



CULTURAL COMMODIFICATION OF WAYANG TOPENG MALANGAN: A CASE AT PADEPOKAN ASMORO BANGUN, MALANG, EAST JAVA, INDONESIA

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Abstract: *This article focuses on the distinctive perspective of [cultural] commodification of traditional art "wayang topeng malangan". The distinctive perspective tries to comprehend the causality of [cultural] commodification and considers the struggle and planning of padepokan Asmoro Bangun. This writing aims to show a particular and significant model of modest scale (small) padepokan located around city and does not, regain popularity as a tourism playground yet. This article was written under the result of interviewing some central figures including the leader of padepokan Asmoro Bangun, Tri Handoyo, Raymond Paays as an art critics, and Edi Wibowo as a mask crafters. Participate-observation and document analysis were conducted to complete and find alternative data. The result of this research showed that [cultural] commodification can be positive. The causality of [cultural] commodification is caused by the consideration to put the maintenance of wayang topeng malangan as the most vital problem, rather than its change.*

Keywords: *Wayang Topeng (Masked-Puppet), Malang, Cultural Commodification.*

INTRODUCTION

Wayang topeng malangan or Malang masked-puppet, is a kind of puppet performance which has been evolved around the life of Malang's (one region of East Java, Indonesia) society over years. Malang masked-puppet is proclaimed by the decree of minister of education and culture of Indonesia (2014) as a *masterpiece of oral and intangible heritage of humanity* under the category of folklore. This acknowledgement confirms Malang masked-puppet as a potential heritage tourism object and in urgent to be conserved and preserved. In *buku saku statistik kebudayaan dan pariwisata* (2007), heritage tourism (*pariwisata pusaka*) is described as the most increasing tourism destination of Indonesia due to the characteristic of "experience and cultural learning".

Nevertheless, mostly visited destination is dominated by well-known object such as Bali (i.e Istana Tampak Siring) and Jogjakarta (i.e Borobudur/Prambanan Temple and Istana Jogjakarta). According to Judisseno (2015) the domination of well-known tourism area such as Bali is intriguing, given abundant tourism potential of so many potential of so many parts of Indonesia. Meanwhile, Indonesia has many other heritage tourism objects which are not regain similar popularity yet.

This case is happened to Malang masked-puppet as well. The maintenance of discussion and writing of *wayang topeng malangan*, could be possibly applied as a significant model of planning to the similar circumstance and scale of art communities. Masked-puppet range from dance, theatre, festival, and its crafting evolves at several other regions of East Java such as Madura island, Situbondo, Mojokerto, or Jombang (Yanuartuti, 2014).

Malang is in fact underdetermined in terms of its participation on tourism sectors due to the more exposure of "Batu" (one autonomous regency of Malang which consists of various tourism object and destination). Considering the explanation of UNESCO (2009) in terms of the trend changing of tourism cover (1) the increased popularity of tourism object under the theme of "learning and experience"; (2) mini scale-touring; (3) attractiveness of the unpopular (not-yet being exposed or isolated) object; (4) cultural differences, local attraction, products, events, and community. Thus, the maintenance case of *wayang topeng malangan* could be considered to be discussed due to the compatibility of category proclaimed by UNESCO above. Besides, the case of *wayang topeng malangan* is substantial because it signifies the return of art performance which has long history as a part of daily living of Malang society.

Wayang topeng malangan is predicted to begin around 1268-1298 AD in the era of Singasari kingdom and culminate around the era of Suryo Adi Ningrat, the governor of Malang in 1898-1934 AD. The root of *wayang topeng malangan* has been associated to the central sections of daily living, covering rites (i.e initiation), celebrations (i.e hunting or harvest), as well as ancestor worship. *Wayang topeng malangan* is suggested to possess long history and represents the culture and religious belief. It conveys the story of Panji (Javanese heroic character) who is considered as an epitome of philosophical, social, and moral values. According to Kieven (2014), story of Panji conveys affection, parting, and re-encountering (symbolized on sacred coitus) between prince Inu of Kahuripan and princess Sekartaji of Kediri. The journey of Inu and Sekartaji signifies a struggle and an odyssey which propels the lovers to reach high spirituality (Kieven, 2014).

