



## ACCEPT OR AGAINST THE CHANGE: THE ADAPTATION OF THE *LOR BRANTAS* SOCIETY TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF BATU CITY

Rachmad Kristiono Dwi SUSILO <sup>A\*</sup>, Awan Setia DHARMAWAN <sup>B</sup>,  
Faizal KURNIAWAN <sup>C</sup>


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### Abstract


The Batu City is a dynamic region located in East Java Province, Indonesia. Since the Majapahit era, the city has given a significant contribution to the area development. The contribution has become more remarkable since the city's appointment is becoming an autonomous area in 2001, resulting in the city's significant regional income. The economic development of Batu City is above the average of national growth. One of the essential factors that support rapid development is the city's ability to explore local potentials that have been improved long before the city became an autonomous region. The exploration has become a significant improvement in Batu. The social changes in Batu city are also supported by the achievement of the people of the Lor Brantas area, such as cultivation and plantation activities that finally becomes the icon of the city, the city of apples. As the local product of Batu City, apple plants have taken the people to achieve prosperity as more farmers continue to grow the plants. The achievement has a significant effect on the pride of a particular community. The people's attachment to the villages and the potential within supports the area pride, especially regarding the natural resources represented by a motto called *tirto* (water), *giri* (mountain), and *wono* (forest). This research aims at describing the social changes that occur within the people of the Lor Brantas area in Batu City. The problems of the study consist of what are the changes that occur in Batu? How do the people of the Lor Brantas (North Brantas) area react towards the city changes? And at which adaptation context does the change of the Lor Brantas area occur? This research method is the qualitative model with an ethnography approach. The data collection was done by interview, participatory and non-participatory observation, and document study. Simultaneously, the data analysis is by the interactive model of analysis that consists of several stages: data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The researcher will treat the stages as a cycle flow.

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A\* University of Muhammadiyah Malang, 65144, Malang City, East Java, Indonesia

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8718-4065>  
[rachmad@umm.ac.id](mailto:rachmad@umm.ac.id) (corresponding author)

B University of Muhammadiyah Malang, 65144, Malang City, East Java, Indonesia

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7447-3068>  
[setiadharmawan@umm.ac.id](mailto:setiadharmawan@umm.ac.id)

C IKIP Budi Utomo, 65111, Malang City, East Java, Indonesia

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1581-5520>  
[faizal.pssbu@gmail.com](mailto:faizal.pssbu@gmail.com)



### Keywords

Community adaptation, Social change, City development.

## INTRODUCTION

The Batu City is a dynamic place located in East Java Province. Since the Majapahit era, the city has given a significant contribution to the area development. The contribution has become more remarkable since the city's appointment is becoming an autonomous area in 2001, resulting in the city's significant regional income. The economic development of Batu city is above the average of national growth. One of the essential factors that support rapid development is the city's ability to explore local potentials that have been improved long before the city became an autonomous region. The exploration has become a significant improvement in Batu.

The social changes in Batu City are also supported by the achievement of the people of the *Lor Brantas* area, such as cultivation and plantation activities that finally becomes the icon of the city, the city of apples. As the local product of Batu City, apple plants have taken the people to achieve prosperity as more farmers continue to grow the plants. The achievement has a significant effect on the pride of a particular community. The people's attachment to the villages and the potential within supports the area pride, especially regarding the natural resources represented by a motto called *tirto* (water), *giri* (mountain), and *wono* (forest).

Referring to the term, *Lor Brantas* (North Brantas), it shows the area division based on the *Brantas* River. For the local people, the river has ecological, economical and social functions; one of them is as a remark. In general, Javanese people make remarks based on the closest environment, including natural resources such as rivers. In Yogyakarta (401 Kilometres form Batu City), for instance, the Progo River holds a significant function for the local people; eventually, they split their territory based on the river; now, there are *Kulon Progo* and *Wetan Progo* areas. In the end, the *Lor Brantas* does not only serve as territorial remark but also as the diversifying factor of the livelihood and culture of a particular group of people.

This study does not merely consider community term as the taken for granted issue or has become viral among the Batu people. Moreover, to view the social change that occurs in the community. The researcher considers that the *Lor Brantas* (North Brantas) has become a determinant group for significant changes in Batu City.

Based on the previous explanation, the researcher aims at elaborating the existence of the *Lor Brantas* (North Brantas) by considering two main reasons: (a) the term tracing is essential as a contribution towards the history of Batu City, where the original character of the people is as farmers. These people are creative in developing seeds. The *Lor Brantas* (North Brantas) has been a home for many public figures in the agricultural field from the local to the national level; (b) the significant role of the *Lor Brantas* (North Brantas) in contributing to the social change in



the Batu City. There are two protests and significant movements initiated by the *Lor Brantas* (North *Brantas*) community; they are the rejection to sell water to the Local Government of Malang in the year 2004 and the hotel building's rejection at Bulukerto village, which was located near to the water sources in the year 2011-2015. Both movements were one of the massive movement after the establishment of the administrative City of Batu. In considering the massive effect of the movements initiated by the *Lor Brantas* (North *Brantas*) people, it can be said that analyzing the social changes of the *Lor Brantas* (North *Brantas*) community can represent the description of the people of Batu City in general.

