.8% (n=410) an ethno-cultural majority of Javanese respondents. These data are in line with the general view, that the inhabitants of Java consist of three main ethno-cultural groups: the Javanese in Central and East Java, the Sundanese in West Java, and the Madurese in the northern part of East Java (*cf.* Bowen 1986).

Table 4.5 Distribution of Religion of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Religion	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.2	2	0.1
Islam	3	0.8	278	100.0	130	36.8	407	99.0	818	58.0
Catholic	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2	1	0.1
Protestant	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.5	2	0.1
Buddhism	0	0.0	0	0.0	206	58.4	0	0.0	206	14.6
Hinduism	366	99.2	0	0.0	16	4.5	0	0.0	382	27.1
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

Table 4.5 shows that the majority of the household members are muslim (58.0%, n=818), spread out in Ditotrunan (100%, n=278) and Tlogomas (99.0%, n=407) whereas the majority of the household members in Argosari are Hindu (99.2%, n=366). In Ngadas, Buddhism comes first (58.4%, n=206), followed by Islam (36.8%, n=130), and Hinduism with a small percentage of about (4.5%, n=16). Even though Ngadas and Argosari villages are Tenggerese, however, the proportion of each religion is different. In the Argosari village, the majority of the people are Hindu while in the Ngadas village they are Buddhists.

Based on the data in Table 4.6, the proportion of household members who are married are 49.8% (n=703) while those who are single are only 26.4% (n=372). Moreover, the number of widows is much bigger (13.4%, n=189) than widowers (5.0%, n=70).

Table 4.6 Distribution of Marital Status of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Marital Status	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Single	68	18.4	76	27.3	86	24.4	142	34.5	372	26.4
Married	216	58.5	123	44.2	194	55.0	170	41.4	703	49.8
Divorced	1	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.2	3	0.2
Widow	41	11.1	51	18.3	23	6.5	74	18.0	189	13.4
Widower	16	4.3	20	7.2	24	6.8	10	2.4	70	5.0
Other	27	7.3	8	2.9	25	7.1	14	3.4	74	5.2
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

These data link up with the BPS data of life expectancy stating that women have a longer life expectancy than men (*cf.* BPS 2013). Life expectancy tends to increase in Indonesia: women's life expectancy in 2018 is 73.2 years; *i.e.* longer than men's life expectancy (69.3 years) (*cf.* BPS 2013).

In this research, only a minor percentage of household members are divorced (0.2%, n=3). Additionally, ‘other’ refers to *Anak di Bawah Lima Tahun* (Balita) (‘children under five years old’).

4.5.2 Education, Occupation, and Employment in the Family Business/Farm

Based on Table 4.7, the last educational institute that the majority of household members attended was elementary school (43.3%, n=611).

Table 4.7 Distribution of Education of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Education	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No Education	61	16.5	12	4.3	25	7.1	29	7.1	127	9.0
Elementary School	209	56.6	72	25.9	202	57.2	128	31.1	611	43.3
Junior High School	54	14.6	50	18.0	77	21.8	67	16.3	248	17.6
High School	9	2.4	117	42.1	15	4.2	93	22.6	234	16.6
University	7	1.9	20	7.2	8	2.3	77	18.7	112	7.9
Other	29	7.9	7	2.5	26	7.4	17	4.1	79	5.6
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

The number of Tenggerese people who attended elementary school is bigger in Ngadas (57.2%, n=202) and Argosari (56.6%, n=209) compared to the other two villages: Ditotrunan (25.9%, n=72) and Tlogomas (31.1%, n=128). Moreover, the number of Tenggerese people who attended high school is smaller in Ngadas (4.2%, n=15) and Argosari (2.4%, n=9) compared to the other two villages, Ditotrunan (42.1%, n=117) and Tlogomas (22.6%, n=93). It may be because the highest school level in Ngadas and Argosari is up to junior high school.

When a student wants to continue to a higher school level, they have to go to a high school in *kecamatan* (‘sub-districts’). They need more effort to get a higher school level (*cf.* Field Notes 2018).

Table 4.7 also shows a high percentage of high school levels reached in the two other research communities *i.e.* Ditotrunan (42.1%, n=117) and Tlogomas (22.6%, n=93). In Tlogomas, 18.7% (n=77) of household members went to university whereas the other research areas do not have a university. The household members who did not get any education is much higher in Argosari (16.5%, n=61) than in Ngadas (7.1%, n=25), Ditotrunan (4.3%, n=12), and Tlogomas (7.1%, n=29). Additionally, ‘other’ in Table 4.7 refers to those under seven years old who go to playgroup and kindergarten.

Table 4.8 Distribution of Occupation of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Occupation	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Farmer	276	74.8	2	0.7	222	62.9	3	0.7	503	35.6
Civil Servant	0	0.0	5	1.8	2	0.6	10	2.4	17	1.2
Private Employee	0	0.0	43	15.5	2	0.6	72	17.5	117	8.3
Teacher	5	1.4	6	2.2	3	0.8	1	0.2	15	1.1
Industrial/laborer	0	0.0	5	1.8	14	4.0	16	3.9	35	2.5
Small traders/retailer	1	0.3	17	6.1	3	0.8	8	1.9	29	2.1
Entrepreneur	1	0.3	20	7.2	2	0.6	36	8.8	59	4.2
Craftsman	1	0.3	1	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.1
Retired	0	0.0	9	3.2	1	0.3	7	1.7	17	1.2
Unemployed	44	11.9	82	29.5	46	13.0	109	26.5	281	19.9
House wife	5	1.4	30	10.8	7	2.0	50	12.2	92	6.5
Security	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2	1	0.1
Driver	1	0.3	3	1.1	3	0.8	1	0.2	8	0.6
Guide	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.6	0	0.0	2	0.1
Student	34	9.2	55	19.8	45	12.7	94	22.9	228	16.2
Other	1	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.3	3	0.7	5	0.4
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