Long association of *wayang topeng malangan* on daily living and central moment of society rang from wedding, new house occupation, harvesting, and village cleansing (mostly known as “bersih desa” to purge the evil spirits), etc. The holding of *wayang topeng malangan* is suggested to bring luck and prevent disaster. But unfortunately, the evolvement of *wayang topeng malangan* confronted a crisis at 1965 due to the political issues. The membership of many artists and art communities to LEKRA (literacy and social movement associated with Indonesian Communist Party) forced fear and retirement, thus it took a long hiatus since that era. Until 1970, the representative of *wayang topeng malangan* was assigned by local government to show a performance in front of Indonesian art council at Makasar. This representative was led by Karimun, later known as maestro pointed by the second president of Indonesia, Soeharto and the leader of padepokan seni Asmoro Bangun.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research presented here used an approach which is predominantly qualitative and collaborated three basic techniques of data collection including interview, observation, and document analysis.

Interview is used to obtain information and perception from respondent through face to face interaction and answer-question activity. According to Darlington & Scott (2002), interview must be conducted to the expert whose perspective is based on the experience. In terms of Malang masked-puppet and *Asmoro Bangun*, the interview was conducted to Mr. Tri Handoyo (43), as the fifth heir and leader of this *padepokan* (art studio) and art critic Mr Raymond Paays. Observation is used to obtain cultural material and mapping through attending to experience (Pickering, 2008: 26). The researcher’s opinion and perspective should be balance by listening and investigating through direct participation. Meanwhile, document analysis was conducted by gathering and analyzing documents such as magazine, article, journal, newspaper, theses, or dissertation to complete and give alternative data in order to answer the research problems. According to Ahmed (2010), document as any written material must be considered as reliable source of evidence.

The result of this research is divided into three explanation, including (1) the profile of padepokan Asmoro Bangun, as well as its activities and struggle; (2) the future plan as continual and more comprehensive program related to the maintenance and exposure of *wayang topeng malangan*; (3) [cultural] commodification, aimed to understand its causality and different perspective. The explanation related to [cultural] commodification is necessarily discussed to bring the researcher perspective of the program of padepokan Asmoro Bangun. By conducting interview, observation, and document analysis, the researcher concludes that the activity of exposure and marketing of *wayang topeng malangan* does not only the matter of economical profit and job vacancy, but also cultural consideration.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Padepokan Asmoro Bangun: An Approach to the Struggle

Padepokan seni Asmoro Bangun is a traditional art studio located at Kedungmonggo Hamlet, Karangpandan Village, district of Pakisaji, Malang, East Java, Indonesia. The word “padepokan” refers to a place where art is being created, managed, and developed. Padepokan Seni Asmoro Bangun is authorized by mayor of Malang in 1982. Now, padepokan Asmoro Bangun is led by its fifth heir, Tri Handoyo (43). It is described as “cultural center” of masked-puppet performance and home creations of *topeng* or masks. Raymond Paays, as an art critic explained that *wayang topeng malangan* or Malang masked-puppet is defined by two perceptions which first stands for drama/dance performance. Meanwhile, the second perception stands for the production of masks. Both performance and mask production as a part of *wayang topeng malangan* is correlated not only because dance performance requires the use of masks but also due to the sharing of same philosophical concept.



Picture 1: International tourists came from several countries such as Japan, Korea, China, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar, USA, Netherland, Poland, Egypt, Turkey, Spain, Italy, Australia, etc.

www.facebook.com/HandoyoTopengMalang

Padepokan Asmoro Bangun is actively promoting both *wayang topeng malangan* as a performance and production of masks. Performance of Malang masked-puppet is accomplished through a routine called “*gebyak senin-legian*”. It stands for every 36 (thirty six) days performance of *wayang topeng malangan* at the hall (*pendopo*) of padepokan Asmoro Bangun. *Gebyak senin-legian* is being held every Monday and attracts the surrounding society, local and international tourist including students, researchers, and art critics. Meanwhile, mask creation and production is functioned as the biggest income of padepokan Asmoro Bangun. The production of mask attracts the art collectors, as well as shopping centre, art school, and festivals organizer. The smallest souvenir of mask is sold around Rp.10.000, meanwhile the most expensive one is around Rp.1.000.000.

Tri Handoyo (43) declares that the role of padepokan Asmoro Bangun is to intensively maintain the existence of *wayang topeng malangan* which is manifested through “art tourism package”. Art tourism package serves learning sessions ranging from dance, *gamelan* (Javanese music instruments), and mask crafting. Art tourism package is promoted through social media and cooperated with travel agents. Art tourism package attracts surrounding society particularly kids and teen, international tourist, as well as celebrities. Tri Handoyo stated that the maintenance of *wayang topeng malangan* is also signified by the participation of padepokan Asmoro Bangun, as well as himself on both national and international events/seminar/workshop (i.e Festival Indonesia 2016 at Hermitage Garden, Moscow; Seminar and Performance of a Share Heritage: The Panji/Inao in Southeast Asia, Bangkok).

