

# Banyuwangi *Angklung Caruk* Festival: Aesthetic Reconstruction in Cultural Commodification Practice

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**Abstract**—The increasingly rapid development of era as a result of technological advancement drives social and cultural changes in the lives of Indonesian people. In responding these changes, cultural adaptation becomes a necessity, especially in the aspects of ideas, thoughts, values, and actions. One of the real forms of cultural adaptation occurs in Banyuwangi, the regency in the eastern tip of Java. The change in socio-cultural configuration from an agrarian to an industrial society is responded by the Banyuwangi government by constructing a policy to change the direction of its regional development, from an agricultural economy to a tourism industry-based economy. Based on this policy, various acts of commodification of local potentials finally emerged, including the commodification of *Osing* traditional arts for the purpose of cultural tourism in Banyuwangi. This research is a study of the reality of the commodification of *Osing* traditional music, *Angklung Caruk*, in the context of the development of Banyuwangi cultural tourism. The study used a qualitative approach with the data collection methods including observation, interviews, and document studies. The data were analyzed using the Spradley's ethnographic analysis model. It was found that (1) the commodification of *Angklung Caruk* is carried out by considering the uniqueness of competitive forms of performance, (2) the commodification is carried out by reconstructing the structure and form of the *Angklung Caruk* performance, and (3) the commodification resulted in the emergence of kitschy *Angklung Caruk* performances.

**Keywords:** *commodification, Angklung Caruk, competition, kitsch*

## I. INTRODUCTION

The revolution of industry started in the mid-18th century has become a milestone in the history of world civilization towards the modern era. The revolution has been able to change the order of economic, social and cultural lives of the world community. The main factor is a fundamental change in the increasingly massive and widespread production process in various fields such as agriculture, mining, transportation and other

technologies. It started from the territory of the United Kingdom that the revolution of industry spread to various countries and continents, including to Indonesia (Clark, 2001); (Baiquni, 2009); (Landes, 2014). To date, the the revolution of industry has even reached the 4.0 era marked by symptoms of disruption i.e. the decreased role of humans in producing goods and services, which is subsequently replaced by various kinds of artificial intelligence technological products.

In Indonesia, the revolution of industry had actually begun since the colonial era, the Dutch colonial power with VOC companies until the Japanese occupation (Susetawan, 1997:31-33). In the post-colonial era, Indonesia continued the industrial era through cooperation with various countries to lay the foundations of development based on production capabilities. Industrialization in Indonesia initially covered basic manufacturing to support infrastructure development, such as the steel and mining industries. However, during its development, industrialization in Indonesia expanded by initiating various fields that could be sold and produced massively, including the agricultural and tourism industries (Susetawan, 1997)

The quite monumental tourism industry in Indonesia began in 1991 with echoing of the tagline "Visit Indonesia Years". The basis of the emergence of the strategy of the Visit Indonesia Years cannot be separated from the consideration that the tourism industry promises large foreign exchange earnings. In addition, the relief of Indonesia's diverse landscapes and the richness of exotic ethnics and cultures are potentials that can be produced in packages that attract both domestic and foreign tourists to visit and watch them (Siahaan, 2008).

Since 1991 until now, the tourism industry in Indonesia has continued to be developed. The

development occurs because in reality, this sector has contributed a large income to the country (Siahaan, 2008); (Shasta Pratomo, 2009). Therefore, in every change of government, there is always a post of the ministry of tourism. Even today, along with the golden era of information technology, the government is beginning to explore, discover, and construct new tourist destinations to complement previously well-known destinations e.g. Bali, Yogyakarta, and Toraja. The extensification of the tourism sector by opening up these new destinations occurred, for example, in the Labuan Bajo region in Nusa Tenggara Timur, Raja Ampat in Papua, Mandalika in Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Banyuwangi in East Java.

As one of the areas of tourism development in Java, Banyuwangi has intensively started to improve, especially since this decade. Under the leadership of the regent Abdullah Azwar Anas, who started to hold the position on October 21, 2010, Banyuwangi turned up to be a new tourist destination to be reckoned with. The breakthrough of Regent Azwar Anas began as he initiated the construction of an international airport, which had been aspired since the era of Regent Purnomo Sidik in 1991. Ease of access with the existence of an airport and the location of Banyuwangi close to Bali are the important promising factor of the tourism development in Banyuwangi.

