

# Religion and The Indigenous Traditions Trap: Islamic Social Construction of The Existence Traditional Rituals in Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village, East Java, Indonesia

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## Abstract

*This study analyzes the social construction of Islamic values in three religious traditions in Ngadas traditional tourism village, East Java, Indonesia. Previous research in this field has focused on developing indigenous tourism villages based on religious moderation. However, there has been no deeper research related to the social construction of Islamic values in Muslim communities amid the existence of various traditional rituals that are preserved. The purpose of this study is to find the classification of Muslim communities in Ngadas traditional tourism village in interpreting and responding to the existence of local customs rituals amid their beliefs in carrying out Islamic law. Qualitative research methods are used by in-depth interviews and observations on each religious practice and traditional ritual. The results found that various traditional rituals could not be separated from the commitment of the Tengger tribe community originating from three religions, namely Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. In addition, this study reveals that there has been a classification of Muslim types of society into three parts, namely: a) Normative-theological-conservative; b) Sociological-pragmatic-calculative; c) Sociological-empirical-intuitive. This study recommends further research that considers the development of the muslim Tengger tribe community spread across several other regions more broadly both in terms of practice and understanding.*

**Keywords:** *Social Construction, Islamic Values, Selamatan Ritual, Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village*

## INTRODUCTION

Research on the Tengger Tribe community has been conducted by Robert Hefner since the 1980's entitled Hindu Javanese: Tengger Tradition and Islam (1985) and The Political Economy of Mountain Java (1990) has contributed knowledge related to the connectedness of the Tengger Tribe community and Islamic history in Indonesia. The meeting of these two cultures then gave birth to the phenomenon of "Javanese Islam" and gave birth to a distinctive Tengger Tribe cultural identity (Qurtuby & Kholiludin, 2020; Tirtosudarmo, 2021). This is one of the reasons why the Tengger Tribe community in Ngadas is currently colored by various differences both in terms of understanding and practice.

Since the beginning of the development of Tengger Tribe Muslims in Ngadas Village, modification of religious practices and symbols has colored the lives of the community. As a syncretic phenomenon that has been studied by Geertz, C (2013), which divides Javanese Islamic society into three types (Abangan, Santri, and Priyayi). This is because the true teachings of Islam have been mixed with the belief system, traditions and culture of the Javanese people from the relics of Hindu-Buddhist cultural traditions, even the old belief system, namely animism and dynamism (Ali Maksum; 2015). In its development, these various traditions and rituals are now used as tourism attractions that support the economy of the Tengger Tribe in Ngadas (Rhiza et.al; 2023).

In contrast to Woodward in Ali Maksum (2015) who divided the Islamic community in Java into two parts, namely normative Islam and kebatinan Islam. A small group of Muslim societies with modern thinking that

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developed in the Middle East are categorized as normative Islam, while most Muslim societies with Javanese cultural acculturation patterns fall into the category of kebatinan Islam. In line with Kamal's research (2016) which found that there has been a division of society based on its interpretation of Islamic and Javanese shari'a, namely as follows: a) People who practice Islamic teachings by being cautious in responding to local traditions and cultures, especially those that smell of superstition and khurafat and shirk; b) Moderate society using the bil-hikmah method of da'wah i.e. to follow local traditions and culture wisely; c) a society that accepts syncretism as a whole.

But as far as research has ever existed, it is not yet known how the construction of Tengger Tribe Muslims in the Ngadas traditional tourism village is currently in responding to traditional ritual practices that have become part of tourism attractions in improving their socio-economic conditions. This study aims to respond to the shortcomings of existing research because it ignores the social construction of a group of Muslim communities adhering to the majority of Islam in Ngadas traditional village. In addition to wanting to answer the social construction of Muslim communities, this study will also look at the factors that influence the existence of customary rituals and will answer the implications of the existence of traditional rituals on socio-economic in Ngadas Traditional Village. The results of the analysis of this question allow a new perspective for the muslim community as a subjective view in the social environment of the Ngadas indigenous village community. The results of this study are expected to be the basis for a better Islamic religious orientation without neglecting traditions that are still in line with Islamic values. This research is based on an argument that the social construction of Islamic values in society can occur in various ways as society gives its subjective views on religion and customary rituals.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The concept of social construction in various studies is widely studied with the perspective of social reality construction theory proposed by Berger (1966). His theory proposes three components, namely the moment of externalization, the moment of objectivation, and the moment of internalization. In addition, in social construction theory can see how society will act and respond to what is faced. The construction process will take place dialectical social interaction consisting of three concepts, namely a) Objective reality is a complexity of the definition of reality from an action and behavior that has been established patterned, all resulting from the appreciation of individuals in general as a fact; b) Symbolic reality is all symbolic expressions of what it has lived as objective reality; c) Subjective reality is a construction of a definition of reality that each individual has then constructed through the process of internalization.

