Ghancaran
Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia
P-ISSN 2714-8955 | E-ISSN 2715-9132
https://ejournal.uinmadura.ac.id/index.php/ghancaran/index
https://doi.org/10.19105/ghancaran.v20i2.26160

OPEN ACCESS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Bethek Sinoman in the *Entas-entas* ceremony of the Tengger Community as social sustainability through local wisdom

Choirun Nisa[1]*, Sony Sukmawan[2]

[1] Brawijaya University, Malang, Indonesia
[2] Brawijaya University, Malang, Indonesia

***Corresponding Author**
choiii@student.ub.ac.id

ABSTRACT
Globalization and the rise of individualism are eroding *gotong-royong*, while sustainability discourse still privileges ecological and economic dimensions. Culture-based social sustainability embedded in living local traditions, and how well universal frameworks explain it, remains rarely examined. This study examines the explanatory capacity and limitations of Dempsey et al.'s social sustainability framework through *bethek-sinoman*, the communal labor practice in the *Entas-entas* death ceremony of the Tengger community, arguing that social sustainability in this tradition cannot be fully explained by structural indicators alone. A qualitative ethnographic approach was employed in Tosari and Ngadiwono Villages, Tosari District, Pasuruan Regency. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with the customary leader (*Romo Dukun Pandita*) as key informant and villagers as supporting informants, together with participant observation, and were analyzed using Miles and Huberman's interactive model with source triangulation. The findings show that the framework effectively maps surface dimensions of social sustainability: equitable access across economic, educational, and religious boundaries; community sustainability through successive stages that renew communal bonds well before the ritual's culmination; physical and non-physical resource contributions; and social inclusion through participation of thousands of people. However, it cannot account for Tengger women's willingness to bear heavier workloads based on belief in an inherited ancestral trait, or residents' voluntary restraint from technology use as an expression of shame and dignity. Social sustainability in *bethek-sinoman* thus rests on both an equitable, inclusive system and spiritual-emotional attachment to ancestors and kin, which makes norms internalized rather than externally imposed. The study contributes theoretically by showing that universal frameworks serve as structural maps that must be complemented by ethnographic exploration of the local meanings lying beyond them.

Keywords: *Bethek-Sinoman*; *Gotong-royong*; *Entas-entas*; Social Solidarity; Social Sustainability.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received: September 30, 2026
Accepted: October 28, 2026
Published: November 10, 2026

LICENSE

Copyright © 2026 The Author(s). This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY 4.0) License.
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/.

How to Cite This Article

Nisa, N., & Sukmawan, S. (2026). Bethek Sinoman in the Entas-entas ceremony of the Tengger community as social sustainability through local wisdom. *Ghancaran: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia*, Special Edition Lalongét VII, 1-21.
https://doi.org/10.19105/ghancaran.v20i2.26160

INTRODUCTION

Globalization has accelerated the cross-border exchange of information, culture, and lifestyles, opening opportunities for progress while simultaneously giving rise to challenges: the weakening of local values and national identity, the rise of individualism, and the erosion of solidarity and communal unity that once formed the foundation of shared life. This condition has triggered social crises that are both structural and cultural in nature within modern society. The sense of unity and cohesion underlying collective life is increasingly under threat, while the solidarity that once sustained traditional communities continues to erode. The social changes brought about by globalization affect not only cultural structures and interpersonal relations but also correlate with sustainable development more broadly. Discourse on social change has largely emphasized economic and environmental dimensions, while the social dimension tends to be marginalized (Ly & Cope, 2023). Yet social sustainability constitutes a critical foundation for development sustainability as a whole. Solidarity serves as a key value in transforming social systems toward sustainability, and the social and solidarity economy movement has the potential to drive more sustainable community development by fostering cooperation, reciprocity, and environmental respect within community-based initiatives (Esteves et al., 2021; Kastner & Matthies, 2023). When values of trust, care, and social unity weaken, sustainability in other developmental dimensions correspondingly loses its foundation (Barron et al., 2025).

Social sustainability is a crucial aspect that emphasizes solidarity, citizen participation, community support networks, and the preservation of intergenerational values, enabling societies to endure structurally while sustaining healthy and equitable social relations (Ly & Cope, 2023). Values of togetherness, empathy, mutual cooperation, and care must be inherited rather than abandoned. When younger generations grow up without social connectedness and collective values, social sustainability becomes fragile and vulnerable to the erosion of individualism (Lase et al., 2025). In Indonesia, this challenge is especially tangible in the value of *gotong royong*, which is widely recognized as both a strong social bond and a distinctive trait of the nation, yet is considered threatened by the development of digital technology (Murtadlo et al., 2024). Practices of *gotong royong* that once arose from voluntarism and empathy are now undergoing cultural degradation. The values of *gotong royong* remain embedded in community life, but the awareness, sense of togetherness, and collective responsibility that sustain its practice are beginning to weaken (Amanina et al., 2022). Social interaction has increasingly shifted toward transactional and pragmatic

patterns, in line with declining community participation in collective village development work driven by globalization, modernization, and technological advancement (Permana et al., 2022). Yet *gotong-royong* is not merely a social practice; it constitutes a national identity that reflects solidarity and a spirit of selfless mutual assistance while strengthening social bonds and fostering shared responsibility amid diversity (Mumtaz et al., 2025). This value stems from the awareness that humans cannot live as isolated individuals and constantly need harmonious relationships with others to maintain harmony and togetherness (Paramita et al., 2023). It is precisely this value that must be preserved amid the currents of globalization, which frequently push societies toward individualism (Al Fikri, 2025).