In addition to the two aspects mentioned, the potential for Banyuwangi tourism development is supported by the diversity of environmental ecology and cultural exoticism. These two aspects are carefully mapped by Regent Azwar Anas. As a result, new tourism locations based on the natural environment in Banyuwangi, which are ready to captivate the eyes of visitors and, at the same time, facilitate the passion to self-actualize on social media by taking pictures (selfie), have come to existence. On the other hand, the richness of diversity of Banyuwangi people's cultural products, such as customs, habits, culinary, rituals, to arts of the community, makes Banyuwangi an exotic cultural tourism destination.

Based on these cultural capitals, the extensification and intensification of Banyuwangi tourism was constructed by the Banyuwangi regional government through the strategy of organizing a cultural festival. With the tagline "Majestic Banyuwangi: The Sun Rise of Java", the Banyuwangi government through the Department of Culture and Tourism held hundreds of cultural festivals which took place sequentially for one year, ranging from arts, food (culinary), rituals, games, to fashion festivals. These festivals have increased in frequency since Regent Azwar Anas held the

position.

It is this development of tourism objects and cultural festivals that ultimately makes the world's eyes turn to see Banyuwangi. This is evidenced from the increase in the number of domestic and foreign tourists to Banyuwangi. In 2013, domestic tourists visiting Banyuwangi amounted to 1,057,952, which increased to 5,039,934 in 2018. Meanwhile, the number of foreign tourists in 2013 of 10,462 increased to 127,420 in 2018 (Banyuwangi, 2019).

The data confirm that as a region that was once considered a marginalized, subordinated, and a developing area with a negative stereotype and full of suspicion (Sungkowati, 2003); (Herriman, 2007) has now appeared to be a tourist destination full of charms, energetic, creative and full of vitality. Even, the cultural festivalization has made Banyuwangi a cultural force of East Java, which is able to keep pace with Ponorogo, Madura, Jember, and Surabaya, which previously seemed more active in cultural festival events.

Framed in a tourism destination, cultural festivals organized by the Banyuwangi government employ a creative strategy i.e. cultural commodification. Commodification is the making of cultures, in the form of values, behaviors and cultural products, a commodity sold for the benefit of the tourism industry. As a commodity, the cultural elements are of course packaged into a form that is more easily "consumed" by the wider community. Another characteristic of commodification is that the cultural packaging presented is the imitation or synopsis of its original form (Widyastuti, 2011: 201); (Minawati, 2013) (Ye et al., 2018).

Among the various commodifications presented in the Banyuwangi cultural festivals, one of which is the commodification of traditional arts. Banyuwangi is indeed famous for having a rich variety of traditional arts. From a number of traditional arts presented in cultural festivals, almost all of them come from the traditions of the *Osing* community, the Banyuwangi indigenous community. This traditional art commodification model is evident, for example, in the *Gandrung Sewu* festival, the literary festival, *Gending Banyuwangen* festival, *Kuntulan Caruk* festival, and *Angklung Caruk* festival.

*Angklung Caruk* in the socio-cultural context of the *Osing* community is a performance model, which brings together two *angklung* music groups on one stage to compete with each other to show their skills in playing *angklung* music. The process of demonstrating the ability to play music is done by exhibiting and imitating each other musical

compositions (*gending*) made by the two groups. This art is also often called *Bali Balian* art (Karsono, 2004); (Hastanto, 2007).

The *Angklung Caruk* or *Bali Balian* performance has long been developing in Banyuwangi. Based on previous research reports, in the 1930s, there was already a crowd in the Banyuwangi Tegalloyi square. The crowd was caused by the presence of some *angklung* groups from various villages that gather and take turns presenting *gending* (Pigeaud, 1932). The development and continuity of *Angklung Caruk*'s life subsequently appeared in the research report of Banyuwangi Education and Culture (E&C) Office (1976), research of East Java E&C regional office (1996), Sutton's book (1991), Wolbers' thesis research (1992), Karsono's research (2004), Hastanto's article (2007), and the article rewritten from Wolbers' research report (2014).

As Banyuwangi's socio-culture changes from agrarian to industrial era, in the early decades of the third millennium, around 2010, the art of *Angklung Caruk* had begun to experience a crisis of existence and was very rarely performed again. This was due to the social context of *Angklung Caruk* that was no longer supporting. *Angklung Caruk* was born and lives in the womb of an agrarian culture whose life cycle is not as rigidly structured as industrial society's. Therefore, when industrialization has begun to enter Banyuwangi, *Angklung Caruk* will rarely be performed in the social celebration of the *Osing* community because it might not be relevant to the cycle of industrial community activities.

From the unfavorable situation of industrialization for *Angklung Caruk*, the Banyuwangi regency government tried to reconstruct the show by packaging it into the *Angklung Caruk* festival. The goal is not only for cultural tourism commodities but also for the preservation of traditional arts. *Caruk Angklung* Festival has been included in the agenda of the Banyuwangi cultural festivals since 2017 and 2018.

