

TENSION COMPLEXITY IN CIREBON MASK COMMODIFICATION PRACTICES

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Abstract

This article study aims to analyze the results of a joint convention in managing the resources of Cirebon mask cultural heritage products. The agreement stipulates the importance of protecting cultural heritage, commodification practices, as well as penetration of local tourism. Using qualitative methods, constructivist paradigm, data was obtained through observation, semi-structured interviews and documentation. This case study analysis also explores how the interaction between cultural heritage authorization relates to tourism. In practice, commodification has created complexities and the emergence of tensions based on interests. The analysis approach uses Antony Giddens' structuration theory, on the issues of modernity, space-time distantiation, disembedding, and reflexivity. The main argument is not limited to the practice of commodification as a form of adaptation to global change, but how the reconstruction of traditional style mask cultural products is able to reflect the basic understanding as a difference from traditional mask cultural products. Traditional masks are rooted in the cultural values of local communities, whereas traditional style masks are a form of interaction between relations in the authorization of mask cultural heritage, tourism and are oriented towards resource exploration, which are constructed for economic and political interests. Commodification by reconstructing traditional masks into traditional style masks, in practice has brought many benefits. Reducing unemployment and foreign exchange rates for the country. Meanwhile, on the other hand, tensions between hierarchically powerful agents are also increasing, especially the unequal position between external agents and local communities.

Keywords: Cirebon masks, commodification, structuration.

Introduction

The commodification of cultural heritage products that have 'sacred' value to become profane, often becomes something that is considered normal in the context of tourism. Something that has 'value', something that should play an important role in spiritual training and be a guide for society, has ultimately shifted into a commodity product. Especially those related to the study of ethnic arts and crafts.

The co-optation of anthropologists who focus more on the context of commodification of ethnic arts and crafts, as well as crafts and tourism can be investigated as, Commodification of arts and crafts cultural products in the global economy (Esperanza, 2008; Lacher & Slocum, 2013; Roth, 2018). Ethnic crafts circulating in local communities are gradually starting to be commercialized to suit new markets and foreign consumers (Swanson & Timothy, 2012;

Olwig, M.F., & Gough, 2013). Industrial ethnic crafts are gradually becoming the main or additional source of income for many ethnicities around the world (Kyejjusa, S., Gough, K., & Kristensen, 2016). Their communities play a role in poverty alleviation with policies and programs provided by the government to promote them (Donaldson, 2007; Morais, Dong & Yang, 2007; Jackson, 2006; Rogerson, 2000; Ye, 2020). Cultural and ethnic tourism is a major contributor to the commodification of ethnic crafts (Chutia, L.J., & Sarma, 2016). Based on literature review. It is deemed necessary to study the gaps in Cirebon Mask resource exploration.

The importance of exploration of Cirebon Mask resources has given birth to a joint convention. The practice of commodification is the result of the reconstruction of the traditional Panca Wanda mask, adapted and explored through creative ideas, ideas, media, techniques, tools and materials, to become a traditional style mask. Creativity has market-oriented functions and goals. The results of the Convention confirmed that Cirebon Masks, which are sacred and non-commercial, are starting to be commercialized. One of the arguments for exploration of mask resources is also a representative form of the large number of requests from consumers who are interested in owning Cirebon Masks (tourists).

Traditional rhetoric and ideas in commodification are also processes that are not only related to production to

create mass products, but are also related to how these products can be distributed to the market to meet consumer needs (Foucault, 2007). Mass consumption led to the emergence of consumer culture. In consumer culture there are three forms of power that operate behind production and consumption, namely capital power, producer power, and media/mass power (Piliang, 1998: 246).

Even though there are shared conventions, the interaction between agents and structures in practice still has rigidity. The study tries to explore and investigate, especially responses and opinions regarding local perceptions regarding commodification practices. Initial observation results show that conflict has emerged between those holding power to manage cultural heritage resources on the one hand, and local communities on the other. In the researcher's assumption, the increasing tension is indicated by the complexity of interests.

