

Local Economy Based on Livelihood Strategies of the Tenggerese Community

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ABSTRACT

Ngadisari Village, located in Sukapura Subdistrict, Probolinggo Regency, lies in close proximity to the Mount Bromo tourism area. Beyond cultivating potatoes as their primary horticultural commodity, farmers predominantly menengage in tourism-related activities, including renting jeeps, motorcycles, and horses; selling souvenirs, T-shirts, and edelweiss; providing homestay services; and operating small food stalls. This study examines the local economy of the Tenggerese community through the lens of livelihood strategies adopted by horticultural farming households that combine agricultural and tourism-based activities. A qualitative approach with descriptive and historical orientation was employed. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) involving 15 purposively selected informants. The analysis draws on the sustainable livelihoods framework and the interactive model of Miles and Huberman. The findings indicate that the local economy of the Tenggerese community is shaped by the interplay between horticultural production particularly potato farming and tourism linked to Mount Bromo. During the COVID-19 pandemic, when tourism activities were halted, households adopted adaptive livelihood diversification strategies by mobilizing human capital and shifting to short-cycle crops, notably scallions. Following the reopening of tourism, households reverted to a dual livelihood structure centered on potato farming and tourism services. These dynamics underscore the resilience and flexibility of rural livelihood strategies in responding to external shocks.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic, livelihood strategies, local economy, rural resilience

INTRODUCTION

Local economic development requires the active participation of communities, which play a strategic role in fostering sustainable economic growth through decision-making, planning, and program implementation. According to Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas, 2025), the local economy constitutes a collaborative process involving government, the private sector, and communities, to create favorable conditions for economic growth and employment generation. This perspective extends beyond purely technical economic dimensions, emphasizing partnerships and stakeholder collaboration in developing locally grounded potentials that enhance long-term community welfare. In this regard, communities are not merely passive beneficiaries but serve as key drivers of economic development. Their participation also strengthens social networks, trust, and solidarity among community members (Judijanto et al., 2024).

The Tenggerese community demonstrates a strong commitment to active participation in various socio-cultural activities, particularly those rooted in tradition. Culture may be understood as the collective expression of human creativity, values, intentions, and practices that evolve within society and are transmitted across generations (Inayah et al., 2025). Among the prominent cultural practices of the Tenggerese are rituals such as *Pujan Kapat*, *Pujan Kapitu*, *Pujan Kasanga*, *Pujan Kasada*, and *Karo*. These traditions function not only as mechanisms for preserving spiritual and social values but also as forms of social integration that reinforce communal solidarity. Maintaining cultural identity is essential for sustaining both ecological balance and economic benefits (Nurhadi et al., 2022).

The Tenggerese people uphold the sacredness of Mount Bromo through a spiritual emotional approach embedded in customary and cultural practices. These traditions are closely linked to nature, as Mount Bromo is not merely perceived as a tourist destination but as an integral part of Tenggerese life. A deeply held belief asserts that neglecting nature may result in disaster, such as volcanic eruptions. One of the most significant manifestations of this belief is the *Pujan Kasada* ritual, an annual ceremonial offering in which agricultural and livestock products are presented into the crater of Mount Bromo as an expression of gratitude and reverence toward nature. Other rituals *Pujan Kapat*, *Pujan Kapitu*, and *Pujan Kasanga* symbolize prayers for safety, purity, balance with nature, and harmony among humans, the environment, and the Creator.