In the context of a cultural festival for tourism, *Angklung Caruk* is clearly seen as a commodity. This position naturally places it in a contradictory situation. On the other hand, there is a need for the preservation of *Angklung Caruk* through travel packages, the impact of which is of course productive for regional income. The commodification of tradition, which also occurs at *Angklung Caruk*, is often accused of lowering the quality and "aura" of cultural originality as in the real life context. This is certainly counterproductive to the preservation of the "aesthetic quality" of the art. In this contradictory situation, this study is interested in finding the answers of (1) why *Angklung Caruk* becomes one of the traditional musics commodified

for tourism, (2) how the commodification of *Angklung Caruk* occurred, and (3) what is the impact of the commodification for Banyuwangi tourism and for *Osing* community culture.

## II. METHOD

This study was conducted in Banyuwangi, focused on the series of activities of the *Caruk Angklung* festivals held in 2017 and 2018. The series of activities investigated are limited to the preparation until implementation to of the festivals. In a series of *Caruk Angklung* festival activities each year, it takes approximately 2 months from the announcement/outreach to the implementation. Based on the activity scheme, the field study was carried out in 3 months for each year. This was done to enable data collection in a more flexible time.

Based on the focus of the research to be studied, this study used a qualitative approach. The research method used is the ethnographic method developed by Spadley. The method which is based on the flow of 'new ethnography' believes that culture actually exists in people's minds. The task of the researcher is to raise this thought out, so that it can be understood and explained again as the public understands, views and regulates their cultural sphere (Spradley, 2006: xii-xv).

In line with the Spradley's method above, data collection techniques in this study included participant observation, interviews, and documentation studies. The data collection in this study included observation, interview, and documentation study techniques. Observations were made during the preparations before the festival until the time of the *Angklung Caruk* festival. Interviews were conducted with *Angklung Caruk* artists, festival participants, and the community involved in this event. The document studies were conducted on the documentation products produced by the researchers and documentation belonging to the Banyuwangi Culture and Tourism Office, uploaded in the Facebook account "Kabupaten Banyuwangi".

## III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### A. *Angklung Caruk: Musical Competition*

*Angklung Caruk* is a performing art of *Osing* traditional music, which in its performance presents two *Angklung* music groups to compete with each other, pitting musical abilities. In linguistic meaning, *Angklung* refers to its notion of an *Osing* musical instrument in the form of bamboo blades, which is played by being hit using two wooden beaters. Meanwhile, *Caruk* linguistically means "to

meet". Thus, *Angklung Caruk* means a group of *angklung* artists who meet. Specifically, they meet to outperform each other's musical abilities through the activity of showing off musical works and imitating the opponent's.

At the time of *caruk*, the *Angklung* music groups play a set of *gamelan*, which consisted of not only *angklung*, but also other instruments including *slenthem*, *saron*, gong, drum, and *kenul*. With the presence of two *Angklung* groups on one *Angklung Caruk* stage, there are two sets of *angklung gamelan* that are traditionally arranged facing each other. The setting of the sets of *angklung gamelan* on the stage can be illustrated in more detail in Figure 1 below:

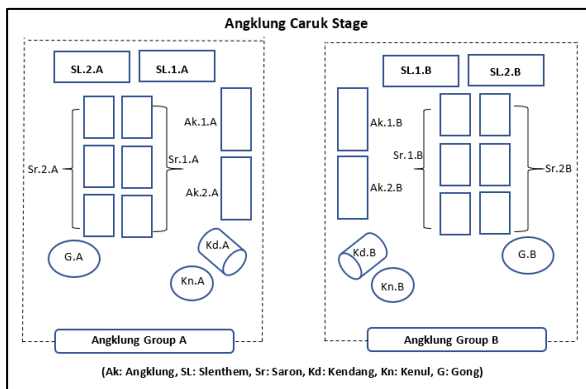


Figure 1. Musical instrument setting on the *Angklung Caruk* stage

From the picture above, it can be seen that the custom of arranging musical instruments on the *Angklung Caruk* stage is reflective by facing two musical ensembles of the two groups, let's say *Angklung A* and *Angklung B*, in a position that seems to reflect each other. This musical instrument arrangement model caused the position of the *angklung* artists from the two groups would face each other during their performance on the stage. The *angklung* instrument arrangement model is related to the pattern and process of competition that occurs between musicians at the time of presentation.

The pattern of competition in the *Angklung Caruk* show is regulated through the traditional performance agreement. The pattern is structured in the presentation part by part of the show. The order of presentation in the competition pattern of the *Angklung Caruk* show can be illustrated through the scheme in Figure 2 below.