Gotong-royong is a tradition of mutual assistance and communal labor passed down across generations, carried out voluntarily and without coercion for the common good (Fusnika et al., 2022). This is reinforced by findings that *gotong-royong* represents a manifestation of social solidarity arising from mutual assistance among individuals in meeting both personal and collective needs, thereby reflecting the loyalty of each community member as part of a unified whole (Afra & Salemuddin, 2022). In rural communities, *gotong royong* is typically seen in activities such as funerals, house construction, wedding celebrations, and communal work to repair roads and public facilities (Wulandari & Trinugraha, 2025). This demonstrates that *gotong-royong* is not merely a physical activity but also reflects trust, a sense of belonging, and social responsibility that strengthen communal bonds and foster strong social harmony. Social sustainability programs run by the government, such as health insurance through BPJS (the national health insurance scheme) and social assistance, as well as corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs, contribute structural protection for residents' basic needs, such as health, education, and economic well-being, although their effectiveness remains uneven (Asante et al., 2023; Komarawati et al., 2025; Susanto et al., 2022). However, this administrative, rights-based approach does not necessarily revive the spirit of togetherness that emerges from direct interaction among community members. Such assistance often instead produces impersonal relationships, in which citizens become passive beneficiaries rather than active agents in the process of social solidarity. Communities consequently tend to rely on state institutions or corporations to resolve social problems, rather than on their own collective strength, a condition consistent with the declining community participation in collective work driven by globalization, modernization, and technological advancement (Permana et al., 2022). As a result, social capital in the form of trust, empathy, voluntary participation, and shared

responsibility continues to weaken, and *gotong-royong* as a social practice risks becoming a ceremonial activity stripped of genuine emotional and social engagement among individuals.

Nevertheless, some communities still hold firmly to the value of *gotong royong*. One of them is the Tengger community, which to this day maintains its collective traditions and culture through various customary rituals that embody the values of *gotong royong*, tolerance amid diversity, and unity and integrity (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021; Yanuarta, 2024). *Gotong-royong* is clearly manifested in customary ceremonies and daily activities involving the entire community, indicating that this value is not merely a cultural inheritance but an inseparable part of social identity as well as a spiritual obligation consciously carried out. One of its most prominent manifestations is found in the *Entas-entas* ceremony, the culminating rite in the sequence of Tengger death ceremonies, rich in values of togetherness and spiritual instruction (Supriyanto, 2021). Within this ceremony, *gotong-royong* takes concrete form through the practice of *bethek-sinoman*, mutual assistance among residents when one of them holds a ceremonial event (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021). The term *bethek* refers to the group of women, while *sinoman* refers to men, with membership that can reach 500–1,000 participants who contribute either labor or material donations. This tradition aligns with findings that community participation in *gotong-royong* activities enhances a sense of belonging to the community and fosters social empathy (Fauziah et al., 2026). All these roles are carried out on the basis of awareness and selfless social responsibility, driven not by external pressure but by a sense of ownership over shared tradition and spiritual consciousness, thereby reflecting loyalty to the values of *gotong-royong*, such as mutual assistance and the sharing of labor.

Bethek-sinoman in the Entas-entas ceremony shows that social sustainability does not always come from state policy or formal programs. It can also last through a living collective culture passed down across generations, in line with the view that local wisdom can offer solutions to global challenges amid modernization (Simanjuntak & Chintia, 2022). The practice puts solidarity, participation, and social responsibility into action (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021). This matches the idea of social sustainability as societal acceptance of the traditions and ways of life a community wants to keep (Ly & Cope, 2023), which Vallance et al. (2011) call maintenance sustainability. It also fits Dempsey et al.'s (2011) framework, which draws on Sachs's (1999, as cited in Dempsey et al., 2011) idea of cultural sustainability and organizes social sustainability around equity of access and the sustainability of community, through physical and non-physical factors. Sachs's idea further supports the

argument that balancing external change with internal social resilience is key (Sachs, 1999, as cited in Dempsey et al., 2011). In the Tengger context, *bethek-sinoman* endures through inherited customs, social adaptation, and resistance to external individualistic values, showing that communities negotiate modernization selectively rather than receive it passively. Beyond these structural factors, this sustainability also rests on networks of solidarity, ritual practice, and a shared, living collective consciousness.

Earlier studies of the Entas-entas ceremony and bethek-sinoman have looked at three things: its religious and philosophical values (Supriyanto, 2021; Abidin et al., 2023), its role in building cooperation and identity (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021), and the role of women and the village hall in keeping Tengger traditions alive (Fathi et al., 2026; Salamah & Sukmawan, 2023; Sukmawan et al., 2023). These studies explain what bethek-sinoman means, but they do not ask how it keeps going over time as a social system. Studies on sustainability in other communities also leave a gap. Järvelä (2023) notes that the cultural side of social sustainability is still unclear. Adriani (2026) studies a town, not a ritual. Tu'o et al. (2026) study another community and do not test any framework. Dempsey et al.'s (2011) framework is usually used to confirm sustainability dimensions, yet traditional communities often see sustainability in spiritual and relational terms that such frameworks miss (Sonetti-González et al., 2025)

The novelty of this study goes beyond a new object or location. First, it applies Dempsey et al.'s (2011) framework critically, not just to confirm its dimensions, but to show where this universal theory stops explaining a local cultural practice. Second, it combines the framework with ethnographic exploration to find what the framework misses. To the best of our knowledge, this approach has not been used in earlier research on *bethek-sinoman* in studies of social sustainability in indigenous traditions. Theoretically, this study extends Dempsey et al.'s (2011) framework by adding a spiritual-emotional dimension that structural indicators do not capture. Empirically, it gives the first account of *bethek-sinoman* in the *Entas-entas* ceremony through a social sustainability lens. Practically, the findings can guide local governments, customary institutions, and cultural education practitioners in designing policies to preserve local wisdom in the Tengger region. Accordingly, this study seeks to answer two central research questions: (1) how does Dempsey's social sustainability framework represent the practice of *bethek-sinoman* in the *Entas-entas* ceremony of the Tengger community? and (2) which aspects of this practice cannot be fully

explained by that structural framework, and how can an ethnographic approach enrich their understanding?