Another curiousness that appears is that the Batu City has improved in becoming the city tourism of Batu (KWB/ *Kota Wisata Batu*). the topic is interesting because there have not been any similar studies on the community of the Batu people that can explain the territory based on the river landscape. The existing studies tend to focus more on the term usage of *Lor Brantas* (North *Brantas*) and *Kidul Brantas* (South *Brantas*) without connection to society's dynamic. Besides, the community's study has become a need considering that the repeated social order becomes an essential lesson to learn about a particular region.

Social change and innovation were initiated by the discourse between innovation and social change (Reeler, 2007, Ramella, 2018). In this event, innovation focuses more on the change within the social system brought by an innovator. During this discourse the change is considered significant and has positive values, while in point two, the social system emphasizes more on the pattern based on culture, economical process, or political process that hampers the innovation growth resulting in the rise of negative result; or in other words, it restricts the change to from occurring (Damanik, 2010).

The above statement is also supported by which spotted several innovations within society growth, resulting in disruptive effect towards the existing social change (Christensen et al, 2007). The unexpected direction of change can have negative impacts on society itself.

To understand the social change, it is necessary to embed the values and goals because values can reveal the individual's quality that must support the process and have purposes. (Sztompka, 2004), (Practice, Holmes, 2007). In this context, a process of value is implementing existing values in the daily life of the society that might cause social change; this supports the subsistence theory from Scott (2019).

Also views the effect of social change towards the development of an individual, the social change as it is, and how an individual with good self-development will form and affect his/her social environment heading to the desired social change (Trommsdorff, 2010). Haferkamp and Smelser (1950) divide three main components of social change concept that must exist; they are structural determinant, social change process and mechanism, and social change purposes. The interrelationship among these three components, with the aid from the cultural



situation, will produce different views on how the social change in a particular area has run well or not. Healy (1998) also explains the planned social change and the community change about how the community grows in a region and becomes an exclusive group over other newcomers in Batu City. As Wagemans (2013) stated by means here, the exclusive group is a settled group that can dominate the majority of the commodity market.) gives the detail of the primary explanation related to the densest concept and factor in the social change components (Anderson, 2012). In the context of social change, the change is due to the physical and abiotic environment, while the demography factor also becomes the benchmark and supporting system for the actor of social change to reach the purposes. It is best to have support also from the adequate human resources (Salim, 2002)

Welzel et al (2001) also provide a statement related to how the factor of demography, economy, social, and culture become the primary factors in social change. Lauer (1993), Hallinan (1997) and Breman (2004) also states that the change can face a logical consideration on risks; this reflects that the farmers' risks change as the city develops, representing that the subsistence concept still becomes the primary aspect of social adaptation. Based on the logical concept, Batu's social change is considered radical towards people's life, especially in Batu City. Nevertheless, the research will conduct a study on the critical change review in Batu City. the social change is expected to benefit all parties, not only for the investors or capital owners (Sugihardjo, 2013). As Bimbi (2017) stated, tourism development is believed to bring another social change that might provide benefits for all levels of society. Similarly, Fitari (2016) the development process to finalize the concept of social change requires collective synergy from all parties states that the synergy does not only from the local society, but also from the government, private sectors, and educational institution (higher education).the relationship among stakeholders must be clear and directed, both in terms of roles and responsibility of each party. A similar opinion by stated that social change requires harmony among related sectors. The synergy aims at eliminating society's inhibitors in the future (Lewin, 2016).

Based on the literature analysis, related to the gap analysis as the focus of the research, Cahyono et al (2011) explained the history of Batu City from the socio-cultural characteristics and figures from time to time, the series of social and cultural events from the pre-historic era to the establishment of Batu as an autonomous region. The researcher also describes the agriculture and tourism as an economy basis of the Batu City. A similar situation occurs in the historical background of the tourism sector in Batu since the Dutch colonialism. The researcher explained that the ecological potential had become positive support to the tourism sector. The approach used is the historical approach. The dynamic of the Dutch colonialism in Batu City is explained in detail; nevertheless, there is no explanation on the social change in the regional autonomy era. The determinant actors and the characteristics of the change are not explained in detail.



Besides, there is an additional analysis on the book written by Sukrisman et.al (2014) that explains on the tourism and agricultural trace of Batu City based on time-zone, namely pre-colonialism, the Dutch East Indies era, the Old Sibling era, the era of administrative city, to the era of an autonomous region. This research is a data-base that learns about the potentials of the city, such as Dutch heritage buildings, during the New Order, there were buildings that also support the city as tourism city. In this book, there is an explanation of the creative characteristics of farmers in Batu. explains that acculturation is understanding this phenomenon which results when groups of individuals have different cultures that enter the first continuous that enter the first continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original or other cultural patterns or even the two groups, the midway between confrontation and fusion (Bakker, 1984). there is a strategy by the mayor of the city to promote Batu to the investors in the form of organic agricultural product. The weakness of this book is that it does not explain the causes of social changes in Batu City. Instead, it makes the state to become the main actor of social change.

Debora Sulisty, (2014) explains the origin of the village names, urban village, and places in the City that are based on legends and myth that developed in the words of mouth tradition in the society. Unfortunately, it does not describe social change since the establishment of Batu City as the autonomous region. The data source is from direct information besides the accountable documentation. The creation of more liveable cities was one of the most important objectives of projects. (Kecskés and Kozma, 2020).