From figure 2, it can be seen that each *angklung* group is given the opportunity alternately to present and imitate *gending* (music composition). Part 1 presenting *gending giro-giroan* is a part that gives an opportunity for each group to present the repertoire of their collection of musical works, which have been made for previous performances. *Gending*

*Penghormatan* is a piece of music containing greetings, group introductions, and opening creations made by a group to honor the host (show organizer). *Gending Embat-Embat*, often called *Blindrang*, is a musical composition that must be presented by each group. This musical notation is fixed and is a traditional *gending* that originates from *Gandrung* art. However, in *Angklung Caruk*, *gending embat-embat* can be presented with different arrangements. *Gending Engselan* is also a fixed notation but may be arranged according to group tastes.

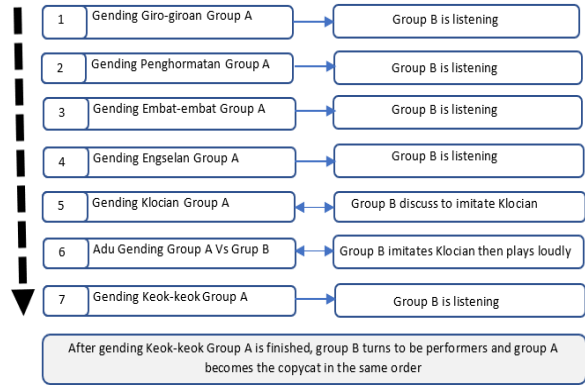


Figure 2. Scheme of the presentation order of *Angklung Caruk* parts

*Gending Klocian* is a new composition (*gending*), which is mainly played by two musicians (in *Osing*, musicians are called *Panjak*) of *Angklung* instruments. *Panjak Angklung* is commonly called *Satu*. In presenting *klocian*, one of the *Satu* 'will bring a series of complex *angklung* melodies, which must be imitated by the opposing group, while the *Satu* who becomes his partner will make a 'disruptive melody' to make it difficult for the opposing group to detect and imitate the melody. This *klocian* part will continue with *adu gending*. *Panjak Saturn* of the opposing group will discuss to try to learn, guess, and imitate the opponent's *klocian*. After feeling able to imitate, the opposing group will play hard and loud the *klocian* so that it can be heard and asked if the imitation is successful.

In the *Angklung Caruk* tradition, this *adu gending* part will last long. This happens because of the process of arguing with each other about the truth of imitation in complex situations, which is often accompanied with emotional tension between *panjak Angklung*. The tension is getting stronger when the audience also get involved and evaluate the right imitation of *gending klocian*. The audience will ridicule and even blasphemy each other as a result of the actions supporting the competition of the *panjak* on stage.

In the development of the *Angklung Caruk* show, *gending* imitation, which initially only

involved *klocian Satu*', developed into a whole *gending* imitation. Therefore, *adu gending* facilitates musical battles between *Saturn* and between *panjak* as a whole. In the development of this model, after the *angselan* part, the presenting group will play a new piece of music in full before coming into the battle of *klocian* compositions. (Karsono, 2004) This is why each group always prepares new *gending* before *caruk*, at least one month or a week before meeting their opponents on stage (Karsono, 2004)

In the midst of the fierce *adu gending*, there is one more performance entity called *badut* (clown). Each *angklung* group brought its own clown. Thus, there are two clowns in each *angklung caruk* performance. When a group plays a role as a presenter, its clowns will perform, which starts from the *penghormatan* to *keok-keok* parts. The clown is tasked to dance and lead the presentation of the *angklung* group by part, but in the situations of *adu gending*, this clown often plays a contradictory role. He can mediate between groups, but because of emotional ties with their groups, it is uncommon that the clown becomes subjective and mocks the imitators. He even contributes to the assessment that the *gending* is wrong. This behavior makes the clown more visible as a provocateur amid the excitement of the competition between *Angklung* groups. The clown provocation can be done with verbal expressions or dance movements that mock the opponent.

After the *adu gending* is finished, the presenter plays *gending keok-keok* which marks the series of stages of presentation. *Angklung Caruk* artists in several interviews linked the use of this *gending keok-keok* with the reality of winning and losing. "Keok" means "lose". Thus, this *gending keok-keok* is regarded as a symbolic statement regarding the "losing" of one group over another. In reality, in the midst of *adu gending*, as the presenting group plays *gending keok-keok*, and then the emotion of the imitating group will immediately be lit. The emotion is expressed by shouting, claiming that the imitator is correct, uttering words loudly and sometimes coming to the presenting group to stop the *keok-keok* presentation.