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative research design using an ethnographic approach, aimed at analyzing in depth the practice of *gotong-royong*, specifically *bethek-sinoman*, among the Tengger community during the *Entas-entas* ceremony as a form of social sustainability grounded in local wisdom. This limited ethnographic approach is consistent with qualitative research practice, which emphasizes the researcher's involvement in local sociocultural contexts (Kelly, 2022). The primary informant of this study was determined through purposive sampling, namely the *Romo Dukun Pandita*, the customary leader who directly presides over the *Entas-entas* ceremony and serves as the trusted authority in interpreting the meaning of the *bethek-sinoman* tradition. He further expressed a desire for knowledge of Tengger tradition to be not only understood by himself but also inherited and widely known, particularly among the younger generation of the Tengger community. In addition, interviews were conducted with several village residents as supporting informants to verify and confirm the consistency of the information obtained, given that villagers are the ones who directly and routinely participate in the implementation of *bethek-sinoman*

The primary instrument in this study was the researcher (human instrument), supported by a semi-structured interview guide developed prior to fieldwork based on a review of relevant literature, as well as an audio recorder used to document the interviews. In addition to interviewing, the researcher conducted direct observation by participating in the gotong-royong activities and visually documenting them using a mobile phone camera. Before each observation or interview, participants gave verbal informed consent, which was documented in the field notes. They were informed of the study's purpose, told that participation was voluntary and that they were free to decline or withdraw at any time, and told that the findings would be published. To protect participants, individuals are referred to by generic roles rather than by name, and details that could reveal someone's identity, such as the specific hamlet, family, or ritual-related information, are left out or modified. Village names are reported because community leaders agreed to their disclosure.

The first stage of data collection involved a literature review drawing on both primary and secondary sources, carried out by citing and processing data from the references identified. The subsequent stage consisted of in-depth interviews conducted in Ngadiwono

and Tosari Villages, Tosari Subdistrict, Pasuruan Regency. This study adhered to the principles of qualitative research ethics by obtaining verbal consent from informants prior to any recording or documentation of conversations, and by protecting informants' privacy through the omission of their names in the presentation of data. The validity of the data was strengthened through source triangulation, namely by comparing and verifying information obtained from the *Romo Dukun Pandita* with interview results from village residents directly and routinely involved in the implementation of bethek-sinoman, in order to ensure the consistency and validity of the findings.

Data analysis was conducted following the interactive model of Miles and Huberman (1994), consisting of three stages: (1) data reduction, involving the identification of information obtained from the literature review, reinforced by findings from the interviews; (2) data display, presented through narrative descriptions depicting the practice of *gotong-royong*, particularly *bethek-sinoman* within the *Entas-entas* ceremony and its social meaning, as well as its contribution to the development of social sustainability; and (3) conclusion drawing, by connecting the findings to Dempsey et al.'s (2011) social sustainability theory in order to identify the relationship between the development of the cultural dimension of social sustainability and the maintenance of the local value of *gotong-royong*, particularly *bethek-sinoman* within the *Entas-entas* tradition of the Tengger community.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tengger Social Order as the Root of Local Wisdom-Based Social Sustainability

The Tengger are a community living on the slopes of Mount Bromo in East Java, and are known as *Wong Tengger* (the Tengger people) (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021; Delphin & Sutisna, 2021). Their life is lived peacefully, orderly, and with great tolerance, as reflected in their ability to coexist harmoniously across faiths and to sustain social solidarity through a culture of *gotong royong* and respect for local traditions that involve community members regardless of religious differences (Rohman & Ferdayanti, 2026). This social character stems from cultural inheritance, reinforced by a collective value system that the community consciously and continuously maintains, thereby forming social capital that sustains harmony among its members. Amid the powerful currents of globalization that have eroded many local cultures without adequate preservation efforts, the Tengger community instead demonstrates the opposite pattern. They consistently uphold ancestral traditions to express or embody obedience to ancestral teachings, while these traditions also serve tangible social

functions—as collective petitions for safety, the maintenance of communal harmony, expressions of gratitude, and cultural preservation (Sukmawan et al., 2023). These functions indicate that, for *Wong Tengger*, tradition serves as an active instrument for sustaining social cohesion across generations.

This socio-cultural resilience is underpinned by a distinctive dual leadership structure: formal leadership follows the village governance system in accordance with state regulations, while non-formal leadership, comprising the *sanggar*, *dukun*, *sepuh*, and *legen*, holds independent authority over customary affairs (Sukmawan, 2023). The sanggar is responsible for determining the ceremonial calendar and serving as the site for specific *pujan* (customary rituals), the dukun leads the performance of ceremonies, while the *sepuh* and *legen* are responsible for arranging ceremonial offerings. The coexistence of these two parallel leadership systems is significant to note, as it demonstrates that customary structures have not been displaced by modern governmental structures but instead persist alongside and complement them. This pattern affirms the continued respect accorded to autonomous local institutions, which constitute a primary source of social sustainability within the Tengger community. The philosophical foundation underlying this entire order rests on three principles firmly held by the Tengger community: *prahyangan* (the relationship between humans and God), *pawongan* (relationships among human beings), and *palemahan* (the relationship between humans and nature) (Sukmawan & Alifah, 2024). These three principles are mutually reinforcing, forming a cohesive framework of values within Tengger social life. Among the three, *pawongan* is most closely and deeply rooted in the practice of *gotong-royong*, mutual trust, and collective solidarity that continue to be upheld to this day. It is precisely this value that manifests concretely in the practice of bethek-sinoman during the Entas-entas ceremony, which demands extensive social participation.

Bethek-Sinoman **as a Manifestation of** ***Gotong-Royong*** **Sustaining the Tengger Community's** ***Entas-Entas*** **Ritual**

The noble value of *gotong-royong* within the Tengger community is reflected in the pattern of their daily lives. As an ethnic group that continues to strongly uphold and preserve ancestral traditions, the Tengger community regularly holds various customary ceremonies that form an integral part of their cultural identity. The performance of these ceremonies serves as a medium for strengthening social bonds among community members, as

customary rituals are regarded as deeply rooted traditions within community life (Sukmawan et al., 2020). One clear example of a tradition that affirms the values of togetherness and mutual assistance is the *Entas-entas* ritual, a personal customary ceremony involving the participation and cooperation of the entire community. The *Entas-entas* tradition constitutes the final procession within the death ceremony sequence, intended to release or elevate the spirit of the deceased ancestor so that it may attain a better place in the afterlife (Abidin et al., 2023). The Tengger community believes that the performance of this ceremony can elevate or perfect the atma (soul) of the deceased, particularly a family member, so that it attains eternal rest. The ceremony is held on the 1,000th day, or at minimum the 44th day, after death. Given its sacred nature as the concluding procession of the entire death ceremony sequence, its implementation is carried out on a large scale; in several Tengger villages, the number of residents involved as bethek-sinoman can reach hundreds to a thousand people, not including invited guests (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021).