The increasing complexity of tensions in commodification practices starts from a wrong perspective in looking at social practices, this factor is the root of dualism. Adopting Giddens' thinking about structuration which illustrates a dialectical relationship between structure and agent (action) which is called the concept of duality of structure, or action and structure presuppose each other (Giddens, 2009; 2010). This theory is very relevant to analyze symbols, ideas, beliefs and norms as a culture that works structurally in the practice of

commodification and resource management between the involvement of the state and supporting communities. So it is hoped that it can become a gaining position to be able to reduce the tension that occurs in the practice of commodifying Cirebon masks.

Based on facts in the field, this article study tries to (1). Analyzing the workings of the state as a symbolic structure of significance, domination and legitimacy: Resource management; (2). Analyzing the workings of the duality relationship between local elites and the structure of significance, domination and legitimacy of the mask resource state; (3). Analyzing the negotiation space: The relationship between state duality and village elite authority in the practice of mask commodification to achieve joint convention results in the control and management of mask resources.

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach method, which is expected to be able to explore in depth the position of meaning and situation of certain phenomena, highlighting perceptions and experiences to better understand their worldview (Merriam, 2002; Bernard, 2006; Creswell, 2014) (Kim et al., 2020). Qualitative methods provide a comprehensive understanding of individual experiences and ultimate interpretations, as well as important sociocultural concepts such as time and space, history, politics, religion, culture and society (Stake, 1995). This

approach is useful for identifying the experiences, behavior and feelings of local people in their social context (Yin, 2009). The initial observation in the research was observing participants in Slangit village between 2021 - 2022. The results of the investigation found several problems that emerged, such as issues that are the subject of classic problems, wrong perspectives in looking at commodification practices, perceptions of authenticity, the influence of tradition, religion, inheritance and the relationship between tourism. Next, the second observation, 2023 - 2024, this time period is related to the observation of increasing tensions in the practice of commodification with several main participants who were selected, adjusted and adjusted according to the qualifications and competencies of their involvement.

During our field research we interviewed more than 10 participants, to explore topics outside the scope of this research. However, as this larger field research data set was annotated and organized thematically, important themes emerged that allowed us to reach levels of data saturation on different subsets of themes. Saturation is measured in three ways. First, during data collection, when interviewers assess that they have fully understood each participant's point of view (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003); second, in data analysis, when coding has been completed by each researcher, and collectively as a group of researchers, and no new codes have emerged (Urquhart, 2012); and third,

when assessed, no new themes emerged from the data (Birks & Mills, 2015). These emerging themes helped guide the topical focus of this research, and the 31 selected interviews were selected based on purposive sampling and need (Creswell, 2014). Collectively, collecting data taken from case study analysis in research can help and explain various perspectives from society.

Finding and Discussion

In general, the research location was carried out in Cirebon, West Java Province, Indonesia. Slangit Village is the primary research location, while other villages, such as Kalianyar and Gegesik Villages, are secondary locations in the research. The collective awareness of the Slangit village community regarding the protection of cultural heritage products, especially 'kedok' masks, deserves to be appreciated. Consistency, commitment and responsibility for the protection of cultural heritage products are timeless. Slangit mask craftsmen have a wide network of connections, both locally and within the community of mask craftsmen in Cirebon, but also connected with other craftsmen in several areas on the islands of Java and Bali. Under any circumstances, craftsmen are always enthusiastic and remain loyal to their inherent title as mask craftsmen.

Cirebon masks are essentially only made for the needs of dancers. The large number of interests and requests from society at various levels, this fact

indicates the importance of informal education in society to be able to preserve and protect the inheritance of cultural products. The learning process is very open to the wider community, as well as from various elements of society without binding, this process is an integrated part of the entire series as a form of conservation. In the end, the collective support and awareness of the community, in this case the Slangit mask community, has been able to reconstruct community learning through informal education. This learning process applies to various elements of society such as pupils, students, even teachers or lecturers, as well as the wider community, both domestic and international.

For hereditary craftsmen, masks are 'sacred' objects, working or making masks is not based on orders, but is done as part of a habit or routine in a pattern of repetition. For them, making masks is part of a ritual to train skills and patience, thoroughness, and remind them of the values contained behind the shape of the mask, such as how life should be lived and interpreted. In an interview, for the people of Cirebon, masks are a philosophy of life, a work of art, and are believed to be a spectacle and a guide.