The existence of Mount Bromo as a major tourism destination has generated significant positive impacts on the local economy of the Tenggerese community. As stipulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 70/2009 (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 10 Tahun 2009), tourist attractions encompass natural, cultural, and human-made features that possess uniqueness, beauty, and value for visitors. The development of Mount Bromo as one of East Java's flagship destinations has encouraged livelihood diversification. The Tenggerese community practices a dual livelihood system, combining agricultural activities primarily potato farming with tourism-related work. However, potato production in Sukapura Subdistrict has shown fluctuations, increasing from 156,120 tons in 2021 to 163,040 tons in 2022, before declining to 133,512 tons in 2023 (BPS Kabupaten Probolinggo, 2021). These fluctuations reflect the vulnerability of agriculture to agro-climatic conditions, land availability, production inputs, and market dynamics. Consequently, households seek alternative income sources in the tourism sector, engaging in activities such as horse-riding services, jeep driving, street vending, food stalls, and homestay management. This dual livelihood pattern serves as both an income-generating strategy and a form of local economic resilience.

The local economy of the Tenggerese community has evolved significantly with the development of tourism in Mount Bromo. However, the COVID-19 pandemic created a major disruption, particularly due to mobility restrictions and temporary closures of tourist destinations (Noviantoro, 2022). COVID-19, caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus and first identified in Wuhan, China, in December 2019, was officially declared a public health emergency in Indonesia through Presidential Decree No. 11 of 2020. The pandemic drastically reduced tourist arrivals, leading to severe income losses for households dependent on tourism. During this period, many community members shifted to alternative livelihoods, including agriculture, petty trade, online driving services, and informal labor. Households engaged in tourism experienced heightened economic vulnerability due to the absence of visitors (Gusriza et al., 2023). These conditions compelled farming households to adapt their livelihood strategies in response to external shocks (Isnaini & Angelia, 2022).

Table I. Number of International and Domestic Tourists in Probolinggo Regency

Year	International Tourists	Domestic Tourists	Total
2018	52.546	846.530	899.076
2019	55.284	968.306	1.023.590
2020	5.513	496.552	502.065
2021	211	459.448	459.659
2022	11.653	822.523	833.906
2023	37.094	854.956	892.050

Tourism statistics in Probolinggo Regency between 2018 and 2023 demonstrate significant fluctuations. Tourist arrivals increased by 13.9% in 2019 compared to 2018, reflecting the growing attractiveness of Mount Bromo. However, the pandemic led to a decline of more than 50.9% in 2020, with further decreases in 2021. International tourist arrivals dropped dramatically by 99.6%, from 55,284 in 2019 to only 211 in 2021. Following the easing of mobility restrictions, the tourism sector began to recover in 2022, with an increase of 81.4% compared to the previous year. These trends highlight both the vulnerability of tourism to external shocks and its strong recovery capacity (resilience). Fluctuations in tourist arrivals have had direct implications for the local economy, prompting shifts between dependence on agriculture and diversification into tourism-based livelihoods.

Previous studies on livelihood strategies have documented similar patterns of adaptation. Novikarumsari et al. (2020) found that agrarian structural changes compelled farmers to adopt dual livelihood strategies by reallocating family labor to non-farm activities such as construction work, parking services, and food vending. Rahmawati et al. (2023) highlighted that crop failure drives farmers to diversify livelihoods across multiple sectors, including wage labor, trade, and horticulture. Paranta et al. (2023) emphasized the importance of combining farm and non-farm income sources. Furthermore, studies on livelihood strategies during the COVID-19 pandemic (Yulasteriyani et al., 2024; Pramesvari & Wahyuni, 2022; Koda et al., 2022; Gusriza et al., 2023) reveal that households engaged in various adaptive strategies such as online commerce, home-based production, and informal work.

Despite this growing body of literature, studies specifically examining the livelihood strategies of the Tenggerese community particularly those situated in tourism-adjacent areas and navigating dual livelihoods across pre-pandemic, pandemic, and post-pandemic periods remain limited. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the transformation of livelihood strategies among the Tenggerese community in Ngadisari Village, Sukapura Subdistrict, Probolinggo Regency, across these three temporal phases.