The gap between a theoretical concept and field finding encourages the researcher to conduct a research entitled to accept or against the change: the adaptation of the *Lor Brantas* society towards the development of Batu City. This research aims at describing the social changes that occur within the people of the *Lor Brantas* area in Batu City. The problems of the study consist of what are the changes that occur in Batu? How do the people of the *Lor Brantas* area react towards the city changes? And at which adaptation context does the change of the *Lor Brantas* area occur? The contribution of this manuscript, it will be develop about knowledge of Batu City and how dynamics the social change it happen on Batu City.

## METHODS

This research is an ethnography study that describes the actors living in the surrounding of natural resources where they interact with the environment to notice the signs of natural disasters. The sites of the research include three villages, namely Bumiaji, Sidomulyo, and Bulukerto. Based on information and the people's knowledge, the three villages are within the *Lor Brantas*. Administratively, the Bumiaji and Bulukerto villages are located in the Bumiaji sub-district while the Sidomulyo village is in the Batu sub-district. Despite the different administrative boundaries,



the three villages' cultural characteristics have become the basis for choosing the *Lor Brantas* society areas.

An in-depth interview is a primary instrument where the researcher is trying to observe the 'actors' perception and point of view in responding to social changes related to the general issue of society. Nevertheless, most observation was done through discussion to consider that the researcher could approach the actors well.

In completing the above data, the researchers also conducted a document study. The documents included the village monographs and several private documents of the research subject(s). Fortunately, the subject(s) of the research has collected various documentation of life his/ her life events concerning the research theme. Besides, the researcher also observed villages in Batu City through mass media monitoring. Adding to that, some fellows from the movement provided documents to monitor the development gradually.

The research subjects were the local people who understood the social changes that occurred within their community; therefore, the samples were of those who were actively involved in community activities. The choice is based on considering that only the appointed ones have adequate knowledge of what is happening in their villages. Therefore, the actors appointed are (1) Formal leaders; it includes village government leaders who work for the government. In the authority concept of Max Weber, these people work with the legally rational legitimation. (2) Community activists. These people come both from permanent and non-permanent organizations. The permanent organization includes the village institutions, while the non-permanent are temporary committees of events conducted by the villages. (3) Farmers whose jobs is apple plantation or other agricultural commodities. (4) the Villages tourist activist who participated to the village's tourism activities, both the significant capital-base tourism activities and those of the village community tourism activities. The sampling technique for this research was purposive sampling, where the sample was chosen based on the research criteria; the people involved in the movements experienced and understood the social change, both as a process and result.

Data analysis was by the interactive model of analysis (Brewer, 2000). The stages for data analysis include data collection, data reduction, data presentation, dan conclusion drawing. The researcher will treat the stages as a cycle flow.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Theoretical Framework

Through a study of a city, Modjokuto, Geertz (1986) explain that social change is determined by political conditions. Urbanization in Modjokuto is due to the integration of outside groups into a completely new pattern of socio-cultural organ-



ization. This research explains the interrelationship between social structure and also changes in human thought (cultural symbols) to an analysis of an interesting series of changes in the fundamental political economy over 100 years and culminating in a tangled thread of ideology.

Similar to Geertz, Andreasen (2002), Fatchan (2004), Soemardjan (2009), and Rahmayanti (2018) stated that change is determined by political institutions. the structural and cultural perspective of the causes of change are not the same. The structural characteristics of these changes such as formalization, centralization, and stratification are related to the degree of change both to change and to changes in attitudes. Soemardjan, (2009) study in Yogyakarta explains this change from Dutch colonialism (1775-1942), Japanese occupation (1942-1945) and the struggle for independence. Soemardjan (2009) states that social change occurs due to the pioneers of change as a leader in social institutions and social repression.

Scott's, study in Sendaka describes a peasant community that objected to resistance in a symbolic way. The green revolution gave birth to ideological social conflicts between the rich and the poor. Poor groups carry out boycotts, strikes, silent acts, they, spreading malicious gossip (Scott,2000) Scott stated that the peasants' resistance was tacit and disorganized. This acceptance is not easy, because there is also resistance and resistance, but local leaders play important role. The aim of resistance is not overthrowing but simply running the system for the sake of minimal harm to him. This symbolic / ideological resistance is daily resistance that lasts in terms of resilience, persistence, tactical policies and flexibility (Muhammad,2019). Peasant resistance arises because subsistence ethics is threatened (Scott, 1993), (Siahaan, 1999) and (Scott, 2019).

In urban development, spatial conditions, autonomy of local and regional communities that affect studies on social change investigations, globalization, territorial approaches, local economies, become the attention of critical geography (Ira and Matlovič, 2020) then, the study related to the development of social groups (harmony between individual and community interest), preservation of local cultural values, community stability and local economy (Nagy, 2005).

Spatial is not the determinant. According to post-positivistic spatial geography cannot solve social problems. The post positivistic discontinuity states that there has been a transition from substantial to a constructivist way of thinking (Matlovič and Matlovičová, 2020) In a situation where we see a situation of resistance and disagreement likely to arise from local residents and local stakeholder (Klamár et al, 2019). Geographical thought is still relevant to apply to cities in Indonesia, which on average have not experienced postmodern and post structuralism conditions.