The series of preparations begins four months before the main event, opening with the semeninga ritual, intended to invite and inform the ancestral spirit that the ceremony will soon be held, accompanied by a request for blessing so that the procession may proceed smoothly.

> *Semeninga* is [performed] to invite the ancestral spirit, or to inform the spirit: "I will be holding the *entas-entas* ceremony; please grant your blessing for a smooth process, free of any obstacles" (RP, personal communication, November 15, 2025).

Four months before the main ceremony, the *semeninga* stage is carried out as a form of notification and a request for blessing addressed to the ancestral spirit. One month prior, the ngayu ritual is held, the felling of a tree to be used as a ceremonial component, which must first be ritually consecrated, reflecting the Tengger belief that all things in nature are to be treated as one would treat a human being and must be granted permission from the Owner of the Universe. It is at this point that the role of *bethek-sinoman* begins to be needed, through the collective labor activity known as sayan. Seven days before the main ceremony, boyong is held, the transfer of ceremonial equipment and supplies from the host family's house to the village hall, likewise carried out collectively by *bethek-sinoman*. Three days prior, all *bethek-sinoman* members who have been enlisted gather for *ngingoni anom* to assist in preparing the *Entas-entas* ceremony.

The main ceremony takes place over three days. The first day is devoted to the *Mepek* ritual, inviting the ancestral spirit to the village hall. The second day is *Prepekan* (*Mbeduduk*),

the slaughtering of a male goat believed to possess the strength to carry the ancestral spirit toward the eternal realm.

> *Semeninga* Because the [goat] is male, it is considered strong. So it is strong enough to carry the ancestral spirit (RP, personal communication, November 15, 2025)

The culmination, on the third day, is the *Nglukat* or *bawahan* ritual, symbolized through the burning of the *Petra* effigy as a representation of the ancestral spirit. Its head is made from *tlotok* leaves, signifying *telu tok* for birth, life, and death, adorned with *snikir* and *tanlayu* flowers, which respectively symbolize the reflection of good and bad, and eternity, along with *pampung* at the base, referred to in the Tengger language as *pungpung-pungpung*, interpreted as "while there is still time, while there is still opportunity." The eyes of the *Petra* effigy are typically represented using coconut leaves, though corn husks (*romot jagung*) may be substituted when unavailable. *Nglukat* functions to purify and simultaneously release the spirit toward a better realm. The contemporary performance of *Entas-entas* has undergone various adjustments that allow it to remain dynamic and flexible, even as certain obligatory elements remain non-negotiable. This flexibility itself serves as evidence that the ritual endures amid the rapid pace of change (Sukmawan et al., 2022). What distinguishes *bethek-sinoman* from solidarity in death rituals more generally is the way its involvement is distributed across an extended timeline, long before the culminating day arrives. This gradual pattern demonstrates that *gotong-royong* within *Entas-entas* operates far beyond the contribution of labor and material goods. Each stage of preparation constitutes its own space of social interaction, one that renews community members' commitment both to the grieving family and to the customary structure itself—consistent with findings that the frequency of ritual participation correlates with the level of social cohesion, and that customary rituals function as an adaptive mechanism enabling communities to maintain social order and communal identity (Tu'o et al., 2026).

A Tangible Manifestation of Solidarity and Role Distribution among the Tengger Community through *Bethek-Sinoman* in *Entas-Entas*

As a community that strongly upholds its ancestral traditions, the Tengger regularly hold various customary ceremonies that form an important part of their cultural identity (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021; Yanuarta, 2024). One of the most tangible manifestations of this value is the *Entas-entas* ritual, a death ceremony intended to absolve the sins of the ancestral spirit so that it may return in peace to *Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, and which can only be performed once the family has accumulated sufficient funds, given the considerable costs the

ceremony entails. It is at this point that the presence of bethek-sinoman becomes apparent: this tradition sustains the continuity of the event from the preparatory stage through to its execution, while simultaneously serving as a concrete manifestation of the values of gotong-royong and social solidarity. Roles within *bethek-sinoman* are distinguished by gender: the term *bethek* refers to the women who assist, while *sinoman* refers to the men (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021). The assistance provided is not limited to labor like such as cooking, arranging the venue, or serving food, but also includes material contributions in the form of staple goods and ceremonial supplies. What is particularly noteworthy is how this tradition endures even as digital technology has become part of everyday life for the Tengger community. Contrary to the common concern that devices accelerate individualism, the interview data instead reveal the opposite pattern. Children, youth, and community members across all groups consistently prioritize their bethek-sinoman duties before turning to their mobile phones.

> "So, in *bethek-sinoman*, once all the work is finished, only then do they pick up their phones" (RP, personal communication, November 15, 2025).

This statement reveals the existence of an unwritten social norm that places collective responsibility above personal interest, such that cultural resistance to the pull of individualism unfolds organically, without the need for formal rules or explicit sanctions. It is precisely at this point that the social strength of *bethek-sinoman* becomes evident, for it endures not because it is enforced by formal regulation, but because it has become embedded in a work ethic understood and internalized by each individual.

The role of women within *bethek-sinoman* reveals a division of labor that tends to place women in charge of domestic responsibilities and food provisioning. The interview data show women's involvement across a range of tasks, such as preparing cakes, cooking, and preparing and serving food and drink.

> "So if you compare the tasks, the heavier ones fall to the women like making cakes, cooking, preparing meals, making drinks, all of that is done by the women" (RP, personal communication, November 15, 2025)

This important role of women is inseparable from local mythology, in which the Tengger people believe that the character of their women is an inheritance from the ancestor Roro Anteng, which leads them to live with discipline and hard work, yet still with sincerity (Ramiyati et al., 2022). This image also shapes the view of Tengger women as resilient figures who are able to carry out a wide range of work (Sukmawan et al., 2023). This is reflected in *bethek-sinoman*, in which women take part through *bethek* in the preparation work for

ceremonial feasts (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021). This unwavering commitment to collective values demonstrates that social sustainability within the Tengger community does not operate neutrally or automatically. It is sustained by informally binding social norms like such as the expectation to remain engaged in communal activities despite the advance of technology, together with cultural narratives that shape the meaning attributed to women's roles, as reflected in perceptions surrounding the figure of Roro Anteng. The combination of these two forces helps explain the persistence of bethek-sinoman amid the tide of modernization, such that the practice continues to be sustained through local values and norms deeply rooted in the life of the Tengger community.