METHODS

This study, entitled “*Local Economy Based on Livelihood Strategies of the Tenggerese Community*,” was conducted in Ngadisari Village, Sukapura Subdistrict, Probolinggo Regency. The research site was selected purposively based on several considerations. First, the location provides a relevant empirical setting for examining a distinctive form of local economy rooted in collective social practices of the Tenggerese community. Second, the local economy is closely linked to the Mount Bromo tourism sector, which represents a flagship destination in East Java. Third, the village’s proximity to Mount Bromo reflects a dual livelihood structure combining agricultural and tourism-based activities.

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method, emphasizing in-depth understanding of social phenomena and capturing empirical realities as experienced by participants. The approach prioritizes subjective perspectives, including the attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors of informants (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019). Informants were selected using purposive sampling, based on their relevance to the research objectives (Bungin, 2017). The selection criteria included: (1) members of the Tenggerese community with knowledge of the local economy and its transformations, and (2) farmers who are simultaneously engaged in tourism-related activities, such as managing homestays, renting horses, jeeps, or motorcycles, and operating food stalls.

Data collection was conducted through observation, in-depth interviews, and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) involving 15 purposively selected informants. Observations focused on agricultural practices (including potato cultivation, land preparation, and pesticide application) as well as tourism-related activities such as horse transport services, jeep operations, and community ceremonial events.

Data were analyzed using the sustainable livelihoods framework combined with the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, encompassing data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The analytical scope focuses on livelihood strategies of the Tenggerese community across three temporal phases pre-pandemic, during the pandemic, and post-pandemic drawing on Ellis (2000), which categorizes livelihood activities into on-farm, off-farm, and non-farm sectors. The fieldwork was conducted over a period of seven months, from December 2024 to June 2025.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Local Economy of the Tenggerese Community

The local economy of the Tenggerese community is primarily structured around horticultural farming combined with supplementary employment in the tourism sector. Agricultural production particularly potato cultivation and tourism activities associated with Mount Bromo function in a complementary manner, forming the dual pillars of household livelihoods, especially for communities residing in Ngadisari Village.

Income generated from tourism activities such as renting jeeps, motorcycles, and horses; selling accessories, T-shirts, and edelweiss; providing homestay services; and operating small food stalls is primarily allocated for daily consumption needs. In contrast, income derived from agricultural activities, particularly potato farming, is typically treated as savings. These savings are utilized for major expenditures, including higher education, marriage ceremonies, and other customary social events. This pattern reflects a strategic allocation of income sources within rural households, where different livelihood activities serve distinct economic functions.

Livelihood Strategies of the Tenggerese Community

Livelihood strategies refer to the ways in which individuals or communities construct and sustain their means of living, cope with challenges, and improve their socio-economic conditions. As argued by Chambers (1995) in Scoones (2024), rural livelihoods extend beyond farming activities to include diverse non-agricultural pursuits, often characterized by a combination of specialization and diversification. Livelihood strategies are dynamic and become particularly prominent in times of crisis or external shocks. In such contexts, communities are required to adopt adaptive measures to sustain their livelihoods and recover from disruptions. This adaptive capacity is commonly conceptualized as livelihood resilience (Saraswati & Dharmawan, 2014).

Livelihood strategies vary between normal and crisis conditions. During periods of crisis, households are compelled to mobilize additional resources and diversify their income sources to cope with emerging challenges. As noted by Dharmawan and Nissa (2020), household resilience is not solely determined by the level of vulnerability but by the capacity to respond and adapt. Resilience is shaped by both internal factors such as skills, knowledge, experience, and assets and external factors, including social networks, institutional support, government policies, and environmental conditions. Thus, household resilience can be understood as a dynamic interaction between internal capacities and external opportunities, resulting in adaptive and transformative livelihood strategies.

According to Ellis (2000), livelihood strategies encompass a set of choices and actions related to the utilization of available resources and assets. In the case of the Tenggerese community, households combine agricultural activities as their primary livelihood with tourism-based activities as supplementary income sources. These livelihood patterns reflect the configuration of livelihood assets across different temporal phases: pre-pandemic, during the pandemic, and post-pandemic. The sustainable livelihoods framework conceptualizes this process as the interaction between livelihood assets, strategies, and outcomes.