Farming is the main occupation of the household members (35.6%, n=503), in accordance with the BPS data; agriculture is still the majority job in Indonesia for people aged 15 years and over (*cf.* BPS 2016). On the other hand, the number of unemployed household members comes in second position (19.9%, n=281). The number of unemployed household members in rural areas is lower than in the urban villages. Table 4.8 reports that those unemployed in Ditotrunan amount to 29.5% (n=82) and Tlogomas 26.5% (n=109), which is higher than in Argosari (11.9%, n=44) and Ngadas (13.0%, n=46), primarily because in the rural areas, people can still work as farmers which does not require special skills. On the contrary, in urban villages or urban areas, many jobs need special skills and require a certain level of education. This is in line with the computation results between Table 4.7 and 4.8 showing that many household members, particularly in rural areas such as Ngadas and Argosari, are farmers who have only elementary education. They can still work in their field as long as they are still able. In this context, the meaning of unemployment is that household members do not work or are not able to work for several reasons such as sickness, being too old, etc.

The third top occupation of household members is students (16.2%, n=228), followed by private employees (8.3%, n=117). In Ditotrunan, private employees amount to about 15.5% (n=43), and entrepreneurs 7.2% (n=20), while in Tlogomas, private employees amount to about 17.5% (n=72) and entrepreneurs 8.8% (n=36). In this research, ‘housewife’ refers to women who are responsible to take care of their household, including her husband, children, or elderly. Housewives do not work. Urban villages tend to have a bigger number of housewives compared to their village counterparts. The percentage of housewives in rural areas is low because most women are still working as farmers from morning to evening. The ‘other’ occupation in this research comprises traditional birth attendants (*dukun bayi*) in Argosari and Ngadas, and two lawyers and one journalist in Tlogomas.

Table 4.9 Distribution of Employment in Family Business/Farm of the Household Members of the Sample over the Four Villages (N=1411)

Employment	Argosari		Ditotrunan		Ngadas		Tlogomas		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	90	24.4	239	86.0	126	35.7	363	88.3	818	58.0
Yes	279	75.6	39	14.0	227	64.3	48	11.7	593	42.0
Total	369	100.0	278	100.0	353	100.0	411	100.0	1411	100.0

Source: Computation of the Data set from the Fieldwork (2018).

Table 4.9 shows that the majority of household members are not working for the family business nor are they employees in a family farm (58.0%, n=818) in Ditotrunan (86.0%, n=239) and Tlogomas (88.3%, n=363). On the other hand, household members who are employees in the family business or farm are about (42%, n=593) in Argosari (75.6%, n=279) and Ngadas (64.3%, n=227). In this context, household members who work as entrepreneurs, small traders, or retailers are categorised as those running the family business. Additionally, household members in Ngadas and Argosari villages work in the family farm to cultivate their agricultural land inherited from generation to generation. Moreover, the Tenggerese people, especially in Ngadas and Argosari, try to maintain and cultivate land owned by their ancestors for generations in order to meet their needs.

Notes:

- [4.1] The demographic bonus or demographic dividend is the age structure characterised by a high proportion of people in the working ages compared to the non-working ones. The Indonesian working-age groups are those aged 15 to 64 years, and the non-working age groups are the elderly (65 years and older) and children (age 0-14 years) (*cf.* Hayes & Setyonaluri 2015).
- [4.2] The child dependency ratio is the ratio of the population aged 0-14 in relation to the population aged 15-64 while the old-age dependency ratio is the ratio of the population aged 65 years and over in relation to the population aged 15-64. These two dependency ratios are combined to form the total dependency ratio: the ratio of the sum of the population aged 0-14 and the population aged 65+ in relation to the population aged 15-64 (*cf.* Hayes & Setyonaluri 2015).

- [4.3] Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the standard measure of the revenue and expenses in the economy through the value of final goods and services produced by a country during a specific period (*cf.* Santoso 2017).
- [4.4] PKH is a programme to provide conditional social assistance to the families of beneficiaries. The PKH uses three component criteria: health, education, and social welfare. The criteria of health components are pregnant women and children aged 0 to 6 years old whereas the criteria of education components are children who are at elementary, junior, or senior level, and children aged 6 to 21 years old who have not finished compulsory education yet. The elderly and heavily disabled are included in the social welfare component criteria (*cf.* Kemensos RI 2019).
- [4.5] ASLUT is a part of social rehabilitation to help neglected elderly so they can fulfil their basic needs. Moreover, it is social assistance in the form of cash transfer for the poor and vulnerable older persons. Cash transfers of Rp 300,000 per month are found to be useful to meet their daily expenses (*cf.* TNP2K 2019).
- [4.6] Batak includes Batak Angkola, Batak Karo, Batak Mandailing, Batak Pakpak Dairi, Batak Simalungun, Batak Tapanuli, Batak Toba, and dan Dairi. On the other hand, other Sulawesi ethno-cultural groups combine as many as 208 types of Sulawesi ethno-cultural groups excluding Makassar, Bugis, Minahasa, and Gorontalo.
- [4.7] Families mean elderly living with children or daughters-in-law or with parents-in-law in one household. Three generations means that the elderly live with their children or daughters-in-law and grandchildren, or with their children or daughters-in-law and parents/parents-in-law in one household.
- [4.8] Since 2010, the name of the department has been changed to the Ministry of Religion Affairs based on regulation Number 1 of 2020.