The Socio-Cultural Sustainability of the Tengger Community Grounded in the Principle of *Pawongan*

The traditions that continue to be preserved by the Tengger community to this day provide a strong foundation for a social structure imbued with local cultural values. The Tengger are one of Indonesia's indigenous communities capable of consistently maintaining their social structure, cultural values, and ancestral belief system amid the currents of modernization and globalization. This resilience is evident both in the preservation of customary ceremonies and in the way the community manages collective and continuous social life, making this value a genuine representation of socio-cultural sustainability. This pattern is consistent with findings that indigenous communities frequently serve as genuine drivers of sustainable development through the collective knowledge and practices they maintain (Bansal, 2024). Cultural sustainability constitutes a core component of sustainable development, as culture functions as a system of meaning that guides human behavior (Ly & Cope, 2023). This principle is clearly evident within the Tengger community, which treats culture and spirituality as its primary guide in relating to both nature and fellow human beings, such that every social activity, whether religious ceremony or *gotong-royong* is grounded in the value of harmony among humans, nature, and *Sang Hyang Widhi*. This constitutes a guiding life principle for the Tengger people in their daily lives and demonstrates that social sustainability in Tengger is firmly rooted in local spirituality, which naturally cultivates solidarity and a sense of social responsibility.

Of the three guiding life principles held by the Tengger community, *prahyangan* (the relationship between humans and God), *pawongan* (relationships among human beings), and *palemahan* (the relationship between humans and nature), *pawongan* is the most

relevant for understanding the roots of *gotong-royong* in *bethek-sinoman*, as explained by the *Romo Dukun Pandita* of Ngadiwono Village:

> "The harmonious way in which one human relates to another is called *pawongan*, because a human being cannot live without other human beings. From birth, emerging from the mother's womb, this already involves other people, and it continues to involve the intervention of others up until death. That is why the relationship between one human being and another is so important" (RP, personal communication, May 25, 2025).

Gotong-royong is positioned here not merely as a cultural habit but as a logical consequence of the very existential condition of human beings. Dependence on others, according to this framework, begins at the moment of birth and continues through to death, when burial and rituals such as Entas-entas likewise require collective labor. Within this framework, pawongan can be understood as a comprehensive philosophical foundation for gotong-royong, positioning it as a reflection of the fundamental structure of human existence, which is inherently relational from the outset

The application of *pawongan* in the daily life of the Tengger community represents a social system grounded in kinship and solidarity. Every community member holds a clearly defined social role and participates in the performance of rituals on a rotating basis, making ritual an integral part of the social system that sustains the continuity of their culture. This value also underlies the practice of *gotong-royong* in customary ceremonies, including the contribution of goods known as gegawan (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021). The internalization of this value begins at an early age, when children are involved in activities such as sayan and *bethek-sinoman*, making collective participation part of an identity-formation process that begins in childhood and thereby produces a deeply rooted collective memory (Wardani, 2023).

> "You understand it yourself ‘why, at this age, if you don't bring something along, you'd be too embarrassed to go to the village hall’. So it's already ingrained: 'I don't want to go to the village hall if I don't have anything to bring'" (RP, personal communication, November 15, 2025).

The norm of bringing *gegawan* has become part of an internalized sense of shame, in which residents no longer feel merely observed but genuinely feel the need to bring something. This sense of shame must be interpreted with care, as it can be read in two ways. On one hand, it demonstrates that the value of pawongan has become deeply embedded within residents, to the point of forming part of their identity. On the other hand, shame can also function as a form of social pressure, in which residents who do not participate risk moral sanctions in the form of shame or a decline in social status, as found in *gotong royong* traditions in other Javanese villages (Wulandari & Trinugraha, 2025). In other words, this

finding opens up two possible readings simultaneously: participation in *bethek-sinoman* may stem from genuine collective consciousness, or it may equally be driven by fear of social judgment for non-participation.

Bethek-Sinoman in the *Entas-Entas* Ceremony and the Reach and Limits of Dempsey's Social Sustainability Framework

Social sustainability is a systemic process that sustains social activity within a community while maintaining the stability of values that uphold the entire cultural order, ensuring it remains rooted in everyday life (Ly & Cope, 2023). Vallance, Perkins, and Dixon (2011) divide social sustainability into three foundations: development (the fulfillment of basic needs), bridge (behavioral change toward biophysical environmental balance), and maintenance (social acceptance of the traditions and ways of life that communities seek to preserve). The customary rituals of the Tengger community, including *bethek-sinoman* within the *Entas-entas* ceremony, are most appropriately situated within this third foundation, as what is being preserved here is the way of life and the system of meaning itself, as upheld by the community. Culture functions both as a shaper of values inherited from ancestors and as a guide for everyday behavior (Dempsey et al., 2011)—an idea directly validated by the field findings of this study, in which the principle of pawongan, as explained by the dukun pandita in Ngadiwono, serves as a life guide that is genuinely enacted in the daily practice of *bethek-sinoman*. Separately, Dempsey, Bramley, Power, and Brown (2011) delineate four principles of social sustainability: equitable access, community sustainability, physical and non-physical factors, and social inclusion free from discrimination.

Behind the implementation of *bethek-sinoman* in preparing for the *Entas-entas* ceremony lies a recurring pattern: anyone may participate regardless of religion or social status, yet once involved in the work itself, tasks are divided along gender lines, women manage the kitchen and ceremonial offerings, while men are responsible for transport and construction work (Bahar & Sukmawan, 2021). Residents bring gegawan because a sense of discomfort at arriving empty-handed has become deeply ingrained, an impulse that operates without any explicit request from anyone. All of this rests upon an unspoken belief that today's assistance will eventually be reciprocated, when it is one's own turn to hold a ceremonial event (Sukmawan et al., 2023). Dempsey et al.'s (2011) concept of equitable access can account for the first phenomenon, in which participation in bethek-sinoman is open to anyone, without selection based on religion, education, or social status. This concept,

however, becomes less adequate for explaining what occurs once an individual becomes involved in the cultural practice itself. Dempsey does not explain why women bear a heavier workload within *bethek-sinoman*. This important role of women is inseparable from local mythology, in which the Tengger people believe that the character of their women is an inheritance from the ancestor Roro Anteng, leading them to live steadfastly, with hard work, and still with sincerity (Ramiyati et al., 2022).