It is the pattern and process of the musical competition in this unique *Angklung Caruk* show that makes this art reconstructed to be made one of the agenda of the Banyuwangi cultural festivals. On the final night of the *Angklung Caruk* festival held on February 17, 2018, the master of ceremony (MC) clearly revealed that the art of *Angklung Caruk* was a unique performance owned by the *Osing* community in Banyuwangi. The process of "guessing" the melody in *adu gending* is the tiptop of this uniqueness and is perhaps the only one in

Indonesia.

As far as the searching of the author, musical competition performances have indeed existed in several regions in Indonesia. In Banten, there is a *Ngadu Bedug* show that pits the beauty of the musical pieces of the drum instrument musical groups (Kuswandari, 2014) In Jembrana Bali, there is *Jegog Mebarung* who pits the strength and loudness of the *jegog* sounds between groups (Sukerna, 2001). In Banyuwangi itself, there is *Kuntulan Caruk*, besides *Angklung Caruk*. However, the music competition in *Kuntulan Caruk* is inspired or developed after the presence of *Angklung Caruk*. Of the three arts, it is indeed only *Angklung Caruk* that has a part that pits the ability to 'receive' and then imitate the melody created by the opposing group.

Thus, it can be seen that the musical performance of *Angklung Caruk* does have its specialty and uniqueness in the pattern and process of its competition. The uniqueness of *adu gending* is the unique identity of the *Osing* people who love to compete and like to play. From this reality, the reconstruction of *Angklung Caruk* in the process of commodification into an agenda of the Banyuwangi cultural festivals is a relevant decision.

#### *A. Structure and form of Angklung Caruk festival*

The *Angklung Caruk* show did not develop well until the third millennium. In 2003, there were only seven active *Angklung* groups invited on several occasions to the *caruk* show that remained and were spread out in 4 districts (Karsono, 2004). This condition is much different than before the millennium in the 90s decade, in which there were still around 20 *Angklung* groups spread in almost all *Osing* residents in 10 districts (Tim, 1976) Even, by the second decade of the millennium, in 2011 until now, there are no more *Angklung Caruk* performances in the context of the social celebration of the *Osing* community's life cycle.

Before being listed in the Banyuwangi cultural tourism agenda, *Angklung Caruk* festival activities had actually already existed. From the information of the artists, in 1997, there was a kind of *Angklung Caruk* festival held, which brought together many *angklung* groups from various *Osing* villages. The model of the festival was pitting musical abilities between *angklung* groups with the scheme similar to sports tournaments. Each group was drawn first to get an opponent. Each group had to pass the preliminary round until finally reaching the final. Unfortunately, the festival which aimed to preserve the *Angklung Caruk* art was also not sustainable. This was due to the emergence of an impact in the form of conflict between the supporters of the

*Angklung* groups.

The *Caruk Angklung* festival under this study is different from that of 90s. The *Caruk Angklung* festival examined in this study began in 2017, which is part of the Banyuwangi cultural tourism events. Although there are differences, the newly-organized *Angklung Caruk* festival has some similarities to the that of 90s.

The form and structure of performances in the *Angklung Caruk* festival in 2017 continue to be sourced from the form and structure of the traditional *Angklung Caruk* performances. However, tourism motivation caused the form and structure of the *Angklung Caruk* festival to undergo a reconstruction leading to some differences. The difference is due to the different functional context compared to the original life in *Osing* culture.

The first difference between *Angklung Caruk* traditional performances and the *Angklung Caruk* festival is the status of artists in the *angklung* group. *Panjak* (instrument player) and *badut* (clown) in the *Caruk Angklung* festival are school children with the categories contested in the festival including the elementary school and the secondary school categories (junior high school, senior high school, and vocational high school). This is different from *angklung caruk* tradition, where *angklung* artists are professional artists. This participation of the *Angklung Caruk* festival that requires amateur artists causes adjustments in the structure and form of festival performances.

In the *Angklung Caruk* festival, the competition is divided into two stages, the audition and final stages. This staging model had never been found in the traditional stage of *Angklung Caruk* or *Angklung Caruk* festival model of the 90s. In the audition stage, the presentation structure of the show is also different. There is no process of pitting or competing between *Angklung* groups. The structure of the presentation of the audition stages is that each *angklung* group is asked to take turns presenting a sequence of *gending* that is composed of *penghormatan*, *embat-embat*, *engselan*, *klocian*, and *keok-keok*. Along with the *gending* presentation, the clown dances to show their creations. The time given for each group to present a series of *gending* is 10 to 12 minutes. The presentation is assessed by 3 judges. The assessment categories include compactness, neatness of the arrangement, and appearance or clothing. Then, 6 participants who can proceed to the final stage for each school level category are announced. Therefore, those who can go through the final stage are 6 *angklung* groups in the elementary school category and 6 in the secondary school category.