It is this subjective reality that each individual has as a basis for engaging in the process of externalization. After understanding the concept of this social construction theory it can then be understood that a reality is double-faced. This means that everyone has a different construction of reality. Everyone has different experiences, associations, education and social environments. In the end, it will provide an interpretation of social reality with its own construction model (Septian and Fauzi; 2022). As for according to Berger (1966) during the process of mutual interaction, typification will form in specific behavior patterns. This means that when habituation and typification have been formed and institutionalized, an objective reality will occur. Then habituation or habitualization occurs due to the intersubjective deposition of several individuals, namely a group of individuals who have the same historical background and experience through complex symbols. The typification process according to Berger (1966) is all behavior that follows the role, and the role will adjust to the role rules that exist in the institution without exception. (Albaihaqi, et al, 2022). In the context of this study, Islamic social construction is intended as a form and meaning obtained from the Islamic community in representing their beliefs and actions towards religion in the midst of various rites.

The concept of ritual leads to a real behavior in the life of religious and cultured people. In line with Geertz's opinion (2013) about the existence of rites, selamatan or traditional ceremonies are human efforts to seek safety, peace and preserve the cosmos. Selamatan in various studies is a tradition that has positive value because it teaches humans to share, establish harmony and friendship and pray for the deceased (Awwalin, 2018; Anma Muniri, 2020). Selamatan itself according to the Javanese is a ritual in which there are various kinds of symbols

as a medium to get closer to the powerful. Ritual symbols constitute the reality of Javanese society which includes the influence of assimilation between Hinduism and Javanese, Buddhist and Javanese, Islam and Javanese integrated into mystical cultural discourse (Sholikhin, 2010). Selamatan ceremonies can be classified into 4 types, it is based on events that occur in the daily life of mankind. 1) selamatan related to one's life (seven months of pregnancy, birth, first haircut, first touching the ground, ear piercing, circumcision, and death warning); 2) selamatan related to village clean (agricultural tillage, and after harvest); 3) selamatan associated with religious holidays and months; 4) Events related to certain events (long trips, occupying new homes, rejecting logs and so on (Amin, 2017).

The concept of a traditional tourism village includes an agrarian nuanced area that is used as a tourist attraction because it has a beautiful natural attraction, and also has characteristics that are thick with various traditional ritual traditions. Ngadas traditional village with an area of 414.00 (ha) is one of the 17 villages with the farthest distance from the capital of Poncokusumo District. Since 2014 Ngadas village has been designated as a tourist village by the Malang Regency government. This village is included in the territorial area of Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park (TNBTS) at an altitude of 2,150 meters (Malangkab.bps.go.id). The village, which has won three consecutive awards as an indigenous tourism village by the Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Indonesia through the Indonesia Sustainable Tourism Award (ISTA), continues to strive to preserve and develop its local wisdom. Various literature that studies the Tengger tribe community in general cannot be separated from the special characteristics of both religious aspects and traditional traditions. Many studies have proven the great power of cultural traditions derived from the teachings of their ancestors. This cultural tradition is inseparable from the role of traditional figures (shamans) who overshadow the three religions adopted by their communities. Even according to Fitria (2023), this cultural tradition has legal powers, both physical, penalal, social, and metaphysical as well as thick spiritual beliefs. The strength of tradition believed by the people of the Tengger Tribe to be a peacemaker and harmony in its pluralistic environment. Widiatmoko et.all (2023), found that the Tengger Tribe strongly upholds customary laws and norms as an identity above their religious beliefs. Even people understand customary laws better than they understand their religion. In addition, it is in line with the research of Lidiawati et.all (2023), about the community in Poncokusumo District which combines Islamic culture such as zakat, infaq, sadaqah and waqf with local culture such as the practice of tahlilan, suranan, tupatan, selamatan and so on which always gets a positive response from the local community. This positive response is a supporting factor for the existence of values from several elements of religion into a local culture.