The phenomenon of community awareness of learning and involvement in managing the exploration of mask resources as an inheritance of cultural products that have potential value, is the focus of the research study. The argumentative assumptions of the initiatives, ideas and thoughts initiated

by the village elite, are thanks to their ability to establish and carry out relationships with power relations, in this case the government (state). There are spaces for negotiation between the community represented by local elites and the state in managing community-based mask resources. as a negotiation space for resource exploration. Inspiration for forms of cultural preservation, the inseparable relationship between art and supporting communities that support each other.

1. The State as a Structure of Significance, Domination and Legitimacy: Resource Management

The state is the highest institution that has the right to control and manage resources on behalf of the people. UUD 45 in Article 33 paragraphs 1, 2 and 3. Furthermore, through the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia number 106 of 2013, concerning intangible cultural heritage explained in article 1 points 6 and 7, explaining that, Preservation is an effort to maintain the existence of Cultural Heritage Indonesian intangibles and their values through protection, development and utilization, then protection is an effort to prevent and overcome actions that could cause damage, loss or extinction of Indonesia's intangible cultural heritage through recording and determining (Pendidikan et al., 2013).

The practice of commodifying Cirebon Masks is an effort to exploit

resources that have potential value, as well as a form of protection for cultural inheritance. The President of the Republic of Indonesia in Law Number 5 of 1992 concerning Cultural Heritage Objects considers that, to maintain the preservation of cultural heritage objects, regulatory steps are needed for the control, ownership, discovery, search, protection, maintenance, management, utilization and supervision of cultural heritage objects (Indonesia, 1992). The role of government in this context is a structure of 'significance' regarding symbolic schemata, including mention of the discourse of power. The state (government) has and holds full power, so the government has the absolute right and has 'domination', which is similar to a schemata, for control over people (politics) and control over goods (economy), as an effort to allocate control over resources in practice. commodification of masks.

As an institution, the state, with its governmental power, has the legitimacy requirements that are met. The legitimacy structure provides the right to be able to make normative regulations in the legal system. The government as a symbol of power has full rights to manage the commodification of mask resources. This condition confirms that the state structure has significance, dominance and legitimacy. However, in practice, the government can delegate, either through state-owned enterprises or selected private sectors. In simple terms, it can be concluded that the government has full power over the management of resources so that they

can be utilized, as well as protecting the inheritance of mask cultural products.

Delegation in implementation is the transfer of rights to manage resources controlled by the state to other parties, the impact of which can be observed in the symbols and discourse of power in the vertical system. The Department of Trade, then the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, provincial, city or district offices, are reflections of symbols of state power over resource management, which occur and are easy to observe for analysis. As a structural group, the government has full and inherent rights, so that it can allocate and control certain resources, which in this context, resource management masks the practice of commodification. In general, all the attributes of a state with its power and authority are automatically attached. In Giddens' perspective, this is because the government has full rights over the dominating element of resource control. It is not uncommon and often happens that a government with the attribute of dominance often triggers the emergence of contradictory tensions and creates conflicts, with all background interests. In many cases of resource management, the government often, without realizing it or vice versa, marginalizes the right to control resources, both economic and political.

State-based management of the commodification of mask resources tends to be centralized. a general character that is easily recognized, namely, mastery of management is often characterized by behavior that

tends to be more arranging, strict control or supervision, to rigid control. Always oriented towards instant or short-term profits, planning with strict estimates and being rigid, and unilateral in making decisions. The commodification of mask resources, in the end, is exploited to a great extent as a source of income and foreign exchange for the country. In order to strengthen the legitimacy of symbols and the dominance of state control, formal legal forms are created which are often restrictive in nature, but in terms of legitimacy they actually become the operational basis.

When the state is a discourse, as a symbol of power, through the government (significance), then the right to control, the government is the only agent that has the right to manage resources masks (domination). Furthermore, to manifest significance and domination, all rules in formal law as rules and their derivatives, then to legitimize resource management, are made to obtain formal legality, with the aim of being able to control the practice of mask resource commodification. The process of making policies is usually more directed and sided with two interests: First, the policy of utilizing mask resources for the purposes of the greatest prosperity of the people. In other words, there is commercialization of mask production to earn foreign exchange for the country. Second, the security policy becomes a nuisance to other parties (read: the public) craftsmen. This policy is often the reason for increasing tensions.