## UNDERSTANDING THE *LOR BRANTAS*

### **The *Lor Brantas* as a part of Javanese Society**

Related to this journal's research, the first question to address is what the changes in Batu City are? *Brantas* River serves a significant function to support villages within its flow. The river can function to water the rice field and provide water for its surroundings, resulting in the more fertile soil in Batu City. One interesting fact is that the *Brantas* River has branches consisting of smaller rivers, such as *Lanang* River, (*Lanang* is Javanese Language and in English means male) that runs across Pandanrejo village. As the significant function of *Brantas* River, the flow of this river is also used for the area remark. Therefore, there is a very close relationship between society and the river. There is a big possibility that the intelligent of Javanese people enable them to connect the environment with the human

The prominent characteristic is occupation differentiation. To consider that not all *Kidul Brantas* (Southern *Brantas*) areas are suitable for agriculture, some people decided not to work in the agricultural sector. Adding to the situation that most people in the area are not native people therefore, they do not have a close attachment to the area. Meanwhile, the culture of southern *Brantas* shows a contradictory fact (Susilo, 2018).

### **Villages of the *Lor Brantas*; a case at Bumiaji, Bulukerto, and Sidomulyo villages**

Creative farmers were born from the development of the agriculture field that has become their primary profession. The farmers' culture creates social institutions that believe an area to be mystic or non-mystic. The changes in non-material aspects are affected significantly by the Islamic and Javanese cultures rooted in the area for a long time. As a result, cultural acculturation is seen in the daily life of the people. As a saying that states Islam in Batu is the right kind of Javanese Islam, supported by the fact that there is a combination of modern and traditional cultures by the agents of change through stages of knowledge, belief decision, implementation, and confirmation (Fatchan, 2004). The social institution is still prominent and has power at Tlogorejo; a situation that shows the characteristics of hamlet people that supports the kinship and neighbourliness as essential local institutions. Despite being attached by similar villages, the hamlets (smaller size villages) have different characteristics. Soemardjan, (2009) states that the changing parts in social change include the social system, values, attitude, and behaviour among groups in society (Rogers, 1971) and (Soemardjan, 2009) Thus, the stable social system and structure changed, both by evolution and revolution.

The village's most prominent achievement is to receive the best standard for a community-based water management organization, known as HIPPAM *Himpunan Penduduk Pemakai Air Minum* (the cooperative association of water) in Malang and





Batu area. The organization has strong power that it has become a social institution that binds the community for years. The organization's strength is shown by the strong institutionalized social relationship among the people. Therefore, environmental changes may trigger the sensitivity of local people. This village is one of the supporters of the conservation 2011-2015 movement (Susilo, 2010).

Figures in the community have strong characteristics, such as richness, nurturing, and multi-tasking. The strong characteristics of the leader resulted in a strong bond between the society and their formal and informal leaders, in line with an analysis by Geertz (1986), Soemardjan (2009) that believe social change depends on the political situation.

Meanwhile, the Tlogorejo hamlet aims at developing the region into a tourism village. The plan has been established by the Bumiaji sub-district government and the village local government of Bumiaji. The field survey shows that the hamlet head did not understand the purpose and how to achieve it by conducting the tourism village project (Susilo, 2020).

### **Bulukerto Village**

This village consists of various occupations, such as Kliran hamlet, that most of its people become flower farmers, while Cangar hamlet as rabbit breeder. As for the farmers of Kliran hamlet, they usually use their own land for the cultivation activities.

Each village is different from one another in terms of a structural model. There are still negative stereotypes among hamlet due to different characteristics. The situation is also supported by the change's structural characteristics, such as formalization, centralization, and stratification concerning the stages of change, both towards physical and attitude change (Fatchan, 2004).

Bulukerto village had the village head terminated due to a lack of ability to interact with the people. Kliran people initiated the request for termination. The event is called rebellion (Merton's, 1968). The existence of Sumber Gemulo (Gemulo Water Source) turns out to be an iconic attraction for Bulukerto Village. There were several planning to take advantage of the area, yet the local people strictly rejected it. For the first case, all people were solid to reject the policy; nevertheless, the second occurrence in the form of piping and hotel building construction was not supported by the agreement of Cangar hamlets in Bulukerto Village. However the other hamlets were ignorant.

### **Sidomulyo Village**

The Sidomulyo village is different from Bumiaji and Bulukerto; it has a unique character as the *Brantas* River runs across the village and the existence of provincial road that connects Batu City and Mojokerto regency in East Java. The two advantages give benefits to the village that is causing fertile soil and strategic place to sell farming products.



Another advantage taken from the river is that people in the village can also bathe in it. People also built public bathrooms along the river for anyone who needs to use the facility. At the same time, the provincial main road has made the village hosts many traffics resulting in more people pass by the area and open the opportunity for the local people to sell their products, especially on the sides of the main road.

Sidomulyo village consists of three hamlets, Tonggolari, Sukorembug, and Tinjumoyo. The settlement in Tonggolari is quite dense and shows the city settlement characteristics. At the same time, the Sukorembug hamlet allows the natural village of the mountain area to remain still. On the other hand, Tinjumoyo tends to resemble Tonggolari than Sukorembug. It has more alleys, like in big cities.

It can clearly be seen that Sukorembug hamlet does not share a similar system like the other two. The only similarity between the three hamlets is that most of the people's profession is ornamental flowers farmers. These flowers are one of the changes that occur in the field of agriculture. At first, the people only planted rice, but now has changed into vegetables, then turned to apple, and eventually now the people focus more on growing flowers.