Drawing on Scoones (1998), livelihood assets can be categorized into natural capital, financial capital, human capital, and social capital. Among the Tenggerese community, natural capital includes agricultural land (*tegalan*) and water resources; financial capital comprises savings, physical assets, and cash reserves; human capital encompasses knowledge, experience, and skills; while social capital refers to networks and social relations. These forms of capital collectively support the community's economic activities, particularly in agriculture, while also enabling diversification into tourism-related sectors.

The COVID-19 pandemic marked a critical period of income vulnerability for the Tenggerese community. The decline in tourism due to mobility restrictions significantly reduced household income, forcing communities to rely more heavily on agriculture and informal work. The utilization of livelihood assets during this period played a crucial role in shaping household economic resilience. Employment types also influenced livelihood patterns, reinforcing the importance of diversified strategies encompassing on-farm, off-farm, and non-farm activities (Ellis, 2000). These strategies enabled households to maintain economic stability despite external shocks, demonstrating the central role of livelihood diversification in sustaining rural livelihoods.

On-Farm Livelihood Strategies

On-farm livelihood strategies refer to activities within the agricultural sector, including farming, livestock, and plantation-based production (Ellis, 2000). In the Tenggerese context, these strategies are heavily dependent on natural capital, particularly agricultural land and environmental conditions in mountainous areas. The cultivation of horticultural commodities such as potatoes, cabbage, and scallions constitutes the primary livelihood activity.

Agricultural practices have been inherited across generations, forming an integral part of the community's socio-economic structure. According to the 2023 Village Monograph Data of Ngadisari, approximately 80.82% (1,114 individuals) of the population are engaged in farming, indicating the dominance of agriculture as the primary livelihood. Farmers function not only as small-scale producers meeting subsistence needs but are also integrated into broader market systems at local and regional levels (Bernstein, 2019). Thus, their role extends beyond household economic units to include contributions to food security and rural economic systems.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Tenggerese community relied predominantly on agricultural activities due to the cessation of tourism. This finding aligns with previous studies (Isnaini & Angelia, 2022), which show that declining tourist arrivals eliminate supplementary income sources, forcing households to revert to primary agricultural livelihoods. In Ngadisari Village, tourism workers shifted back to farming following the closure of Mount Bromo by the park authority.

Table 2. Summary of On-Farm, Off-Farm, and Non-Farm Livelihood Strategies of the Tenggerese Community (Pre-, During, and Post-Pandemic) in Ngadisari Village

Livelihood Strategies	Before Covid-19 Pandemic	During Covid-19 Pandemic	After Covid-19 Pandemic
<i>On-Farm</i>	Primary occupation	Primary occupation	Primary occupation
	Income allocated for savings	Income allocated for daily household needs	Income allocated for savings
	Cultivation of horticultural crops (potatoes, cabbage, and scallions)	Cultivation of horticultural crops, with a preference for short-cycle crops such as scallions	Cultivation of horticultural crops
	Livelihood sources derived from natural, financial, and human capital	Livelihood sources derived from natural, financial, and human capital	Livelihood sources derived from natural, financial, and human capital
<i>Off-Farm</i>	Engagement in sharecropping arrangements based on land ownership and capital availability	Households do not engage in off-farm activities	Households do not engage in off-farm activities
	Derived from natural and financial capital		
<i>Non-Farm</i>	Secondary occupation	Secondary occupation	Secondary occupation
	Village official	Village official	Village official
	Cooperative administrator	Cooperative administrator	Cooperative administrator
	Fuel retailing	Fuel retailing	Fuel retailing
	Tourism-related activities (horse services, jeep drivers, homestay operators, and street vendors)	-	Tourism-related activities (horse services, jeep drivers, homestay operators, and street vendors)
	Utilizing financial, human, and social capital	Utilizing financial, human, and social capital	Utilizing financial, human, and social capital