2. The relationship between the duality of the Local Elite and the Structure of Significance, Domination and Legitimacy of Mask resources

The community of mask craftsmen are those who are always active in making masks, in Cirebonese language, masks are called kedok. which mask dancers use when dancing on stage or in performances. Historically and from generation to generation, hereditary mask craftsmen, before starting to make masks, they always carry out rituals, one of which is fasting. Obedience and submission in implementing the principles that apply every time you want to make a mask, is a form of propriety.

The Cirebon mask is known as the Panca Wanda Mask. The five masks in Panca Wanda have their own manufacturing standards and characteristics, both regarding form, functional value and meaning. For mask craftsmen in Cirebon, every mask used is trusted and believed in well. The standard form of the Cirebon Mask which has value and meaning, should not be violated, and tends to become part of an integrated system in the soul of every craftsman. in the practice of mask resource management, it is always related to the environment, thus, is a product of, and daily knowledge that is strengthened by the individual's experiences in his social world. These forms of wisdom are produced and reproduced from generation to generation through interaction with the environment, both the physical

environment and the social environment. (Giddens, 2009: 180) believes that social reproduction can occur: (1). In a network of direct interactions, as achieved or presented by the actors, namely reproduction in the most basic sense; (2). In the reproduction of members of a social system as creatures with a limited time span, which is of course embedded in biological reproduction; (3). In the reproduction of institutions deposited over a historically long duration.

Through the process of social construction of forms that are considered to represent wisdom, the mask crafting community has developed institutional patterns, institutions related to the management of mask resources. The inheritance system, with all its attributes of power and authority, is expected to be able to organize the lives of supporting communities in society. This system has given rise to many local artisan elites who have a strong influence in decision making regarding the allocation of mask resources. which is still worthy and remains to be maintained symbolically.

Meanwhile, in the symbol position which is still a discourse of power (significance), in the discourse of power, the role is delegated to the village elite for managing mask resources. The manifestation of local elites entering into shared responsibility, with or through the delegation of authority given, is part of an extension of power to carry out supervision and control in the

management of mask resources. The attributes inherent in granting informal power have the aim of giving village elites power over the management and regulation of their community. All groups in the artisan community and individuals recognize that the symbol of traditional elite power is capable of making decisions and has conventional legal force that can be trusted. Thus, these elites have a significance group.

All symbolic attributes or discourses of power are inherent and exist in the elite. Consequently, village elites have the authority and rights to allocate, supervise and control mask resources (domination). In many cases, those selected as elites are those who have proven cultural capital qualifications and vertical mobility when compared to village elites or other craftsmen. This elite has the ability and can interact with all organizations, communities and individuals in local society. For example, the Slangit craftsmen community, elite craftsmen have succeeded in building social networks for communication and interaction with other communities, both groups of craftsmen and individuals. They are also able to build and establish cooperation between relationships, such as universities, non-governmental organizations or community organizations, tourism parties, collectors, museums and even religious figures, which have the potential value of opening up space to gain access to resources outside their villages and communities. These elites have inherent significance, so that in their patterns of external interaction,

they are able to gain legitimacy and dominance.

When the power that is an attribute is owned by the elite, and the rights to authority and distribution of village resource management are owned, then the village elite is expected to be able to gain legitimacy as a form of supporting power, so that in the eyes of the local craft community and outsiders it recognizes its existence. When informal legitimacy has been owned and obtained, then in carrying out functions related to significance, dominance, legitimacy, especially if accompanied by a strong formal mandate from all components and craft communities, the management of resources will not be difficult.

In the case study at the Slangit Village research location, the structure of significance, domination and legitimacy by local elites in the management of mask resources, is manifested through formal village and crafter-oriented agreements as an effort to create a pattern of order in community-based management of mask resources. All formal elites, including local informal ones, all carry out roles that are appropriate and based on the attributes of authority and legitimacy they possess, and have been given by the citizens as a mandate. It often happens that in the negotiation space where village elites must be able to differentiate between parties who have an interest in mask resources, including external parties, two symbol structures are used, namely a power symbol structure accompanied by legitimacy.