It can be said that the economic sector of the people depends significantly on flowers cultivation by both serving the incoming guests and also selling the product to foreign countries. Sidomulyo village is known for its flowers product, not only in East Java but also in the international markets.

The village always full of attraction, for example, the *bantengan* traditional that is often performed by the village youth. This activity is to build social solidarity. They do not run after financial profit, yet the regular performance is to bond the people of the village by participating in the events.

Besides the dynamic and conflict due to piping and water exploitation to the local government of Malang City, around 1997 to 1998 (an interview result with Basuki, August 28, 2020) there was a conflict in relation to the respond of the people of Batu that rejected the plan of establishing administrative city; the rejection that was ended up with the resignation of the village secretary of Sidomulyo village. There are achievements of the village that is quite significant. For example, the village won first place as the trusted village management of standardized administration by BPMD (*Balai Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Desa*) Indonesian Village Community Empowerment Agency. According to Basuki (interview on August 22, 2020), a functionary of BPD (*Badan Permayarakatan Desa*)/Village Consultative Council) of Sidomulyo, what made the village won the prize is that the village's administration record become a reference for other villages throughout Indonesia, especially Central and Eastern parts of Indonesia (from 2008 to 2018). The village became the pilot project of Center for Rural Empowerment of Indonesia.



**Table 1** Processed source of the interview and observation result

Bumiaji village	Bulukerto village	Sidomulyo village
The strong mystical situation and tight practice of the traditional and Islamic values	Strong dynamic village	The geographical situation and the existence of main provincial road has improved the economy of the people
Strong social Institutions	Familiar political issues	the characteristics of the people more resembling the city, it is easier to conduct a social change within this society
The strong management of HIPPAAM because of involvement with respected figures.	The strong similarity of society to resist of disadvantageous	The economy condition becomes better due to planting flowers and agricultural products
Strong community figures	Strong community figures, Various people job	Strong community figures, The main street creates economy stability
Tourism becomes the alternative sector	After apple planting does not bring economic growth, there is the emergence of local rejection in some places	Flowers business becomes the alternative after the decreasing agricultural sector
The conflict between the people (formal in informal leaders) and local government of Batu City	The characteristics of social change are initiated by local leaders and area ssumed to accept the change especially relating to the development that gives benefit to local people	The quick adaptation of social changes
The rejection is in the form switching the agricultural commodity	Ambiguity towards the change that resulted in the split of people based on their preference	The people demand the government to provide clean water as support for flower commodities
The rejection is based on the environmental knowledge	The pragmatism is considered to weaken the water sources that will be utilized by hotel	Water is very important for the villagers. Therefore, the people protested to the local government of Batu City'plan selling the water sources to the government of Malang City near Batu City (2004)



## **The Differences, Similarities, and Connection among the Three Villages**

The similarity as a Javanese village with various social institutions, such as *slametan* (customary cumunal meal) and *gotong royong* (Mutual help). One of the factors that cause similarity is the distance between neighbouring villages, which ultimately contributes to the communication between the three members of the community. It is not surprising that kinship ties characterize the relations of the three villages.

Another interest that makes the three villages become bonded is the need for clean water, both for agriculture and daily need. Agricultural water is used in rotation, while the need for drinking water is sufficed from the source of Gemulo Water Source. For the fulfilment of agricultural water, they use water from the *Brantas* river tillers that enter their villages. Therefore, when there where a pipeline and construction plan that threatened the existence of the Gemulo water sources, the three villages refused. Actors emerged from these three villages.

Islamic culture is stronger in Banaran Hamlet, Bumiaji Village. This hamlet has a religious atmosphere. Mean while, the people of Bulukerto Village seem to be a mixture of Javanese and Islam. The call as "*abah*" or *kaji* is often attributed to community leaders from this village, but the village does not only represent the Islamic symbols, yet its Javanese tradition is also growing rapidly.

The difference between the three villages is that the dominant culture is not the same between one hamlet and another. In terms of quantity, the number of hamlets in Bumiaji Village and Sidomulyo Village is the same, namely three hamlets, while Bulukerto Village has six hamlets with a very high diversity of characters.

The relationship between the three villages is due to their kinship as neighbouring villages. They develop a visiting relationship with each other and build a marriage bond. Meanwhile, in the hamlets that utilize Gemulo water sources, their relationship is tied by the use of the sources. This common-sense makes them coordinated informally

## **CHANGE ACTIVATOR**

### **Agriculture as the Economy Basis of the People**

The livelihoods of the main characters of the *Lor Brantas* community are agriculture and plantations. Agriculture includes rice fields, major vegetables, and fruits. This livelihood is pursued because of the possibility of being supported by fertile soil, the existence of volcanoes, and an abundant supply of water. The volcanic ash brought by the mountain eruption causing fertile lands in Batu City. Meanwhile, the water supply is due to the support of the *Brantas* River, which flows through most cities regencies in East Java. The arboretum which is located in Sumber *Brantas* Village is upstream of this river.



Batu City never experiences water shortages even during the dry season, but inequalities happen repeatedly. For example, areas that are close to water sources receive abundant water, while areas that are far from sources suffer from drought.