## **RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES OF DATA**

This study was conducted to determine the social construction of Islamic values in the Tengger Tribe community in Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village in the midst of the development and existence of traditional ritual traditions. This research was conducted during the development of traditional rituals which were massively used as part of the attractions of tourism activities. The focus of research is carried out on the practice of Muslim religious rituals because of the main considerations: 1). The religious development of Muslim communities continues to be a hot discussion; so it is important to study the construction of Islamic shari'a in Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village because it is still not studied in depth; 2). Traditional rituals have a strong magnetic power on the Tengger Tribe community in the Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village which is important to explore the implications for the purification of the aqidah of a large group of Tengger tribal Islamic communities.

This research is not only qualitative descriptive with a case study approach but also relies on primary and secondary data. The primary data used in this study were obtained through structured and unstructured observations and interviews with adherents of Muslims in Ngadas Traditional Village. The selection of informants in this study focused on a small group of Muslims who also actively followed a series of traditional ritual traditions in the Ngadas traditional tourism village. The interview questions focused on three contexts underlying the construction of Islamic shari'a in the midst of the development of customary rituals, namely: 1) Islamic social construction in the existence of customary rituals; 2) factors causing the existence of customary rituals; 3) the implications of the existence of customary rituals for the socio-economic development of the community. These three focuses were chosen to be studied in order to understand the meaning and behavior

of adherents of Islam of the Tengger Ngadas Tribe. In line with this, secondary data in this study was obtained through reading relevant websites, books, and journal articles.

The data analysis process is carried out as in the book Helaluddin and Hengki Wijaya (2019), namely by categorizing data based on type and type, both related to meaning and behavior in the context of Islamic shari'a, as well as customary ritual behavior. The next step is to verify the data by drawing conclusions from the data summarized based on predefined categories. The final step involves presenting the data by describing the findings and presenting them in tabular form, accompanied by excerpts from the interview content as a key finding in this study. The data is then analyzed using an inductive approach, giving it a foundation to then interpret the data. The process of interpretation begins with the current conditions and socio-cultural situations and contexts. Conclusions can then be formulated as in the context of Islamic shari'a and customary rituals.

## **FINDINGS**

Since the Government of Indonesia established five official religions recognized through Law 1/PNPS/1965 which contains demands for every citizen to be able to embrace one of the five religions, the Tengger tribe community who had previously embraced the ancestral religion "Budho Jowo Sonyoto" since the 70's began to transition from monoreligious to multireligious through the conversion of the Tengger Tribe into three major religions, namely Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism (Setyabudi; 2022). Along with the development of technology and information, the Tengger Tribe community has gradually changed, especially in the context of religious beliefs. As research by Setyabudi, M.N.P (2022), states that the Tengger tribe who live in Ngadas traditional tourism village are the majority of Muslims (50%) concentrated in Ijo Distance Village, while Buddhists (40%) and Hindus (10%) are concentrated in Ngadas village.

Although there have been many studies that show the strength of indigenous traditions that bind the plurality of Tengger people spread across four regions in East Java, there is still a faith-based communal character. This is in line with Setyabudi (2022), findings that there is a Buddhist Tengger tribe who concentrates their domicile in Malang Regency and its surroundings. While in some other areas the Tengger tribe community is concentrated Hindu. So that a name appears that represents the Tengger Tribe in a certain area. As the Tengger Tribe in Ngadas village tends to be inseparable from the title "East Java Ngadas Tengger People".

From some of the explanations above, it can be concluded that the Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village has considerable potential in the process of further development of Islam. The development of Islam is of course inseparable from figures who played an important role in the spread of Islam in Ngadas Village. As written by Prastika (2023), there has been an influential figure since 1979 in spreading Islamic da'wah in Ngadas Village named Sulianto. Until 2001 the development of Islam was marked by the establishment of two houses of worship, namely Mushala Hidayatullah and Masjid Al-Asfiyah. Although there was a dispute between the puritan Islamic community and the abangan Islamic community in 2016, in 2019 the dispute was resolved. In the end, these events have an impact on the level of religious tolerance, and social life of the community.

In addition, there is also a history of conflict in Tengger as written from (Hakiki, K.M; 2017). Some conflicts that often occur are religious conflicts with religion, especially between Hinduism and Islam. The strong influence of Islam carries complex socio-economic and political implications. However, Islamization has also changed the way Muslims behave towards culture. In other words, Tenggerization here is different from Hinduization. Unlike religious conflicts, conflicts that arise along with the revitalization of Tengger culture involve fellow Muslims themselves, and Buddhists who support the conservation and revitalization of traditions, and those who tend to reject and distance themselves from cultural influences. Generally, the problem arises because it is considered not an authentic part of the Islamic religious tradition. Based on findings in the field, the following are three types of Tengger tribe muslims formed in the Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village community through three moments of reality construction, namely externalization, objectification and internalization.