Put forward to solve it. In this position, village elites often act on behalf of the artisan community. But when faced with another negotiation space, in this case a group of craftsmen or the village community, then it represents itself as a structure that has significance. This practice confirms the paradox of the village elite which has become the working structure of significance, domination and legitimacy.

Often the negotiations carried out by village elites when they meet with parties with masked resource interests, the village elites carry out two symbolic dimensions, namely playing as a structure of power and legitimacy. However, when dealing with external parties, the village elite represents consensus and on behalf of the village community, all the results achieved in the negotiation space are part of what must be carried out and become their responsibility. But when faced with another negotiation space, in this case a group of craftsmen or the village community, then it represents itself as a structure that has significance. This practice confirms the paradox of the village elite which has confirmed the working of structures of significance, domination and legitimacy.

3. Negotiation Space: The Duality of the State and Village Elite Authority

In structuration theory, there are two main elements that play a very important role. The first element, the agent as a "knowledgeable and capable subject". The agent knows what he is

doing and why he is doing it. According to Giddens, all actions are "purposeful" (Giddens, 1979: 56). The emphasis on agents must have knowledge skills, this action is one that underlies Giddens' thinking. The state, in this context, is then called an agent. they have and are able to make strategic decisions regarding management policies for mask resources. The decisions made confirm the delegation of authority over the control and management of masks to the government. Thus, the government's power to act as an agent is a representation of the state to make decisions, which has become a necessity and an authority within its power.

With regard to the decision-making process, according to Giddens, "the actor may calculate the risks involved in carrying out a particular social action, in terms of possible or actual sanctions imposed, and he may be prepared to submit to them as a price that must be paid to obtain a particular goal" (Giddens, 1979: 87). In this context, by using a cost-benefit analysis, a regulatory product that can legitimize can be made into a decision. If the benefits obtained from an action are greater than the costs, then the action can be taken. The cost calculation certainly includes all possibilities if you experience or are affected by negative sanctions. If the probability value of the possible benefits from an action is good in terms of the costs incurred, or furthermore, if the benefits are balanced with the sanctions, then the action is carried out.

When the artisan community makes an agreed decision to commodify masks, the basis of the argument is the consideration of the advantages and disadvantages obtained. The problem is, who initiated this decision? Based on the results of investigations, connected network sources and sources of knowledge owned by village elites, this condition has led to the birth of ideas for managing resources, through the practice of commodifying masks. In this case, the village elite is then given the authority to take all necessary actions in order to implement the collective agreement. In a structuration perspective, village elites act as agents who interact with other individuals and/or groups, both within their own group and outside their group. The village elite deserves to be given authority, because they are considered capable of taking all actions to formulate a collective agreement. Village elites in this group of craftsmen are also considered as actors and motivators who have "knowledge" of the importance of utilizing resource management through the practice of commodifying masks.

The second element in structuration theory is the role of structure in social change, including in the management of social resources. Giddens defines structure as "the rules and resources involved repeatedly (recursively) in the reproduction of social systems. Structure only exists in memory traces, the organic basis for the human ability to know, and as it is concretized in action" (Giddens, 1984: 377). In other words, structure includes

the rules that govern society. The use of the term recursive refers to an understanding that structure can be a medium and at the same time the result of social practices that form social systems. This implies that structures are influenced by and simultaneously influence social change. So, the structure is essentially recursive (Giddens, 2010).

In order to manage mask resources through the practice of commodification, a plan was prepared to obtain mutual agreement. Village elites formulated various rules, which emphasized related regulations as signs in implementing the practice of mask commodification. Furthermore, the agreements that have been agreed upon are implemented together. This process is unconsciously a way of reconstructing and reproducing the social structure. Giddens views social structure as intangible characteristics. One cannot view the rules or resources of a society by themselves, only their influences can be studied. So, the structure exists only instantaneously. Because structures are involved in social change, their existence as tangible (measurable) entities is only temporary. In other words, structure is never static, it is always modified.