When did agricultural activities start in *Lor Brantas* area? The journey of farmers has started since ancient times, went through colonial times and even the era of regional autonomy. Having the land to cultivate, farmers have always cultivated agricultural products. However, the capitalization of agricultural products has remained unavoidable since the Dutch East Indies colonial era. At that time important lands in the *Sumber Brantas* area were developed for the cultivation of export crops

Historically, the character of agriculture in Batu City is varied; there are rice fields, export and fruit plantations. Agriculture has a characteristic that changes from time to time; from rice fields, vegetables and fruits. Sidomulyo Village, for example, initially the community engaged in rice farming. Then they changed to vegetables, turned to apple plantation, and finally they cultivate flower farmers.

Likewise, the agricultural pattern in Bumiaji and Bulukerto Villages in the 1990s relied on apples as their main commodity, but when apples did not grow anymore, they started to pursue other fruits. The farmers in Bulukerto Village worked on flowers, oranges and guava, meanwhile, farmers in Sidomulyo Village have been working on flowers until now. Several farmers in Bumiaji Village are pursuing crystal guava.

Despite many decreases from this agricultural achievement to the establishment of the Batu City government, agriculture remains the favourite commodity. The models are dedicated for spatial analysis of ecological factors distribution, such as distribution of contaminant concentration on researched territory (Safarov et al, 2020).

At least government officials still acknowledge that the original character of Batu City is an agricultural City. The industrialization of tourism is growing rapidly, but revitalizing agriculture is done by combining tourism with agriculture. Social and technological modernization has affected almost all areas of the rural life (Hanušin et al, 2020).

### **Tourism as the Activator of Social Change in Agricultural Society**

Tourism has been an inherent character of Batu people for years because this City has natural potentials, such as mountains, rivers and forests. Therefore, people are accustomed to using it for tourism purposes. Traces of tourism can be seen since the era of the independence revolution. The most obvious example is the hot source, *Selecta*, which has been developed since the Dutch colonialism about 1928. This tourism object was favoured by Ir. Soekarno, the first President of the Republic Indonesia so that it can be said that the events of the birth and the greatness of this nation cannot be separated from important moments in this tourism object.



Then, during the government of ER, the second mayor of Batu City, tourism development was boosted by giving permits for artificial tourism objects. He collaborated with the Jatim Park Group (JPG) to open artificial tourism object, Finally, the capitalization was carried out on a large scale. The development of this tourism object brought pragmatism by the mayor. The steps taken are providing easy permit, a guarantee of return on capital and easier access to transportation at tourist sites

The development actors were handed over to one investor, namely the East Java Park Group (JPG); thus the village of Oro-Oro Ombo became the target development and resulted in the establishment of tourist destination, such as the *Angkot* Museum (Transportation Museum), Eco-Green Park, BNS (Batu Night Spectacular). Starting from this area, there were other spots established aiming at artificial tourism development, such as Predator Fun Park, followed by Jatim Park 3. Jatim Park 3 is located in Beji Village and Junrejo Village, which are densely traffic areas. It seems that the lack of visitors in the Predator Fun Park made JPG looked for another strategy by choosing a location near the communities. JPG consideration is to make as much profit as possible.

This uncontrolled tourism development compared to the increasing tourist visits of Batu City, especially on weekends, brings consequences to the rapid development of the South *Brantas* area. As a consequence, the *Lor Brantas* has received little attention. It is not certain whether this was the intention of the city planners or not.

The impact of the tourism industry results in unplanned spatial changes, such as the actual land for water catchment areas being converted into buildings infrastructure. One of the reasons is because the regional head has full authority to grant investment permits.

Criticisms were addressed to these tourism practices, such as the profit of the tourism niche that the people of Batu City did not enjoy equally, so the government promoted community-based tourism as a counter to this criticism. It is likely that tourism is a blessing for policy makers, but in fact it is not for the farming community who on average live in the *Lor Brantas* area that tourism is perceived as congestion.

#### **ACCEPT OR AGAINST THE CHANGES: ADAPTATION METHOD OF THE THREE VILLAGES**

This part will explain the adaptation methods towards the changes that occurred in the *Lor Brantas* area of Batu City by taking the three villages as a case study subject.



## **Bumiaji Village**

In the 2000s, the community experienced the agricultural changes marked by a decline in apple production. This was because apples did not grow well in this village due to the deterioration of soil quality, and the weather was not supportive. Thus, the heyday of apples was over. Responding to this condition, farmers did not remain silent, they carried out various adaptations such as continuing to plant apples or switching to other commodities or not leaving apple cultivation but combined with other commodities.

Chamim (farmer) develops oranges and is still working on apples. Unlike Chamim, Hadi focuses on apples but grows them in Pujon, from Batu City that its distance is 15.3 kilometres., meanwhile, Supaat (Board member of HIPPAW and farmer interview on August 17, 2020) replaced commodities from apples to oranges by supplementing them with chicken livestock. Keeping apple business will obviously require a large amount of capital because the price of fertilizers is no longer subsidized.

Changes in tourism bring about environmental changes, such as utilization of spaces for tourist points, because the Batu City government invites as many investors as possible. As a result, there was an increase in land prices. Some residents welcomed this price increase, but at the same time, they are worried that the practice will narrow down the agricultural land. Wahyudi (Chairperson of the Farmer group) expressed his anxiety if at any time farmers let go of their land because they were tempted by the land buyers price who were mostly people outside the village. In conditions that are put them in the hard situation of having poor agricultural conditions, farmers will definitely give up their land, If these conditions are like this, it will be more difficult to find farmers in this village, even though Batu City is an Agricultural City.