### **Normative-Theological-Conservative Tengger Muslim Type**

Puritan Islam in the context of this study is more described as a normative-theological-conservative type of Tengger Muslim. This type is characterized by the character of Muslim society that tends to be rigid, intolerant, formal, and firm. As research conducted by Setyabudi (2022), there are Muslim groups that are not too politically oriented, but show strong militancy in moral and theological aspects as a religious purification movement that seeks to sterilize and cleanse religion from the influence of custom. Not surprisingly, they have a higher sensitivity regarding matters of creed, than matters outside of matters of faith. This means that there is a group of Muslims who are still firm in the Shari'a. Carrying out worship in order to achieve merit in the side of Allah swt alone. This type of Muslim separates between the affairs of the world and the affairs of the Hereafter. This means that the worship performed should not be mixed with everything that is worldly motivated. It is proven that there are still a small number of people who worship but try to separate themselves from cultural things because they often contradict the values of shari'a in Islam. For example, refusing to participate in tahlilan activities because they consider it not in accordance with Islamic shari'a purely. They are more loyal and devoted to strict Islamic traditions, such as akikah for birth anniversaries, than to other customary traditions. For them, Tengger customs such as wearing sarongs do not contradict Islamic teachings about covering the aurat so that it can be tolerated, while things they consider shirk are beyond the limits of tolerance. As excerpts from interviews with informants with SS initials who belong to the following normative-theological-conservative Muslim group:

"Mostly we learned about Islam because we realized we were born as Tengger Muslims. Our parents were Muslims but still practiced the old culture. Learning about true Islam is not difficult. There is a lot of information and knowledge that we can find out through the internet with clear reference sources. We also have direct teachers and conduct joint studies regularly. With regard to indigenous traditions, individually we began to abandon them. Ritual practices that require everyone to participate are replaced in other forms such as donating additional ceremonial funds only. For example, usually the amount of mandatory funds per family for kasada ceremonies ranges from 600,000 to 3,000,000. Not to mention if there are additional animals that will be carried to the Bromo crater. It's not a small amount of money" (Interview on December 2, 2023).

As quoted from the interview with the SS informant, it can be interpreted that the people of Ngadas indigenous tourism village have tried to abandon the practice of traditional traditions both in private spaces and in public spaces along with their knowledge of traditional practices that are contrary to Islamic law. However, their choice of attitude was responded positively by the community in general, resulting in tolerance by contributing additional funds as a consequence of absenteeism in activities.

Although this type of Muslim group is much smaller, it can certainly be a form of triggering constructive change, because the real concept of Islamic moderation will also be formed. This means that Islam is not a radical extremist religion but a moderate religion and does not impose its teachings on followers of certain religions. But on the other hand, it is not impossible that in the future there will be conflicts between Muslims and between religions. So it is necessary to re-understand the concept of religious moderation amid the plurality of Tengger people. Even influential figures in the Tengger Tribe community in general can take a role in maintaining harmony and harmony between followers of their respective religions. This type of Muslim can be categorized as adherents of Priyayi Javanese Islam as found by Geertz (2013).

### **Sociological-Pragmatic-Calculative Muslim Types**

This type of Tengger Muslim community tends to be ignorant, half-hearted and still gives consideration to profit and loss in every decision, especially in the concept of religion and carrying out traditions. Often this type is seen in communities that have been affected in terms of economic and short-term benefits. When they engage in religious practices and traditions simultaneously, they tend to consider how much benefit will be gained from tourist visits. The attractions of various rituals of indigenous traditions will not be questioned by their religion and beliefs. Moreover, there have been many external elements that have entered people's lives along with the change in the status of the village to become a Ngadas traditional tourism village. As research by Dewi et.all (2023), explained her findings that Ngadas Village people who have higher education tend to seek their fortune in the city so as not to be entangled in economic routines in the village. This is in line with

an excerpt of an interview with one who falls into the sociological-pragmatic-calculative category with the initials AT below:

"My son is more interested in going to urban areas to work, rather than farming with a modest income. But because Bromo gives a lot of good, my family and I also use the existing capital to do business with tourists who come. Yes, not bad. This means that we don't really mind the existence of ritual practices that seem to combine the haq and the bathil. But what matters is the intention that is in the heart. It does not mean to deify other than Allah SWT, but for the survival of a harmonious and peaceful life together. There is an obligation to provide for the family through this traditional tourism business. There is a ceremony, of course, there are many visitors coming. Although sometimes this business is also erratic. For example, during the Covid-19 pandemic at that time. Wow, really only rely on the mba field." (Interview on December 2, 2023)

Based on the results of interviews with informants in the field, it is difficult to empower educationally capable human resources to be involved in carrying out religious and customary programs because most of the people of Ngadas Indigenous Village are dominated by people with identical low education strata working in agriculture. In addition, in Batoro (2017) Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village was included in the traditional use zone (inclave) area before the existence of a conservation area was established. Agriculture for the community is a necessity that should not be abandoned at all. People are so dependent on the agricultural sector. Like their belief in maintaining the sanctity of Mount Bromo, expertise in agriculture is a hereditary knowledge from their ancestors that must be preserved. Tengger Tribe Muslims with this type always consider the benefits and losses in the midst of the development of their village as a traditional tourism. This is related to the resulting economic conditions are also quite promising for most people, especially for people who have the capital to develop businesses in the field of tourism services. This type of Tengger Muslim community tends not to question traditional traditions that seem contrary to Islamic law. Because for them, providing for their families by utilizing tourist visitors during the ceremony is a good thing. They believe in part of the people who seek halal sustenance for the family, although they are also indirectly involved in organizing the ceremony. This means that the Tengger Tribe community with a sociological-pragmatic-calculative Muslim type views customary rituals as not included in the context of substantial Islamic teachings. They interpret traditional traditions and rituals as a combination of cultures from three religions in maintaining harmony and peace among the Tengger Tribe. Whereas belief in Allah Almighty is a very private thing that cannot be seen empirically. This type of Muslim is included in the category of adherents of Javanese Islam Santri as found by Geertz (2013).

### **Sociological-Empirical-Intuitive Muslim Type**

Society in this third type tends to be loose and open, culturally friendly, subtle and not fanatical, high tolerance, precipitates a culture of friendship and active involvement. This type of society is in an intermediate position between normative and pragmatic. This group tends to understand religion and practice it because of obedience to Allah Almighty but also for their high sense of humanity and social care so that they still participate in carrying out traditions. This type tends to be easily accepted by the surrounding people, especially in consensus deliberation activities, religious social meetings for harmony, and various other social practices. This type tends to be more common in rural communities such as Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village. The following is an excerpt of an interview with an informant with the initials H:

"Although different in adhering to religion, we have always understood the importance of prioritizing, maintaining and preserving the customs and traditions taught by our ancestors. We are one family there are 3 beliefs in religion. So we're used to following all the values of that religion, as long as it's good. The important thing is to be friendly, get along, be peaceful". (Interview on December 3, 2023)

This type of Tengger Ngadas people in building tolerance is more based on awareness of common interests to maintain customs and traditions that have been passed down by ancestors without distinguishing religious origins. One of the cultural values they believe is inherent in the Tengger tradition is religious tolerance and commitment to customs and culture. In interviews with local Islamic leaders, it was found that religious tolerance had become a reality that they had accepted long ago and was responsible for preserving the relics of their ancestors.

The religious tolerance of the Tengger tribe community in Ngadas traditional tourism village is seen in daily associations and in the momentum of religious events. This relationship is seen in at least two modes of tolerance: first, "religious coexistence" in the autonomy of their respective religious households, where Muslims and non-Muslims both accept the presence of other groups and practice worship, avoid conflict, do not interfere with each other, and maintain harmony and peace. No Muslim ritual is seen as clashing with the Tengger tradition, for example in the implementation of tahlilan and kenduri traditions, which are usually identical to traditional Muslim traditions influenced by Javanese culture. Almost all Muslim traditions, both basic ones such as Ramadan fasting to cultural rituals such as tahlilan can be accepted by the community, but must still be done with protocols and mutual agreements to maintain harmony (Setyabudi; 2022).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study found that the Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village is dominated by the Tengger Muslim community which is centered in the hamlet of Distance Ijo. Although there has been a proselytizing movement from various Islamic religious figures who are trying to enter the life of the Tengger Tribe community of Ngadas Village, Islamic religious practices have not been fully in accordance with Islamic law. This is suspected by the strong factor of customary authority and the legitimacy of local community leaders in "tenggerisasi" efforts. Tenggerization as stated by Setyabudi (2022) as an effort to revitalize the Tengger tradition so that it can be widely accepted. This is not surprising along with the status of Ngadas village which has been designated as an indigenous tourism village.