The final stage is held the following day after the

audition. In this final stage, the form of the show is similar to the *Angklung Caruk* tradition by bringing together two *angklung* groups on the stage. The differences between the final stages of the *Angklung Caruk* festival and the traditional *Angklung Caruk* performances are (1) not presenting *gending giro-giroan*, (2) the duration of *gending penghormatan* presentation is not long; (3) the *gending* melodies presented in the *klocian* have been determined, 12 traditional *gending Banyuwangen*, and (4) the winner is decided by the judges.

*Gending giro-giroan* is not presented because the festival participants are not professional artists who previously had a large repertoire of musical pieces. The short duration of *penghormatan* is due to the limited time between 10 and 12 minutes. Meanwhile, the determination of 12 *gending klocian* is based on the consideration that festival participants are still children and adolescents, so they do not know many of the *banyuwangen* traditions often composed again to be used as *Klocian*. Therefore, the determination of *gending klicioan* is done so that festival participants have the opportunity to practice remembering the melodies and memorize the melodies of the 12 *gending*. With this limitation, children's musical burden is not too heavy. Meanwhile, the determination of the winner is on the judges to avoid conflicts between supporters. With regard to the judges' authority in judging, their transparency and accountability are at stake with the recording of the show. Thus, when the results of the assessment come out, if the community is not satisfied, they can look back at the recording of the presentation. Thus, the evaluation process can occur based on the objectivity and credibility of the judges.

The form and structure of the presentation of the *Angklung Caruk* festival which is different from its form of tradition are clearly caused by the reconstruction purpose of the show which is for the sake of tourism. It has become plural that traditional art formations, which have been resurrected as tourism commodities, will have differences with their original forms (Widyastuti, 2011) (Minawati, 2013) (Ye et al., 2018). This phenomenon is commonly referred to as the concept of pseudo traditional art (Irianto, 2016), or according to Sodarso Sp, the phenomenon is often referred to as kitsch art (Sunarya, 2008).

The phenomenon of pseudo traditional art, as part of the commodification of tradition, implies a negative meaning in some discussions. The argument that always arises is that the 'packaging' of a tradition will result in the loss of cultural meaning, sacredness, vitality to the point of being counterproductive to the continuity of tradition

(Widyastuti, 2011) (Minawati, 2013) (Irianto, 2016).

Trying to disagree with the above opinion, the *Angklung Caruk* reconstruction effort in the form of a festival shows that pseudo traditional arts in cultural commodification are not always negative products. It is precisely in this case that it appears that the reconstruction of *Angklung Caruk*, which is manifested in the festival for tourism, does not merely place the art as a commodity without thinking about the process and quality. The quality certainly cannot be measured and compared apple to apple with the quality in the context of *Angklung Caruk* traditionality. This is due to differences in the background of the presentation. Traditional *Angklung Caruk* is presented by professional *Angklung* artists while the *Angklung Caruk* festival is presented by amateur *panjak* who are still in school.

The achievement of music arrangements by *panjak Angklung* who are still children and adolescents certainly deserves appreciation. Although articulated in a short arrangement, the musical aesthetic, typical of *Angklung Caruk* with fast pace and intricate interlocking patterns and full of dynamic playing, can be presented neatly and compactly by these students, both elementary-school or secondary-school level *panjak*.

The *panjak* in this festival also have no difficulty in following the flow, structure, and patterns of competition set by the government. It means the reconstruction of festival performances made by the government, although the form is kitsch, does not complicate the freedom of expression and creation of these students. One thing that needs to be noted is perhaps the presence of the singer (*sinden*) in the *Angklung Caruk* festival. It seems that this development needs to be reconsidered. In the traditional *Angklung Caruk*, it indeed does not recognize the special *sinden*. The role of *sinden* to sing *Banyuwangen* song is usually performed by the clown.

In fact, the presence of a *sinden* in the *Angklung Caruk* festival needs to be criticized, not in terms of her presence or existence, but in the context of the musical expression. *Sinden* is played by girls in the *Angklung Caruk* festival. Especially in the elementary school category, it still seems that they find it difficult to sing high notes. This happens because the *ambitus* (the range of the vocal tone region) of *sinden* is indeed still far below the range of musical instrument tones in the *angklung* ensemble. The strategy is of course to find traditional songs that use low and reachable notes or the government to consider making a special *gamelan* instrument for the *angklung* festival for these children.