Tourism in this village is marked by the construction of large-scale tourism supporting infrastructure such as hotel and lodging buildings which often violate regulations incoming spatial plan. Even though it has been regulated regarding places that are allowed and prohibited for infrastructure development, this rule is not fully complied with. As a result, construction is allowed at any location, including permits near water sources. As a consequence, if there is damage to the sourcess, both formal and informal village leaders will refuse to take responsibility. The conflict escalated between the Batu City government and the residents of Bumiaji Village.

This rejection is not driven by environmental ideological forces, but rather an expression of anxiety over the excessive tourism expansion, so it can be concluded that it did not last long. On the next occasion, the conflict and opposition was discontinued because the actors thought realistically.





Even though the resistance movement was still ongoing, both the movement leaders and the village head withdrew from the movement. As a result of the pressures, the figures become dormant in the movement, similar to Scott's statement that the peasant resistance was tacit and disorganized. The aim of resistance is not overthrowing but simply running the system for the sake of minimal harm to him. This symbolic ideological resistance is daily resistance that lasts in terms of resilience, persistence, tactical policies and flexibility. Scott, (1993) stated that Peasant resistance arises because subsistence ethics is threatened (made short solid and substantial). The spirit of the village head against the movement resulted in collaboration with the mayor was based on realistic consideration despite the fact that he once was a militant prior to becoming the village head.

Interestingly, tourism in Batu City is not all capital-based, the government also promotes community-based tourism. Villages with their uniqueness are developed into tourist centres. Similar to the average for other villages in *Lor Brantas*, community-based tourism development policies are welcomed. Village leaders sell their village as an alternative to visiting guests who will learn about all the potential of the village

Ghozali and Hardi are community leaders who are good at developing the potential of community-based tourism. By cultivating the family farm-land, this father and son-in-law developed organic farming for both vegetables and fruits. Mainstay commodities are the cultivation of crystal guava and healthy vegetables such as *kale* vegetables (*Brassica oleracea* var. *sabellica*) Bumiaji village is also known for its jargon *Amazing Bumiaji* which provide the opportunities for hamlets to promote their potential products.

### **Bulukerto Village**

Similar to Bumiaji Village, Bulukerto Village is a village that produces apples which resulted in wealthy skippers. The skipper planted their apples in *Puthuk Gedhe* (over the top) a large area in Rekesan hamlet Bulukerto Village. The participation of these bosses made the village to be very dynamic. Similar to Bumiaji, now apples do not grow well in this village, the heyday of apples has passed, apples are no longer the favourite commodity. Finally, various job differentiations emerged, such as planters, farmers and ranchers.

But not all farmers leave apples, farmers from Cangar Hamlet, Harjito (interview Januari 5, 2020) keeps apples as daily work. He admitted that managing apples was not cheap, but after all that was calculated, he was ready to issue higher financing.

For average farmers who think realistically, changes in agricultural commodities are a way of adapting to changes in agricultural conditions. Agus (farmer) who previously planted and sold apples, is now replacing apples with guava. Apart from



using guava for income, he also raises rabbits. The same strategy was carried out by Anto (Chairman of the RT (*Rukun Tetangga*) (neighbourhood association) who is now focusing on vegetables (interview result with August 17 2020).

Meanwhile, tourism marks the infrastructure development that has entered this village. One of them is the construction of a hotel which is located not far (less than 2 meters) from the Gemulo source. The community is a worry that it might disrupt the water supply, therefore, there is a hamlet that uses the water source for domestic needs is now against the hotel construction.

This movement is quite sustainable in terms of the enthusiasm and duration allocated. The actions carried out varied considerably, considering that the residents had successfully allied themselves with other villages and supra village forces such as NGOs and academics.

The existence of this alliance made the success of the resistance actions that are mainly based on local culture. Activities such as the Sources Festival and the Suroan Festival were packaged in such a way as to invite a very large number of people. Even as of this writing, a collaboration between communities and NGOs is still being developed.

Meanwhile, other hamlets did not support the movement. Some stated that the other hamlets had no interest in water sources, so they were ignorant or not paying attention. The writer thinks that the character of the mobilization is determined by the figures in a particular community, while the movement is driven by the Cangar Hamlet; nevertheless, actors from other hamlets are not inspired to take part in the movement.

Even hamlet figures from the outside of Cangar, especially Glintung and Keliran who understand local politics, see it differently. Hotel development is seen pragmatically in order to bring commercial benefits to the surrounding communities. Their claim is that development will bring jobs to unemployed youth. It seems that these pragmatic groups were successfully influenced by both the village government and hotel owners

The consistency of pragmatism remains until the saving water source movement stopped; the government conducted some lobbying to Glintung hamlet to organize the village festival. To all movement actors in Cangar hamlet, this event was not only an amusement for the village people, but moreover, it acted as a counter-action for the community movement (interview result with Aris, August 20, 2020). Regarding community tourism, Batu City has declared Bulukerto Village as a rabbit centre. The government's policy has been preceded by building a rabbit statue at the village entrance that is expected to appear as a village icon; nevertheless, some residents who are critical of the city government ridicule at this government's way.