However, the pandemic also disrupted agricultural marketing systems due to mobility restrictions, leading to delays in product distribution. Farmers were required to temporarily store harvested crops and selectively distribute them to areas categorized as “green zones,” where market access remained open. As expressed by an informant: “At that time, red zones were restricted, so we looked for markets in green zones. Harvested vegetables could not be immediately sold or delivered, so we had to store them until distribution was possible... but overall, our economy remained relatively stable.”

These conditions illustrate how agricultural activities functioned as a buffer during the crisis, despite facing logistical constraints. Adaptation strategies included shifting to short-cycle crops such as scallions, which provided quicker returns and reduced risk.

Following the pandemic, the Tenggerese community resumed diversified agricultural practices as part of farm management strategies. This diversification includes both horizontal diversification (cultivating multiple crops within the same land) and vertical diversification (processing agricultural products or expanding market access, including tourism-linked markets). These strategies enhance value addition and broaden economic opportunities.

Agricultural land (*tegalan*) is generally managed independently by households, with outputs serving not only daily consumption needs but also savings and social obligations. Ownership of agricultural assets plays a crucial role in mitigating income vulnerability and enhancing household resilience during economic shocks. This finding supports previous research (Pramesvari & Wahyuni, 2022), which highlights the role of agriculture as a fallback strategy when tourism activities decline.

Additionally, the geographical proximity of Ngadisari Village to Mount Bromo exposes the community to environmental risks, such as volcanic eruptions. In response, farmers adopt adaptive strategies by cultivating crops that are more resilient to volcanic ash, such as scallions. This reflects a form of ecological adaptation embedded within livelihood strategies, further reinforcing the resilience of the Tenggerese community.

Off-Farm Livelihood Strategies

According to Ellis (2000), off-farm livelihood strategies refer to income-generating activities derived from agricultural-related work outside one’s own farm, typically in the form of wages, labor arrangements, or sharecropping systems. Among the Tenggerese community, sharecropping practices emerge primarily due to limited access to financial capital for independent farming operations.

Households possessing agricultural land (*tegalan*) generally cultivate it independently; however, capital constraints often necessitate the adoption of sharecropping (*paroan*) arrangements. In such cases, landowners collaborate with other individuals who contribute inputs such as seeds, agrochemicals, or labor, and the resulting output is divided based on mutual agreement. As expressed by an informant:

“I have two plots of land; one of them I entrusted to a friend under a sharecropping system because I could not manage it myself. I contributed labor and manure, while my friend provided seeds and pesticides. The harvest is then divided equally—if the revenue is 50, each gets 25.”

This arrangement highlights the interplay between natural capital (land ownership) and financial capital (availability of inputs) in shaping livelihood strategies. The sharecropping system functions as a risk-sharing mechanism that enables continued agricultural production despite capital limitations.

However, off-farm strategies are not continuously practiced but are situational, typically emerging during periods of financial constraint. These arrangements may involve either cultivating another person’s land or allowing one’s land to be managed by others, depending on resource availability.

Empirically, off-farm strategies among the Tenggerese community were primarily observed in the pre-pandemic period. During the COVID-19 pandemic, there was no significant transformation in off-farm strategies, as households shifted their focus toward on-farm activities and informal work. While previous studies (Paranta et al., 2023) highlight wage labor in agricultural activities (e.g., planting, maintenance, and harvesting) as part of off-farm income, such practices became less prominent in Ngadisari Village.

In the post-pandemic period, potato-farming households no longer actively engaged in off-farm wage labor. Instead, agricultural activities were predominantly managed independently, with labor shortages addressed by hiring farmworkers from neighboring villages. Consequently, off-farm strategies remained limited, with sharecropping as the primary form of engagement.