The duality relationship that interacts between elites, both local and state, can be interpreted as having different meanings. For local elites, the authority obtained and given by the community has provided an opportunity to interact and build networks with outside parties, both individuals and

other communities. Who are the local elite? can be community leaders, traditional leaders or heads, village heads, village officials or figures who originate from craftsmen, such as inherited inheritance. These figures or figures represent the authority given by society, to become delegates in the negotiation space with the state (government). The agreed agreement is the result of a joint convention between the two elites, a process of attaching significance or meaning to the practice of commodifying mask resources. On the other hand, for the government which has full significance, it has given meaning to the start of commodification, which is the basis for managing resources that have been determined by the state. For the local community itself, everything that has been established and become a rule in a joint agreement for the management of mask resources through commodification practices, has no basis for argument for rejection, because those who have been given the mandate have qualifications and competencies that are an advantage in their cultural capital.

Different perspectives often become the root of dualism between the agents involved, unless agreement is reached on the power relations between the two. In cases like this, village elites often evaluate, control and supervise, as well as renegotiate with the government, so as to obtain the idealized and needed resources in the social practice of managing resources masked by the practice of commodification. Village elites often

exert full authority over village communities in negotiating to obtain agreements with other agents. Meanwhile, the government also carries out the same actions through related agencies, to always carry out negotiations, representing state authorities.

The capital possessed by state power over mask resources is essentially very large, such as legal resources, power over politics, and financial capabilities that cannot be doubted, the State is able to dominate in every aspect, both economically and politically. The power relations designed and built by the state are always oriented towards the domination of the artisan community, this process in turn creates two classes of domination (read: local communities) and those who dominate (read: state). However, local communities with their own power also have power whose basis is community agreement regarding resource management patterns through the practice of mask commodification.

An interesting phenomenon is that village elites with existing legitimacy and power supported by the resources they have are able to carry out power relations with the state and/or other parties on behalf of the community. This legitimacy is obtained by village elites through mutually agreed rules, norms and sanctions. The legitimacy inherent in village elites and the government on behalf of the state gives rise to unique and often changing relationships.

In the dimensions of time and place as stated by Giddens, these power relations often change according to place and time. When village elites have to interact and have relationships with the government and/or other parties, there is a tendency for changes in the orientation of the results of these relationships. At certain times, village elites act on behalf of the community in front of the state, but at other periods they carry out relations with the community on behalf of the state. The most fundamental basis for these changes is interests which always change based on place and time.

When the state has an interest in negotiating with village elites, the authorities on behalf of the community's interests carry out social actions aimed at avoiding bottlenecks in the power relations that are being built. These interests include the implementation of government programs that require the participation of local communities. But at other times, the state will exercise its dominant power over mask resources in the name of formal juridical legitimacy.

Conclusions

In connection with the discourse on power, there are many positive things that can be obtained. The state has a structural symbol of significance, dominance, and legitimacy. The state is the full holder of control over the various resources it owns, including the discourse of power over the management of the exploration of Cirebon mask resources. In many cases of resource management by the

state, in practice it often turns out to be the opposite of expectations. This is because the state has very large capital power, unlimited ability to control, and weak control, making the discourse on power often very contradictory in practice. Several cases, such as state control over forest conservation, are one concrete example of the many existing cases.

The practice of commodifying masks, initially the hope of many craftsmen, could reduce poverty rates, reduce unemployment rates, penetrate the growing local tourism sector, as well as be the most important part in preserving the legacy of mask cultural products. The state's discourse on mask resource management through the creative economy, in the practice of commodification, often has a tendency of low commitment and consistency, related conflicts between agents with background interests, often triggering the emergence of increasingly complex tensions. Like domination which causes inequality of access, it is often displayed and becomes something that is considered normal.

Mask resources for the state are public resources which are often interpreted as a resource that must be protected. To obtain legitimacy for exploration and exploitation, laws and various regulations were created to obtain formal legality. In fact, legitimation structures often foster relations of inequality of power, and tend to have the character of domination over control of the economy and politics.

The important role of local elites, in this case who have been given a mandate by the craftsmen community, is expected to be able to suppress the increasing tensions related to the ongoing practice of mask commodification. Local elites who have significant symbols, dominance and legitimacy, have a role in the importance of supervision and control over resource management. The results of this research highlight again that common conventions in the practice of commodification need to be reviewed, renegotiated, so that access and space for craftsmen to gain equality can be obtained.

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