# Festivalization of Music Patrol Bandulan and the Quest of Arek Bandulan Cultural Identity

## Annise Sri Maftuchin<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Antropologi - Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Brawijaya

## **Abstract**

Futurologist Naisbitt (1988) Said about paradox of globalization process for local tradition culture, where tradition is exposed by the strength of global capitalism and modern life style. It does not always make the tradition to be crushed, but it becomes one kind, and even disappear. However, the tradition will try to find their place and the identity back. In this article, the discussion will be focused on how Arek Bandulan answer the global challenges through festivalization (Bennett, et al., 2014) the art of the musical tradition of their patrol. Festivalising art patrol is hold by Karangtaruna Wira Bhakti Bandulan who has spawned a lot of innovations in the appearance of various components local art in a festival. It shows that Arek Bandulan create their original cultural identity of art music tradition which is not too modern enough and not longer traditional too. The disclosure of identity expression to the global by festivalising traditions patrol sahur weaking up music art when Ramadan is packaged as well as events in the world and is supported by funder, the media and modern technologies. This ethnographic study tries to reveal how the process of identity formation in the object of patrol sahur festival happened.

Keywords: Arek Bandulan, Festivalising, Identity, Patrol Music

## Abstrak

Futurologist Naisbitt (1998) mengatakan tentang proses paradox global dalam tradisi budaya lokal, dimana tradisi yang dipaparkan adalah bagian dari pengaruh kapitalisme dan gaya hidup modern. Fenomena tersebut tidak selamanya memberi peluang negatif bagi tradisi lokal, tetapi justru memunculkan sesuatu yang baru dan memiliki daya saing tinggi. Meski sekalipun, tradisi tersebut mencoba menempatkan diri pada tempat dan identitasnya, dia akan tetap menguat dalam atmosfir global. Dalam artikel ini, pembahasan diarahkan pada bagaimana *Arek* Bandulan mengemas seni tradisi meraka yakni patrol untuk menghadapi tatangan global. Festivalisasi patrol di Bandulan awalnya digagas oleh Karangtaruna Wira Bhakti Bandulan. Penyelenggaraan festival tersebut ditujukan untuk mewadahi praktek budaya traditional yang sebenarnya tidak begitu modern dan tidak juga begitu tradisional. Praktek dari pencitaan identitas dalam arena global menggunakan wadah festival bertajuk patrol sahur yang di selenggarakan setiap bulan ramadhan. Festival ini kemudian diselenggarakan secara rutin dan disponsori oleh Funder, media cetak dan elektronik. Dengan menggunakan metode etnografi artikel ini mencoba menjawab mengenai bagaimana formasi pembentukan identitas dalam festival patrol sahur terjadi.

**Keywords**: Arek Bandulan, Festivalisasi, Identitas, Musik Patrol

## LOCATING CULTURAL IDENTITY OF BANDULAN PATROL ART TRADITION

Art music Patrol is kind of art tradition which is believed since for a long time. It represent on the main patrol instrument that is Kentongan. Kentongan is a kind of tube which made from bamboo and have a middle vertical hole as a produced tone. In last time, kentongan is the only one simple communication tools and use to show about time or warning signal (Mey,2013)¹. Patrol tradision actually can be found throughout in Indonesia, including Java. Limitated lighting infrastructure or electricity in rural areas gave birth to kentongan patrol eventually become a new tradition of art on publics. In most of the place in East Java, patrol has been combined with other musical instruments both local and modern. Madura is one of them, they apply the creations of kentongan patrol with gamelan and produce new on of tradition what called *tong-tong²*. In the colaboration process, they modified and made new kentongan as creative intruments by the name *dig-dug³*. Actually *dig-dug* shape is like kentongan, but it has a bigger size and louder sound than kentongan⁴. As the global times, Madura *tong-tong* art tradition is popularized by young Maduranise with ornamental stage runs creation, now it is known as *ul-daul*.

In the other place like Malang, patrol tradition is still practiced by local type. It means that patrol kentongan practice as ritual for weaking up sahur in ramadhan. Some people bite their kentongan while walking around the village or from house to house. This patrol local model has changed since after 2000. Kentongan instrument has been changed to a musical instrument orchestra patrol. This modernization began at that time to change the form of simple tradition be modern. In this case we can see from patrol tradition in Bandulan village areas. Shifting the tradition of modernity and globalization in Bandulan result is appearanced by 'invented tradition'saction. In action 'invented tradition', a tradition is popularized again in a more modern form like a festival which is initiated by Karangtaruna Wira Bhakti. In development process, the posisition of patrol kentongan festival, slowly making cultural identity for Bandulan. In a way, the festival gives the effect of publicity and the introduction of the art community about simple tradition patrol kentongan to the global area. In addition, the festival also gives pleasure for the community in creating a community life style, so that distinguish one community to another.