## Sidomulyo Village

Agricultural changes are shown by planting flowers. Most likely, it can be said that the residents of Sidomulyo Village realize that changing them with decorative flower commodities is a step to be freed from agricultural decline. Only those who can read the situation well make a fortune and benefit out of the program.

Despite shifting commodities, dependence on water is very high. The water is not only used for domestic needs, more importantly they need water for watering their flowers. Therefore, the community ensures that there is no change in the water supply. They demand the government to carry out water management that benefits the community, so when government decision to reduce water debit, it will always be opposed. Upon any changes that impact the water supply for daily life, people will protest against any policies behind the action. For example, to consider the farmers high demand for water, one of the heads of government agencies suggested changing commodities. That opinion achieved sudden rejection by the people.

In 2004, the Kota Batu government planned to sell water from Gemulo water sources to PDAM (*Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum*/Local Government Owned Water Company) Malang City. At that time the two local governments had agreed, but the people opposed it. They protested against this policy until finally, the government policy was thwarted.

A similar case occurred in 2011, when residents refused to build a hotel which was prone to damaging water source. They were worried about the construction of a hotel that was not far from a water source located in Bulukerto Village. Coincidentally, both Sidomulyo village took water from this source, so they finally protested. Not only did the farmer groups initiate this movement, but they also received the support of the people, considering that this movement was on behalf of the community and the village. The village head played an important role, considering the 2004 movement was led by community leaders.

However, movement actors who are mostly village government activists cannot ignore the existence of the municipal government. On the one hand, they are hostile to regional heads but on the other hand, want to take advantage of this government policy. The most obvious case is the construction of a rest area that is used as a tourist market. In the village law regulation, this change would benefit the City government, but this decision was not realized, which was ultimately resolved by voting.

The rapid development of tourism in the *Lor Brantas* region is more interpreted as a bustling area that has little impact on them. Traffic congestion is considered due to local people activities. This is because Sidomulyo village is passed by the provincial road, which makes it easy to receive this insight.



Similar to other villages, tourism is two different sides. On one side, it is not profitable, but on the other side, it can provide an advantage for the local people. Tourism that brings good benefit is of community-based in the form of flower re centre and apple picking services. In addition, the arrival of tourists can be captured by utilizing rest areas that can be used to take advantage of tourism to increase the economic potential of rural communities. Adaptation is based on profession and is strengthened by the culture.

*Lor Brantas* main character is agriculture and natural resource support. The relationship between the two is intertwined. With these resources, people enjoy an unpretentious life, but they must respond to changes driven by the tourism industry, which have had a direct or indirect impact on tourism.

From a subject of three villages, there are similarities where the development of tourism gives rise to anxiety over environmental changes. This condition is exacerbated by the decline in agricultural production. Of course, social change must penetrate to this point so that people can feel the impact of these social changes, (Kotler, 1971). Meanwhile, the adaptation method to agriculture and tourism is the same. Rejection comes from the massive capital based tourism if the change has an effect on their subsistence life, similar to what Scott (2000) stated their resistance is not overt. One time it looks stern, but on another, it seems very lenient and full of compromise. It can be said that there is still ambiguity between rejecting or accepting the tour. The refusal was carried out with lasting protests. When the City government offered certain assistance, the village government actors who had previously strongly opposed the City government policy accepted the help with open arms.

As long as these changes can be tolerated, the community will accept it. The example of the accepted change is the programs of community based tourism. On the other hand, if the capital based tourism produces a negative impact, the community will fight back. This confirms the character of Javanese society which prioritizes harmony, but will fight back if it touches subsistence. The same thing that the characteristics of society will promote social change as one of the movements they need for a better life (Andreasen, 2002).

However, internal and external challenges and opportunities of urban development also are determinant. Empirically such of the both include social transformation and political and economic power. The behavior of citizens who are limited by certain geographic areas is limited by interaction with outside forces such as the economy, technology and the environment (Ira and Matlovič, 2020). Even though geography has a complex perspective, citizens have a subjective, flexible and context-dependent character (Matlovič and Matlovičová, 2020).



## CONCLUSIONS

To take a conclusion on the characteristics of the people of Batu City, especially from the three villages, including the aspect of rejection movement of the characteristics of the community against the existing changes and the rebellious attitude appears in responding to the fulfillment of some aspect.

In this case, the three villages of *Lor Brantas* have different characteristics in responding to the change. One of the impacts is the division of society, into those who accept the change and the one who reject it. This division of society becomes the thesis in this study which reveals ambiguity towards the social change.

This research can be a critical analysis for the elite stakeholder to consider the real impact on ambiguity in the society. For the real development context, the benefits can be experienced every level of society. However, the imbalance that occurs in ambiguity will result in the social injustice. It is hoped that in the future this research can be used as a basis for observers and village developers and also for Batu City government so that they can be aligned in increasing the sustainable development of Batu City.

The limitation of this research lies in the research content which is only limited to three villages. To find out about social change as a whole, it is expected that it can relate to the problems that are close to the village. Hopefully the findings of this research data can become an additional reference for further studies, especially those related to social change in Batu City and the second limitation. Has not studied yet Batu City as Tourist City with a complex economics sector and the expansion and diversification (Herman et al, 2020).

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