Dempsey's emphasis, within the concept of community sustainability, on social networks and reciprocal trust is reasonably well-suited to reading the pattern of reciprocity within *bethek-sinoman*, in which assistance flows because of an expectation of future repayment, an expectation strong enough to keep residents engaged even as technology has become part of daily life. However, Dempsey et al. (2011) overlook another side of this reciprocity: residents who do not take part risk moral sanctions in the form of shame or a decline in social standing within the community, a pattern of social sanction also found in other *gotong royong* communities (Wulandari & Trinugraha, 2025). The social network that Dempsey reads as a source of community strength functions, in the field, in a dual capacity, also serving as a form of control that pressures anyone wishing to step outside that circle. The sense of shame embedded in bethek-sinoman participation points to one aspect that Dempsey's framework cannot fully account for. When a resident states that they would feel reluctant to attend the village hall without bringing gegawan, this reflects a social norm that has infiltrated the personal, emotional domain, felt as a matter of self-worth rather than an externally imposed rule. Dempsey's framework provides a vocabulary for observing what occurs structurally: who participates, how roles are distributed, how networks are formed. That vocabulary, however, stops just short of the question of why individuals feel so deeply bound to such norms. This reveals that Dempsey's framework is useful as a tool for tracing the social patterns visible on the surface of *bethek-sinoman*, who is involved, how roles and social networks take shape. Once the inquiry moves into the territory of motive, belief, and collective emotion that drives continued participation, however, the framework is unable to reach it. *Bethek-sinoman* demonstrates that social sustainability, as it operates in the field, extends far beyond the socio-cultural sustainability framework, reaching a deeper level, one in which compliance, shame, and ancestral belief work in concert to form a system that resists being fully mapped through external academic categories alone.

These findings contribute is a proposed extension of Dempsey et al.'s (2011) framework so that it can be used to examine social sustainability in customary and local-

knowledge contexts. Theoretically, Dempsey et al.'s (2011) framework captures the visible structure of *bethek-sinoman* but not why people stay bound to it. We therefore propose adding a spiritual-emotional dimension that covers ancestral belief (the Roro Anteng heritage behind women's roles), shame and self-worth (the *gegawan* norm), and internalized obligation (setting phones aside until communal work is done). Open participation also coexists with a gendered division of labor that is explained by local belief and meaning rather than by access or equity alone. Conceptually, social sustainability here is carried inside people, not only built through institutions. Maintenance sustainability (Vallance et al., 2011) is kept alive by internalized norms and by months-long staged participation that renews community commitment, supported by customary institutions working alongside the village government. Practically, sustaining *bethek-sinoman* depends on informal norms and shared meanings, so local governments, customary institutions, and cultural educators should work through the customary structure rather than replace these norms with formal rules. Involving children early is a key way these norms are passed on (Wardani, 2023), and women's roles should be understood and supported on the community's own terms.

CONCLUSION

This study examined how far Dempsey et al.'s (2011) framework can explain social sustainability in *bethek-sinoman* within the *Entas-entas* ceremony. The framework maps the visible structure of the practice, namely open participation across religion, education, and economic status, and staged participation that renews community bonds over several months. It does not, however, explain why people remain bound to the practice. The most significant finding is that *bethek-sinoman* is sustained by a spiritual-emotional attachment to ancestors and kin that is carried inside people: belief in an inherited ancestral trait that shapes women's roles, shame and self-worth tied to the *gegawan* norm, and an obligation to finish communal work before turning to personal activities. This finding is ambivalent. The same shame that signals internalized *pawongan* may also work as social pressure on those who do not take part, so participation may stem from genuine collective consciousness, from fear of judgment, or from both. Social sustainability in customary communities therefore needs to be read through universal frameworks as structural maps, complemented by ethnographic attention to the local meanings that lie beyond them.

This study is not without limitations. Data collection relied primarily on a single key informant, the Romo Dukun Pandita, supplemented by a small number of village residents as supporting informants, and was confined to two villages: Ngadiwono and Tosari, within Tosari Subdistrict, Pasuruan Regency. As such, the findings may not fully capture variations in the practice of bethek-sinoman that could exist across other Tengger villages. Future research would benefit from a broader ethnographic scope, involving a greater number of key informants across multiple locations, as well as from the use or development of theoretical frameworks that more deliberately accommodate the spiritual-emotional dimensions of indigenous social sustainability, dimensions that structural frameworks such as Dempsey's were not designed to capture. Future studies also need not be confined to the practice of *bethek-sinoman* within the *Entas-entas* ceremony alone, given the likelihood of other customary ceremonies with similarly patterned forms of *gotong-royong* that remain largely unexamined, whether within the Tengger community or among other indigenous communities in Indonesia. These findings are expected to serve as a reference for local governments, customary institutions, and cultural education practitioners in formulating policies for the sustainable preservation of tradition and local wisdom. That such preservation cannot rely solely on structural access and inclusion, but must also depend on sustaining the spiritual and emotional bonds that give these traditions their enduring resilience.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank the individuals and institutions who supported the completion of this study through academic, technical, or administrative assistance, particularly the Romo Dukun Pandita of Ngadiwono Village for his willingness to serve as the primary informant and for providing access to, and deep understanding of, the bethek-sinoman tradition and the Entas-entas ceremony, as well as the residents of Ngadiwono and Tosari Villages, Tosari Subdistrict, Pasuruan Regency, for granting permission and participating throughout the data collection process. The authors also sincerely appreciate the constructive comments and suggestions provided by the anonymous reviewers and editors, which have substantially improved the quality of this manuscript. This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

DECLARATIONS

Ethical considerations

No formal ethics committee approval was sought for this research, as it was conducted as a small-scale ethnographic inquiry relying on voluntary participation and interviews. Ethical safeguards were nonetheless observed throughout the fieldwork: each informant provided oral consent before any interview or recording took place, and confidentiality was maintained by withholding informants' names when presenting the study's findings.

Use of artificial intelligence (AI)

An AI-based language model, Claude (Anthropic), was employed solely to assist with translating the manuscript from Indonesian into academic English and refining its grammar and phrasing. It played no role in shaping the study's conceptual framework, data collection, analysis, interpretation, or conclusions, all of which remain entirely the authors' own work and responsibility.