Non-Farm Livelihood Strategies

Non-farm livelihood strategies refer to income sources derived from activities outside the agricultural sector, including tourism services, wage labor, and informal occupations (Ellis, 2000). The Tenggerese community adopts a dual livelihood system in which agriculture serves as the primary source of income—particularly through potato cultivation—while non-farm activities function as supplementary income sources that enhance household economic resilience.

Non-farm occupations among the Tenggerese include roles such as village officials, members of tourism awareness groups (*Kelompok Sadar Wisata*), jeep drivers, horse transport operators, homestay providers, food stall owners, and street vendors. This diversification of livelihoods not only generates additional income but also serves as an adaptive mechanism in response to socio-economic dynamics, including crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

As noted by Noviantoro (2022), rural households actively utilize tourism potential particularly that of Mount Bromo to supplement their income. Non-farm activities primarily support daily consumption needs, whereas agricultural income is often reserved for long-term savings. This dual livelihood pattern reflects a strategic allocation of resources aimed at income stabilization (Fridayanti, 2013).

Prior to the pandemic, tourism-related activities played a crucial role in sustaining household consumption and financing social obligations. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the closure of Mount Bromo resulted in the complete cessation of tourism-related income, significantly affecting the local economy. As described by an informant:

“During COVID, I still worked in agriculture, but I also took on odd jobs—like construction work—to earn additional income. I planted low-cost crops like broccoli, which could be harvested in two months, with minimal maintenance costs, so there was still some income.”

The loss of tourism income forced households to reallocate labor toward agriculture and informal sectors, including construction work; village administration, cooperative activities, and small-scale trading such as fuel sales. This finding aligns with previous studies (Pramesvari & Wahyuni, 2022; Gusriza et al., 2023), which demonstrate that rural communities respond to declining tourism by diversifying into alternative income sources, including agriculture, trade, and informal employment.

This adaptive response reflects the community’s capacity to reorganize livelihood strategies in the face of external shocks. The temporary collapse of the tourism sector due to lockdowns and mobility restrictions compelled the Tenggerese community to rely predominantly on agriculture as their primary livelihood.

In the post-pandemic period, the reopening of tourism activities in Mount Bromo has reactivated non-farm opportunities. Households have resumed their involvement in tourism-related activities, reintegrating this sector into their livelihood strategies. This reconfiguration strengthens the dual livelihood system, where tourism complements agriculture as a source of additional income.

Overall, non-farm livelihood strategies play a critical role in enhancing household resilience by providing flexibility and diversification in income sources, enabling communities to better cope with socio-economic uncertainties and environmental risks.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and data analysis, this study concludes that the local economy of the Tenggerese community is structured around two interrelated sectors: horticultural agriculture particularly potato cultivation and tourism associated with Mount Bromo. This local economy is sustained through three interconnected livelihood strategies: on-farm, off-farm, and non-farm.

First, on-farm strategies constitute the primary livelihood of potato-farming households. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, households cultivated various horticultural commodities, including potatoes, cabbage, and scallions. During the pandemic, when tourism activities were suspended, households adapted by prioritizing short-cycle crops particularly scallions to meet immediate consumption needs. In the post-pandemic period, households resumed diversified horticultural cultivation, including potatoes, cabbage, and scallions.

Second, off-farm strategies are reflected in the adoption of sharecropping arrangements, which enable households with limited capital to sustain agricultural production through resource-sharing mechanisms.

Third, non-farm strategies involve engagement in tourism-related activities and the diversification of household enterprises by leveraging the skills and capacities of family members. Following the reopening of tourism activities, households reintegrated this sector into their livelihood portfolios.

Overall, the transformation of these livelihood strategies across pre-pandemic, pandemic, and post-pandemic periods demonstrates that Tenggerese farming households possess a high degree of resilience and adaptability in responding to socio-economic changes and external shocks.

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