Padepokan Asmoro Bangun has two modest main buildings which functioned as stage and home production. The stage or usually called as “*pendopo*” (hall) is functioned as place setting of performance (i.e *gebyak senin-legian*, dance/*gamelan* learning session) as well as welcoming guest. Meanwhile, home production is functioned as the place where the production of mask is conducted, as well as the display of masks creation. Padepokan Asmoro Bangun is located around the surrounding society’s residence which stated by Tri Handoyo as inconvenient circumstance.



Picture: (1) Home production of masks; and (2)

Pendopo/Hall of Padepokan Asmoro Bangun www.facebook.com/HandoyoTopengMalang

In spite of the persistence of padepokan Asmoro Bangun to preserve and maintain *wayang topeng malangan*, Tri Handoyo explained that padepokan Asmoro Bangun has been encountered some struggles which involves (1) lack of [financial] support from [local] government of Malang; (2) passiveness/ignorance of surrounding society, particularly the youth as the owner and heir of *wayang topeng malangan*; (3) the lack of commitment of artist such as dancers or mask crafters who notably trained under padepokan Asmoro Bangun.

The establishment of padepokan Asmoro Bangun is undoubtedly initiated by the agenda of government to revitalize their local culture and tradition. The assignment given to Karimun to lead the performance of *wayang topeng malangan* at Makassar in 1970 as the representative of Malang indicates the government’s contribution. Local government also supported the funding for the construction of the hall (*pendopo*) of padepokan Asmoro Bangun. But Tri Handoyo explained that padepokan Asmoro Bangun no longer receives support from local government related to the maintenance program of *wayang topeng malangan*.

Padepokan Asmoro Bangun manages to conduct program, events, participation both on national and international seminar/workshop/festival independently. Yet, Tri Handoyo stated that this condition forces padepokan Asmoro Bangun to sacrifice their internal and personal fund. Meanwhile, padepokan Asmoro Bangun needs to fulfill the funding for operational cost covering from a routine performance, free dance learning session, also payment for the performers (i.e *dalang*/narrator, dancers, *pengrawit*) and worker (i.e mask crafters). The lack of funding support from the local government of Malang causes financial struggle towards the padepokan Asmoro Bangun. Tri Handoyo stated that *the problem of finance must be solved through alternative funding, [local] government will offer their support after considering their seriousness and progress.*

The difficulty also occurs due to the passiveness and an ignorance of society. Location of padepokan Asmoro Bangun which is surrounded by local residence led discomfort to the process of learning and training. This indicates the changing of society’s mindset toward *wayang topeng malangan*. The inconvenience condition (i.e

noise of dance/gamelan learning session) signifies that *wayang topeng malangan* is no longer the central part of local daily living. Tri Handoyo stated that *unless surrounding society participate on the program (i.e as a worker, performer, or welcoming guest/tourist) to maintain this tradition, padepokan Asmoro Bangun will continuously encounter this discomfort. The local must be included on the activity such as providing home stay. Thus society will aware that they are part of the program to maintain their tradition and culture.* However, native is a part of most attractive aspect of heritage tourism, as well as their [cultural] product and events.

The struggle of padepokan Asmoro Bangun is caused by lack of passion and commitment of the artists including dancers, *pengrawit*, *dalang*, as well as mask crafters. In the previous era of *wayang topeng malangan*, student came to a particular padepokan and learned to dance, craft, play *gamelan*, or narrate lakon/story, thus the inheriting of *wayang topeng malangan* continuously happened from generation to generation. Whereas, the struggle is caused not only by the lack of passion to learn *wayang topeng malangan* of their youth generation but also the lack of commitment to continuously participate on the purpose to its maintenance and development. The student and workers tend to temporarily learn basic knowledge and skill. Moreover, mostly students tend to leave the training for merely to sell their artworks. Padepokan Asmoro Bangun does not yet claim the copyright of their mask creation which causes this lack of commitment. But Tri Handoyo explained that copyright will prevent more exposure of their mask creation which becomes their main purpose in order to maintain the existence of *wayang topeng malangan*.