#### B. *Continuity in the commodification of Angklung Caruk*

The discourse between original and pseudo traditional arts in the context of quality will certainly come to the fact that the pseudo or kitsch will never be of the same quality as the original (pure) (Sunarya, 2008: 6, 26-28). This is also the case with the form and structure of the *Angklung Caruk* festival discussed above. However, an important aspect of the *Angklung Caruk* festival that cannot be forgotten other than quality is of course the "price" of a process leading to the festival.

The findings of field observations show that the process towards the *Angklung Caruk* festival is a socio-cultural process that is not easy. Almost every school wants to attend the festival, but of course not all can register themselves as participants. This happens because the consequence of following the festival is the readiness for financing. There is no registration fee for the festival, but the process of training *angklung* groups in schools certainly costs a lot of money.

With these consequences, each school will try to raise funds to finance the *angklung* group to the festival. In fundraising, it is not uncommon for schools to discuss with committees and with parents about how to obtain these funds. From field observations, it is evident that parents voluntarily support their children's participation in the festival with various forms of participation. Funding is not always realized in the amount of money deposited to schools, but can take the form of preparing consumption, clothing, makeup and transportation during the process of preparing for the festival until the festival takes place.

Apart from the commodification which might be considered to have degraded the quality of tradition, on the other hand, the *Angklung Caruk* festival inadvertently has become *Osing's* social integration media. The *Osing* community whose children are involved the *angklung* group at their school or the villagers where the school is located enthusiastically support the *angklung* group from training to the performance day at the festival.

In the interviews with the community members involved in supporting the school *angklung* group who want to take part in the festival, a statement was obtained that they provided the support voluntarily, happily, and with full of pride. They hope the *angklung* group they support can be the champion. The following is an excerpt from one of the interviews about the theme.

*Sing paran-paran wis korban picis. Sun seneng anak isun melok bali-balian. Yo mugo' menang seneng atinipun, biek hadung kalah yo sing paran-paran, hang penting anak sun dadi panjak digu* (Informant M-14, February 17, 2018)

[It is okay to spend some money. I am happy that my child is

taking part in the festival of *bali-balian (Angklung Caruk)*. I hope he wins, so I will be happy, but even if he loses, it's okay; the important thing is that he has already become a *panjak*]

The social integration built through the support process of the *angklung* group who participates in the festival seems to confirm the solidarity in the Osing community's social life, which is actually still strong. The *Angklung Caruk* festival turns out to be a trigger to reconstruct social cohesion which in the industrial era today has begun to be eroded by social interaction in cyberspace. This positive social impact is one of the first important points of the *Angklung Caruk* festival.

The next important point related to the impact of the *Angklung Caruk* festival is the process of cultural continuity which can be restarted. Cultural continuity here is the continuity of *Angklung Caruk* music culture, which in a social context has experienced a crisis of existence. The existence of the *Angklung Caruk* art crisis in Banyuwangi is indeed caused by various factors, including the death of senior *angklung* artists, the migration of artists to other regions, the migration of artists to other forms of arts that are more salable on the market, or the regeneration of artists that does not go well.

Since the performance of *Angklung Caruk* in the Osing community's social space is increasingly scarce, *Angklung* art activities in groups or studios in villages have become vacuum. The vacuum of this musical activity makes the children and young generations in *Osing* villages no longer have the opportunity to know and learn, nor to inherit the art. This process is what makes the existence of *Angklung Caruk* in the future increasingly threatened.

With the holding of the *Angklung Caruk* festival, the *angklung* music activity is running again. School studios - which are sometimes tentatively formed - present *angklung* trainers from professional *angklung* artists. With the festival, *Angklung* artists, who previously withdrew from the world of *Angklung Caruk* or began to switch from the artist profession to another profession for survival or switch to another art form, return to the world of *Angklung Caruk* event though in different status and role as trainers.

The process of training for the festival artistically and aesthetically is entirely the responsibility of the trainer. In this process, the trainer starts by selecting the musical abilities of the students who will join the school *angklung* group. After the *Angklung* group members have been selected, the trainer will start to run a training program. In this training program, students are introduced to the technique of playing instruments for *panjak*, dancing techniques for *badut*, and singing techniques for *sinden*.

The initial ability built earlier by the trainer is the musical ability of the *panjak*. They are taught the technique of hitting musical instruments, interlocking techniques, mastery of tempo, mastery of dynamics, and compactness. In training, the trainer does not use notation or musical note media. The trainer relies more on the demonstration, listening, and repetition (ear training) methods.