Conflict of Interest

The authors report no financial or personal relationships that could have inappropriately influenced this work.

Funding

No external funding or financial assistance was received in support of this research.

REFERENCE

Abidin, M. I., Putri, V. E., Hasyim, A., Thalares, T. D., Nathasia, H., & Luhur, G. J. A. (2023). Relasi tanda dan nilai filosofis piranti tradisi Entas-Entas suku Tengger: Kajian antropolinguistik. *Nuansa Indonesia, 25*(2), 202–213. https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/ni

Adriani, M. A. D. R. (2026). Dinamika kearifan lokal perkotaan: Solidaritas dan toleransi sosial di Tanjung Redeb. *SOSMANIORA: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora, 5*(1), 252–261. https://doi.org/10.55123/sosmaniora.v5i1.7615

Afra, M., & Salemuddin, M. R. (2022). Solidaritas sosial masyarakat petani di Desa Golo Lalong Kecamatan Borong Kabupaten Manggarai Timur Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur. *Jurnal Cakrawala Ilmiah, 1*(7), 1723-1736. https://doi.org/10.53625/jcijurnalcakrawalailmiah.v1i7.1789

Al Fikri, M. F. (2025). Memudarnya nilai-nilai gotong royong pada era globalisasi. *Muta'allim: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam, 3*(12). URL: https://urj.uin-malang.ac.id/index.php/mij/article/view/18674

Amanina, S. A., Amelia, S. D., Putri, D. L., Lestari, L. R., & Nugraha, R. G. (2022). Degradasi kesadaran masyarakat terhadap pentingnya gotong royong di Desa Wanajaya

Kecamatan Kasokandel Kabupaten Majalengka. *Jurnal Kewarganegaraan,* 6(2). 2089-2094. https://doi.org/10.31316/jk.v6i1.2930

Asante, A., Cheng, Q., Susilo, D., Satrya, A., Haemmerli, M., Fattah, R. A., Kosen, S., Novitasari, D., Puteri, G. C., Adawiyah, E., Hayen, A., Mills, A., Tangcharoensathien, V., Jan, S., Thabrany, H., & Wiseman, V. (2023). The benefits and burden of health financing in Indonesia: Analyses of nationally representative cross-sectional data. *The Lancet Global Health, 11(5),* e770–e780. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(23)00064-5

Bahar, Z. R., & Sukmawan, S. (2021). Bethek-Sinoman: Memupuk gotong royong, menopang anjangsana, dan memelihara jati diri masyarakat Tengger. *Sosioglobal: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Penelitian Sosiologi, 6(1)*, 11. https://doi.org/10.24198/jsg.v6i1.28788.

Bansal, S., Sarker, T., Yadav, A., Garg, I., Gupta, M., & Sarvaiya, H. (2024). Indigenous communities and sustainable development: A review and research agenda. *Global Business and Organizational Excellence, 43*(4), 65-87. https://doi.org/10.1002/joe.22237

Barron, P., Cord, L., Cuesta, J., Espinoza, S. A., Larson, G., & Woolcock, M. (2025). Social sustainability and the development process: what is it, why does it matter, and how can it be enhanced?. *Oxford Development Studies, 53*(3), 222-237. https://doi.org/10.1080/13600818.2025.2502971

Delphin, J., & Sutisna, S. (2021). Semerbak harum sang kusuma: Wadah pelestarian seni dan budaya suku Tengger di puncak Bromo. *Jurnal Sains, Teknologi, Urban, Perancangan, Arsitektur (Stupa), 3*(2), 1567-1580. https://doi.org/10.24912/stupa.v3i2.12290

Dempsey, N., Bramley, G., Power, S., & Brown, C. (2011). The social dimension of sustainable development: Defining urban social sustainability. *Sustainable Development, 19(5),* 289–300. https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.417

Esteves, A. M., Genus, A., Henfrey, T., Penha-Lopes, G., & East, M. (2021). Sustainable entrepreneurship and the Sustainable Development Goals: Community-led initiatives, the social solidarity economy and commons ecologies. *Business Strategy and the Environment, 30*(3), 1423–1435. https://doi.org/10.1002/bse.2706

Fathi, R. L. A., Salamah, Satwika, P. W., Salma, W., Sutopo, F. Z. S., & Sukmawan, S. (2026). Language preservation and cultural continuity: The Tengger Javanese dialect and the role of tradition in its sustenance. *Waskita: Jurnal Pendidikan Nilai dan Pembangunan Karakter, 10*(1). https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.waskita.2026.010.01.2

Fauziah, J., Padillah, T. P., Ghoib, A. R., & Annas, I. A. (2026). Tradisi gotong royong sebagai cerminan moderasi beragama. *Jurnal Indonesia Studi Moderasi Beragama*, *3*(1), 29-38. https://doi.org/10.64420/jismb.v3i1.405

Fusnika, F., Hartini, A., & Cahyati, M. A. (2022). Implementasi nilai gotong royong dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat (studi kasus kegiatan kerja bakti di RT/RW: 009/002 Dusun Keladan Tunggal Desa Mertiguna Kecamatan Sintang). *JURNAL PEKAN: Jurnal Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan*, 7(1), 15-28. https://doi.org/10.31932/jpk.v7i1.1628

Järvelä, M. (2023). Dimensions of cultural sustainability: Local adaptation, adaptive capacity and social resilience. *Frontiers in Political Science, 5*, Article 1285602. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2023.1285602

Kastner, K., & Matthies, E. (2023). On the importance of solidarity for transforming social systems towards sustainability. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 90, 102067. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2023.102067

Kelly, L. M. (2022). Focused ethnography for research on community development non-profit organisations. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 23*(2), Article 3. https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-22.2.3811

Komarawati, K., Nurdin, M. F., Gunawan, W., & Nurwati, R. N. (2025). Transformative capacity to build an adaptive society resilience during crisis: Evidence from conditional cash transfer/PKH Indonesia. *Frontiers in Sociology, 10,* 1507177. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2025.1507177

Lase, R. R. P., Ndraha, A. B., Waruwu, M. H., & Waruwu, R. M. P. (2025). Peran pemerintah desa dalam menghadapi perubahan budaya gotong royong di Desa Hiligara Kecamatan Gunungsitoli Selatan. Arus Jurnal Sosial dan Humaniora, 5(2), 3333-3342. https://doi.org/10.57250/ajsh.v5i2.1653

Ly, A. M., & Cope, M. R. (2023). New conceptual model of social sustainability: Review from past concepts and ideas. International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 20(7), 5350. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20075350

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.