Tri Handoyo stated that *the problem of inheriting can be solved through the transformation of pattern (i.e permitting girls/woman to participate as a professional artist/leader which genuinely forbidden in the previous era).* Tri Handoyo claimed that padepokan Asmoro Bangun will be led by woman in the future as well. Tri Handoyo affirmed that *passion is the most considerate matter related to the wayang topeng malangan, rather than age or gender.* The transformation of particular pattern (*pakem*) can be considered as positive perspective which aims to maintain the continuity of tradition.

The struggle of padepokan Asmoro Bangun is related to the supporting parties including the government, surrounding society, and artist. This difficulty must be solved through a considerate approach whether to the government, society, and artist. After all, these supporting parties have to cooperate to obtain the purposes of the maintenance of *wayang topeng malangan*.

Future Plans

The program and activities related to the *wayang topeng malangan* includes not only *gebyak senin legian*, art tourism package, and the production of masks which are conducted at padepokan Asmoro Bangun. Raymond Paays explained that the program to maintain traditional art and culture of Malang (including *wayang topeng malangan*) is also conducted through cooperation with (1) university and; (2) tourism destination.

The cooperation of padepokan and university is conducted through educational activities. For example, Tri Handoyo is assigned to lecture university students of State University of Malang (*Universitas Negeri Malang*). Many top-universities of Indonesia located at Malang such as State University of Malang (UM), The University of Brawijaya (UB), The University of Muhammadiyah (UMM), as well as many private universities. This signifies the role of Malang as a city of education. Ministry of research and technology of Indonesia (Dikti) has been stimulated universities to develop entrepreneurship culture related to the field of art, as well as humanities, sport, education, and science. State university of Malang is one of biggest university of Malang, thus the contribution of the leader of padepokan Asmoro Bangun as a lecturer signifies the commitment to hand in hand maintain and develop their traditional art and culture, including *wayang topeng malangan*.

The cooperation between padepokan and university is also implemented through the participation of the students and lecturer on (1) research program and (2) training session ranging from dance, *gamelan*, and mask crafting at padepokan. Students and lecturer have been done several researches which are written as articles, journals, books, etc. The writing of students and lecturer conveys knowledge and information related to the *wayang topeng malangan* to the researcher, other students, as well as society. Meanwhile, the training session to students does not only increase their awareness towards the tradition and culture, but also contributes to the long-term plan of *wayang topeng malangan*. The students might be work as policy maker, government employee, entrepreneur, teacher, and generally a part of society. Thus the introduction of *wayang topeng malangan* to the students aims to create an aware and caring generation.

The cooperation is also conducted with Batu tourism destination. This cooperation could be considered as a strategic plan in order to expose *wayang topeng malangan* to the larger audiences. *Wayang topeng malangan*, particularly performed at Batu Wonderland, one of tourism destination of Batu city. The performance of *wayang topeng malangan* is held at Batu Wonderland which notably a water boom and destination for family. Thus, performance of *wayang topeng malangan* could possibly be enjoyed by various kind of audiences. Particularly, kids and teen tend to visit this kind of tourism destination. Batu Wonderland, is also one destination which is mostly visited by students of elementary and middle high school, particularly from other city. This indicates the chance of traditional art to be exposed to larger and more various audiences.

Besides the performance of *wayang topeng malangan*, the mask creation is being displayed on popular tourism destination of Batu such as Jatim Park. The display shows many characters which differentiates the typology of *topeng malangan*. Malang masks have 78 figures and each padepokan has their own uniqueness. Padepokan Asmoro Bangun follows the mask creation of Karimun (founder of Asmoro Bangun). This signifies the differences of *topeng Malang*, compare to other region such as Bali, Cirebon, or Jogjakarta which also has

mask creation. Beside performance and mask creation, product related to the *wayang topeng malangan* also has been sold at several Batu tourism destination such as T-shirt, bag, shoes, accessories, etc.

Batu tourism destination overshadows Malang in terms of tourism sector. Moreover, after Batu is legalized as an autonomous and independent city at 2001, Malang simultaneously loss their authority over many tourism destination and their regional incomes. Thus, the performance of traditional art including *wayang topeng malangan* at the tourism destination of Batu city at least could be considered as the chance of exposure and introduction. This cooperation might be motivate tourist to visit Malang as their other destination. Moreover, the distance between Batu and Malang which is approximately around 15 km increases the possibility of visitors to come to Malang city before and after they visit Batu.