As in the theory of reality construction, the people of Ngadas Traditional Tourism Village are always covered by pluralist religious beliefs but bound by a single custom, namely "Tengger Tribe culture". People interact and socialize (moments of externalization), express themselves symbolically and reciprocally as manifestations of religious harmony and tolerance (moments of objectivation), and the continuity of traditional rituals for generations can create a social habit (moment of internalization) that believes itself to be an inseparable part of the "Tengger Tribe" but with its own version. In the context of religious relations and customary traditions, field observations show that the Muslims of the Tengger Ngadas Tribe respond differently. This study found the construction of sociological-theological-conservative Muslim types with puritanical characters, sociological-pragmatic-calculative which tends to have an inclusive character, and sociological-empirical-intuitive more towards syncretic characters. The Tengger Ngadas Muslim community interprets a belief in religion not only a matter of relationship with God but harmony of relationships with fellow living beings. These traditional religions and traditions are then manifested in various religious rituals as distinctive characteristics of the life of the Ngadas traditional tourism village. Among them are *Entas-Entas*, *Wolo Goro*, *Tugel Kuncung*, *Tugel Gombag*, *Penditanan*, *Sayut*, *Kekerik*, and *Among-Among*. In addition, there are also sacred ceremonies such as *Pujan*, *Hari Raya Kasada*, *Hari Raya Karo*, *Unan-Unan*, *Barikan*, *Mayu Dusun* and *Galungan*. Various social practices: *sayan* (invitation), *gantenan* and *ganten cecelukan* (alternating helping and changing to invite food), the tradition of *nyelawat* (shalawatan) at death, various systems of cooperation in agriculture and animal husbandry: paron or fork.

Various traditional rituals have a positive impact in maintaining inter-religious harmony. But in a more substantive context there have been differences in Muslim societies adopting local values. Both at the individual and group level there has been an appropriation due to weak knowledge of Islamic shari'a values and strong traditional values of the Tengger Tribe.

In addition to the factor of determining Bromo Tengger Semeru as a priority tourism destination which is the flagship program of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, the natural potential and potential of customs and local wisdom of the community that are always preserved allow for success in increasing the economic resources of tourism in a sustainable manner. This potential needs to be maintained considering that there are various inhibiting factors that may occur, namely ripples of conflict between religions and fellow followers of Islam with several types of practices and understandings related to religion and custom. This is related to the status of the Indigenous Tourism Village which is now held by Ngadas village which incidentally has the Tengger Tribe community with the largest Muslim population.

## CONCLUSION

Important findings in this study emphasize two processes of interpreting Muslim communities to religious and customary realities through sociological-psychological perspectives. Two processes are typification and alienation. Typification in social life by borrowing Alfred Schutz's term is a system and status attached to the individual Muslim Tengger Ngadas. While alienation is described as an individual who experiences alienation due to a mismatch between himself and his living environment. As Karl Marx coined the term alienation as a consequence of stratified life. Likewise, researchers interpreting alienation in this study are described as a Tengger Ngadas Muslim with a sociological-theological-conservative type who is in a fairly sharp difference in religious beliefs. While the typification process is represented by two other types of Tengger Ngadas Muslims, namely sociological-pragmatic-calculative and sociological-empirical-intuitive types.

These findings not only serve as valuable lessons for policymakers in addressing local communities but also provide a foundation for further dialogical study of religion that always coexists with customs. This finding is also expected to be a new perspective for the world of tourism in advancing the economy of local communities while considering the sociopsychological conditions of people who survive in conflict-ridden multi-religious structures. This means that there needs to be a formulation in maintaining the preservation of customs and the purification of *aqidah* simultaneously, without intersecting with each other.

The study was limited by data collection methodologies that were limited to specific samples and from specific loci only. Thus blocking this study in providing a more comprehensive picture of Islamic religious practices in communities that hold quite thick indigenous traditions. There needs to be a broader study that includes other religious communities on the religious practices of the Tengger people. In addition, the existence of surveys covering various distribution areas of the Tengger Tribe will be very important in explaining and comparing the knowledge, attitudes, and commitment of Muslim communities to the practice of "selamatan" rituals that are preserved over time.

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