Mumtaz A., M. L., Sajieda, L., Nur Abdillah, M. T., & Layli, H. Z. (2025). Membumikan tradisi gotong royong dikalangan mahasiswa Ma'had Aly Sunan Ampel UIN Malang. JPNM Jurnal Pustaka Nusantara Multidisiplin, 3(2). https://doi.org/10.59945/jpnm.v3i2.517

Murtadlo, M., Albana, H., Helmy, M. I., Libriyanti, Y., Izazy, N. Q., & Saloom, G. (2024). Preserving the gotong royong character for Indonesian Gen-Z in the digital era. *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education, 13*(3), 1631-1640. https://doi.org/10.11591/ijere.v13i3.27175

Paramita, A. O., Partelow, S., Schlüter, A., & Buhari, N. (2023). Can the Indonesian collective action norm of Gotong-Royong be strengthened with economic incentives? *International Journal of the Commons, 17*(1), 462-480. https://doi.org/10.5334/ijc.1273

Permana, D. D., Legowo, E., Suwarno, P., Widodo, P., Saragih, H. R. J., & Aris, T. (2022). Globalisasi dan lunturnya budaya gotong royong masyarakat DKI Jakarta. Jurnal Kewarganegaraan, 6(2), 5256–5261. https://doi.org/10.31316/jk.v6i2.3155

Putri, D., Lessy, Z., & Thadi, R. (2022). Implementing family hope program in increasing health and education for the very poor household. *Empati: Jurnal Ilmu Kesejahteraan Sosial, 11*(1), 17-25. https://doi.org/10.15408/empati.v11i1.22457

Ramiyati, A., Nisa, F. C., Jakti, S. S., & Kutanegara, P. M. (2022). Manifestasi folklor Roro Anteng: Signifikansi peran perempuan dalam kehidupan Masyarakat Tengger. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 11(1), 82-92. https://doi.org/10.23887/jish.v11i1.39093

Rohman, T. N., & Ferdayanti, F. F. (2026). Kearifan lokal dalam membangun harmoni masyarakat multireligius Suku Tengger. *Tafáqquh: Jurnal Penelitian dan Kajian Keislaman, 14*(1). 204-219. https://doi.org/10.52431/tafaqquh.v14i1.4656

Salamah, S., & Sukmawan, S. (2023). Bale Desa and Pawonan Tengger: Reflections on managerial order, sociocultural integration, and language defense practices. *Proceedings of ICON LATERALS 2022*. EAI. https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.5-11-2022.2329463

Simanjuntak, A. S. H., & Chintia, Y. (2022). Local wisdom untuk solusi masyarakat global. JURRISH, 1(2), 15–24. https://doi.org/10.55606/jurrish.v1i2.151

Sonetti-González, T., de Aguiar, A. P. D., de Henn, F., Ferreira da Silva, L. F. C., da Silva, D. C., Mancilla García, M., & Bastos Lima, M. G. (2025). Communal sustainable development

goals, belonging and involvement: Engaging with the SDGs. *People and Nature*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1002/pan3.70225

Sukmawan, S., & Alifah, N. (2024). Harmonisasi manusia dengan alam dan ekologi: kajian atas budaya tamping di Masyarakat Tengger. *Jurnal Kawistara*,*14*(2),186-197. https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.89093

Sukmawan, S., Firdaus, E. N., Salamah, & Ramadhani, A. K. (2022). Mendaras puja, mengemas tamasya. Universitas Brawijaya Press (UB Press).

Sukmawan, S., Firdaus, E. N., & Setyowati, L. (2023). "Bale desa"; Preservation of cultural values and women's leadership in Tengger, East Java, Indonesia. *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia, 24*(2), Article 6. https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v24i2.1218

Supriyanto, R. (2021). Nilai-nilai pendidikan agama hindu dalam upacara entas-entas masyarakat Suku Tengger Dusun Ledok Desa Kayukebek Kecamatan Tutur Kabupaten Pasuruan. *Widya Aksara: Jurnal Agama Hindu, 26*(2), 132-139. https://doi.org/10.54714/widyaaksara.v26i2.158

Susanto, Y. K., Rudyanto, A., & Rahayuningsih, D. A. (2022). Redefining the concept of local wisdom-based CSR and its practice. *Sustainability, 14*(19), Article 12069. https://doi.org/10.3390/su141912069

Tu'o, D. I., Tjang, Y. S., & Yuswanto, F. (2026). Kepercayaan adat Dayak Tomun: Mekanisme solidaritas sosial, kontrol non-formal, dan adaptasi budaya di era modernisasi. *Filosofi: Publikasi Ilmu Komunikasi, Desain, Seni Budaya, 3*(1), 01-11. https://doi.org/10.62383/filosofi.v3i1.1041

Vallance, S., Perkins, H. C., & Dixon, J. E. (2011). What is social sustainability? A clarification of concepts. *Geoforum, 42*(3), 342–348. 10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.01.002

Wardani, F. K. (2023). Peran tradisi Sayan dalam mempertahankan solidaritas masyarakat Dusun Cangkring Kedunglosari Tembelang Jombang. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Ilmu Ilmu Sosial (SNIIS)*, 2, 324–334. https://proceeding.unesa.ac.id/index.php/sniis/article/view/812

Wulandari, D. R., & Trinugraha, Y. H. (2025). From collective solidarity to rational participation: Transforming the Royongan Omah tradition in Ngasinan Village, Indonesia. *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Indonesia, 6(1),* 29–41. https://doi.org/10.22373/jsai.v6i1.6660

Yanuarta, F. (2024). Nilai-nilai kebudayaan dan implementasi Pancasila dalam upacara Kasada suku Tengger. *Bhineka Tunggal Ika: Kajian Teori dan Praktik Pendidikan PKn, 11*(1), 106-113. 10.36706/jbti.v11i1.43