This could be considered as strategic and long-term potential plan because Batu attracts thousands of both local and national tourist every month which gives chance to the more exposure of tourism destination of Malang. The promotion of tourism destination, their products, as well as art/cultural attraction is displayed at other playground which has been more popular. These two plans to initiate the participation of universities and promotion through Batu tourism destination indicates various efforts to introduce and maintain the traditional art, particularly *wayang topeng malangan*.

The association of traditional art/culture and tourism undoubtedly put the discussion of [cultural] commodification. The definition of cultural commodification is usually described as negatively "selling culture as a commodity", but the discussion in this writing tends to comprehend what causes commodification and seek for its positivity.

Discussion: Cultural Commodification

The word "commodification" refers to the transformation of use value of commodity to its exchange value (Mosco, 2009: 2). In terms of art, it refers to the changing of its nature to the participation of art in market mechanism. Some researchers argue that commodification distorts "authority" of art (Weller, 2008) or turns the value of art as "priceless" (Papaioannou, 2013). Art, which is originally exclusive merely for their communities turns to be produced and displayed for strangers. These arguments criticize the association of art and tourism, as explained by Hill (2012) that it is paradox because at the same time, the aim to enhance cultural preservation objectives also offer economical profit. The association of art and tourism is criticized due to merely purposed to gain economic profit. This perspective argues merely its negativity but fails to comprehend the causality of [cultural] commodification.

The maintenance of *wayang topeng malangan* is a part of cultural commodification process. But, rather than defining cultural commodification as a merely process of "selling art", this writing tends to seek its positivity. Despite the transformation of culture to the commodity, process of cultural commodification in the contrary refers to changing of commodity to the culture (Proschel, 2012).

According to Proschel (2012), consumption is no longer simply the activity of buying goods, but possess significant component of culture which is expressed through social values of goods/services [art]. Thus, cultural commodification of *wayang topeng malangan* is defined as the involvement of culture [art] to the process of consumption of society, as well as tourist. In the other side, surrounding society and tourist are motivated to consume the performance of *wayang topeng malangan*, its event and festival, or its mask creation. The consumption of *wayang topeng malangan* is associated then, within the heritage tourism.

According to Su et al. (2017) "*in the process of consumption of [urban] heritage products people draw on their beliefs, values and imagination and they impact meanings and significance to the products, and indeed consumption is a primary mechanism through which people form and project their identity*". The consumption of *wayang topeng malangan* whether in the form of goods (i.e masks/other souvenir) or services (i.e show/performance) is an effort of the local to fulfil the demand and imagination of tourist related to their cultural belief, values, and identity. This indicates that consumption is not merely simply a process of buying goods or services.

This perspective of cultural commodification is not a new suggestion, even for Indonesian researcher. Irianto (2016) investigated some tourism destinations at Wonosobo and Magelang, two regencies of Central Java. According to Irianto (2016), even though Central Java has several well-known tourism destinations such as Borobudur Temple, there are many other tourism destinations located at Wonosobo and Magelang which attracts around 870 thousands tourist at 2015. Under his research, a model of "pseudo traditional art" is suggested in order to protect the local wisdom and cultural identity of the society. A pseudo traditional art as imitation concept of the authentic is suggested to succeed by referring to the case happened in Bali. Pseudo traditional art is a relevant concept to be adapted in order to accommodate the demand of cultural commodification (Irianto, 2016). However, cultural commodification is unavoidable at this modern and global era.

The case of *wayang topeng malangan* at padepokan Asmoro Bangun is a part of pseudo traditional art or pseudo culture. *Wayang topeng malangan* has been changing and adjusting its structure to the modern sense. Pseudo culture as being defined by Adorno is a condition of culture produced by industry, appropriated, exchanged, and communicated (Witkin, 2003). Witkin (2003) refers to the argument of Adorno who stated that pseudo culture is a culture in a modern sense, a model of "adaptive type" culture.

Wayang topeng malangan, both in perception as performance and mask creation adapt several senses of modernity. The changing of performance duration or material for masks production could be considered as an

adjustment and adaptation to modernity. Smith & Robinson (2005) stated that *tourist has a little time in one location, moreover they actually spend less time in formalized cultural settings such as gallery, museum, and historic building*. Thus, padepokan as traditional art studio and school is in this category of tourism destination. Yet, Tri Handoyo claimed that transformation of time as well as material does not neglect the “pakem” (established pattern) of *wayang topeng malangan*.