After the school *angklung* group has been able to play the main *gending* parts for the festival, the training continues to include *badut* and *sinden*. It is these long stages of the training process that ultimately makes children and adolescents involved in the school *angklung* group intensively. They get closer, get to know, learn, and start the experience of presenting Banyuwangi traditional music creations. This activity is certainly important for students in particular and for *Osing* culture in general.

Through intensive musical activities, these students have the opportunity to find a balance in terms of left and right brain development. This balance will support the development of aspects of self-intelligence to be more ideal and more complete. This is valuable capital because they are still pursuing formal education at school. It is at this point that the *Angklung Caruk* festival has a significant value in the educational context, which is to deliver students to the optimization of physical self-development.

In addition to physical development, training for the festival also develops their mental and character. By intensively practicing and playing the *gending* numbers of the *Angklung Caruk* tradition in training, the awareness of cultural identity is gradually formed in students, the awareness that *Angklung* music is Banyuwangi music, *Osing* traditional music, which is their culture and the awareness that their music culture also has a uniqueness and beauty and even complexity that is not inferior to music from other cultures. This cultural awareness process has the potential to foster the character of love and pride in students in their culture.

In addition to cultural awareness, preparation for the festival is also a medium for transfer of knowledge and skills. Traditional musical knowledge, specifically the *traditional Angklung Caruk*, can be transmitted from the trainer to the students in the training process. In addition, the skill of playing musical instruments, creating music, and working together to play music are important skills that are also transmitted from the trainer to students.

With the transfer of knowledge and skills above, the richness of musical treasures contained in *Angklung Caruk* can be preserved. Some *gending*



repertoire of traditional *angklung* can still be passed on to students. The technique of playing *angklung* instruments and iron *gamelan* instruments, as well as *Osing's* typical dancing and singing techniques can also be passed on to the young generations. Through this process, the continuity of *Angklung Caruk* art can be maintained.

In his opening speech at the final stage of the 2018 *Angklung Caruk* Festival, it was clear that Regent Azwar Anas emphasized that the festival event was also used to look for superior candidates of *Angklung Caruk* musicians, young candidates of Banyuwangi traditional musicians. This means that behind the massive movement of cultural commodification in Banyuwangi tourism, there is a movement for cultural inheritance and conservation. Thus, the *Angklung Caruk* festival can also be seen as a cultural investment, which means that the *Angklung Caruk* festival, held by the Banyuwangi government today, is a "nursery of tradition" which will be beneficial in the future.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the data presentation and discussion, the author formulated the conclusion from the study of the Banyuwangi *Angklung Caruk* Festival. The logical consequence of the change in the direction of Banyuwangi's economic development from an agrarian economy to an industrial economy is the presence of the creative economic potential that exists in Banyuwangi, one of which is cultural tourism. The rich variety of cultural expressions possessed by the *Osing* community has become one of the tourism potentials mapped and developed by the Banyuwangi government. In this context, the art of *Angklung Caruk* is considered to have a uniqueness that can be appointed as an event in the Banyuwangi cultural tourism agenda. Therefore, the *Angklung Caruk* festival appeared. *Angklung Caruk* performance art that contains competition between artists is an interesting uniqueness to be seen in the show. However, based on tourism considerations, festival packages with limited duration and simple structure are the most likely packages to be presented. The packaging in the *Angklung Caruk* festival still presents elements and parts of the performance although the presentation is limited to time duration. As an art for tourism, there is also the development with the presence of *sinden* that serves to further beautify the *presentation* in the festival.

Commodification through the festival has been able to present the form of *Angklung Caruk* performances that have long been dead. This presence awakens the social memory of the *Osing* community so that it can retract community

involvement to support the continuation of traditional art. The *Angklung Caruk* festival becomes a social integration space, which, although only for a moment, is able to move and rebuild *Osing's* social cohesion. At this point, the *Angklung Caruk* festival is actually more successful in attracting domestic tourists from the *Osing* community itself, compared to people outside Banyuwangi or even foreign countries. This means that it is necessary for the Banyuwangi local government to intensively disseminate the background of the *Angklung Caruk* festival in its leaflet or tourism agenda booklet so that the uniqueness of this festival can attract tourists more inclusively.

Finally, the *Angklung Caruk* festival is a model of the commodification of traditional arts that has positive and internal cultural impacts. That is, this festival has been able to build the process of inheritance of *angklung* music culture among generations. Throughout the whole festival process, there are learning and educational practices for *Osing's* young generations. The education includes musical knowledge, musical skills, and *Osing* cultural values. Based on the reality of inheritance in the festival, it would be interesting if further studies could be focused on local culture-based education that occurs at the *Angklung Caruk* festival.

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