Tri Handoyo said that *“the transformation of wayang topeng malangan is unavoidable due to the changing mindset of people in this era. Now, society does not believe anymore on the idea of a whole night performance of wayang topeng malangan which could bring luck/prosperity or vice versa”*. The authentic and continuous 20 (twenty) hours performance of story Panji is shorten to be about an hour also aims to adjust the possible time of tourist. Tri Handoyo claimed that the shorten duration of *wayang topeng malangan* should not be a concern because the story is being conveyed through episode. Furthermore, the performance of *wayang topeng malangan* is held through a routine called *gebyak senin-legian*. Moreover, Tri Handoyo convinced that a discussion between audiences particularly youth is conducted after every performance to discover their understanding of the story and messages.

Meanwhile, the production of mask is often criticized for neglecting “pakem” (pattern) because (1) mass-production of masks neglects sacred ritual process such as fasting and offering (*sesajen*); and (2) compare to the wooden material, the other used material is considered to be fail on showing typology of masks. Tri Handoyo affirmed that mask for performance of *wayang topeng malangan* is being created by following the ritual. In the interview, Tri Handoyo told his personal experience related to the use of sacred masks which always brings enormous reactions from their audiences. Ritual is a core component of *wayang topeng malangan* which will never be ignored. Tri Handoyo even confirmed that ritual is the most attractive matter to the international tourist. They put more attention on ritual and detailed dance movement.



Picture: (1) fiber-material mask; (2) foam-material mask; and (3) wooden-material mask.

Tri Handoyo explained that the mass production of masks is unavoidable because it becomes the most supporting income for padepokan Asmoro Bangun. The lack financial support of local government forces them to find alternative funding in order to operate padepokan Asmoro Bangun. The use of wooden material needs extra time, whereas the needs for festival is mostly about thousands of masks. Thus, the alternative material is used in order to fulfill the deadline. Edi Wibowo, one of mask crafter at padepokan Asmoro Bangun argued that the use of non-wooden material such as foam or fiber does not change the typology of masks due to the attentive production process.

Moreover, mass-production of mask is being established due to the tourist demand. This signifies the changing of mask as a central and sacred component of *wayang topeng malangan* to the new function as souvenir. Souvenir, explained by Swanson & Timothy (2011) becomes a concern of tourism study because it contributes billions of dollars annually around the globe. Swanson & Timothy (2011) do not simply concludes souvenir as *“cheap, insubstantial, and mass-produced kitsch”*. By understanding the [local] producer and distributor, the production of souvenir represents and reflects their culture/tradition, as well as spurring economic growth of family, community, and nation (Swanson & Timothy, 2011).

This argument is in accordance with the explanation given by Tri Handoyo who clarified that the demand of mass production is unavoidable because despite concerning about critics related to the negativity of [cultural] commodification (i.e neglecting *pakem*/pattern), padepokan Asmoro Bangun chooses to concern more on the every chance to introduce and expose their creation. The exposure of *wayang topeng malangan* is the main goal of padepokan Asmoro Bangun. Tri Handoyo argued that *“the most harmful matter is not the changing of culture, but rather the loss or extinction of tradition*. The exposure of *wayang topeng malangan* is being considered as a basic way to maintain its existence. Tri Handoyo stated that the exposure of *wayang topeng*

malangan provides opportunities for padepokan Asmoro Bangun to participate and invited to several national and international events (seminar /workshop/ festival).

In regard to the perspective of the doer and stakeholder of *wayang topeng malangan*, [cultural] commodification can be considered as a positive process. The causality of [cultural] commodification caused by the consideration of the heir to prevent the extinction/loss of tradition. Tri Handoyo stated *unless it changes or adjusts, wayang topeng malangan will be lost*. Even their own society has been unfamiliar with *wayang topeng malangan*, that its urgency to associate within tourism and market mechanism is unavoidable.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude this writing, the argument that the commodification of traditional art within tourism purposes to gain economical profit is undoubtedly correct, yet problematic at the same time. In spite of the conclusion that commodification distort culture/art, researcher must consider to comprehend that [cultural] commodification can be positive by understanding its causality. However, culture is changing, negotiable, and not static. Padepokan Asmoro Bangun shows particular and significant model of maintenance by considerably approaching each supporting parties including [local] government, society, and artist as well as planning strategic program by cooperating with universities and other tourism destinations. This signifies the commitment of padepokan Asmoro Bangun to maintain *wayang topeng malangan*. Through the process of [cultural] commodification, the aim to re-introduce, expose, and maintain tradition is accompanied by economical purposes which support surrounding society and the doer/artist.

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