Fetivalization patrol in Bandulan process is supported by fund sponsor. The presence of lead festival sponsors have access to wider publication. wider access due to the publication, create a meeting between ul-daul and patrol sahur on the Bandulan patrol festival in 2006. Meeting between patrol sahur Bandulan with ul-daul Madura create their own acculturation process. From this case, the new Bandulan patrol model to be a new identity as local modern tradition. The overview of innovations made in patrol formation Bandulan art have similarity such as ul-daul Madura, but it is different with the music atmosfer and music management.

Study about art music tradition perfomace in East Java, like art music patrol, it has been

<sup>1</sup> http://jatim.kemenag.go.id/file/file/mimbar323/lshi1376504850.pdf

<sup>2</sup> Bouvier has been explain about this instrument on her book. Loot at Bouvier, H. (2002). "Musik Tong-Tong" dalam Lebur Seni mUsik Dan Pertunnjukan dalam Masyarakat Madura . Jakarata: Yayasan Obor Indonesia,p.42

<sup>3</sup> Look at http://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/wp-content/uploads/sites/37/2014/06/Masyarakat\_Pand-halungan.pdf

<sup>4</sup> Usually, you can find the similer *dig-dug* in *siskampling* office or security office for village.

This concept was popularized by Eric Hobsbawm. Look at the book Hobsbwan, E. (1983). *The Invention of Traditon*. Melbourne: Cambrige University Press, p.1- 4

over. A number of researches have been focused on explain about process of making cultural identity in some place. The research about Madura traditional music have been done by Bouvier (2002) with the title "Musik, Instrument dan Orkes *Tong-tong*" in the Lebur book. Bouvier explain about art traditional identification in Madura, including tong-tong music art. Since 1992, Bouvier's reseach show that *tong-tong* is a part of traditional music from Madura. In the other hand, this case is discussed by Nur (2006), which describing the existence of the cultural identity of the music *ul-daul*. Nur said that it is one of the simbol which is represented by cultural identity a public comunnity. Nur reseach (2006) by the title "Lagu *Tondhu' Majang* yang Dimainkan Oleh Musik Etnis *Ul-daul Semut Ireng* di Desa Parteker Kecamatan Pamekasan Kabupaten Madura" explain that folk songs are more to be used as a represented of cultural identity. Besides that, someone can see from hard bite tehnic produce sound for *tondhu Majang* Song. This song can be represented by Madura fishing subculture which famaous hard worker (Jonge, 1987). In Nur research case is same as with this topic, but this topic is focus in develoment process of tong-tong to ul-daul and acculturation on patrol art Bandulan Malang.

Other studies with same focus case from rahmad (2012),describes musik *tong-tong* in art comodification process that form indentity between patrol art communities. Rahmad's research by tittle "Komodifikasi Seni tradisional *tong-tong*" which explain about the shift of art previously used for entertainment folk art is a commodity economy. Since the entry of *tong-tong* as part list of Madura tourism department, this art became an icon of Madura and reinforced with the publication of NIK (Arts Master Number).

Generaly, in indonesia, the meeting between modernity and traditionality always more leads on modernity. This has led to an urgent local culture, causing concerns of the local death culture. Abdullah (2007) explore that he has negatif respon with the type of modern culture are considered more interested in the cultural main of consumption (stereotypically and in negative perception known as 'Western') thus undermining all of about traditional caracter. Often the traditional culture of urgency and even less with the new culture that comes through modern facilities such as TV, radio, Internet, etc. ( Abdullah, 2007). However, the weakness of the tradition became the factors background of movement process on Bandulan patrol sahur. Festival mode is used as a platform to grow and strengthen the existing traditional pontensi (Bennet, et. al., 2014). It means that festival as means of tradisional identity exist which kentongan instrumen as main object of 'invented tradition' on festival. Global progress actually have some process like aculturation or Lieps (2008) said it 'culture contact'. It process meating between patrol sahur with *ul-daul* or tong-tong and produce a colaboration art with the name patrol art musik. from this discuss, author want to know how does the process of identity new art Patrol in Bandulan on patrol sahur festival formation? It becomes important to know and research as it concerns in their cultural imitation that may occur in Bandulan.

## **METHODOLOGY**

In this research, author use ethnography reseach metode, where observations and interviews (open interviews and in-depth interview ) as the activities of listening and responding to concern with information native 's point of views of informants becomes the main thing (Fettersman , 2010). Reinforced with secondary data obtained through the study of literature and documentation (VCD and Youtube) of the artists Bandulan Patrol in Malang

. The study also uses the analysis of cultural identity Hall (1990 ) on the formation of the cultural identity of a community is determined by the cultural elements that are owned of community group itself. Hall said:

Cultural identity, in this second sense, is matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as a much as to the past. It is not something which already exist, transceding place, time, history and culture. But, like everything which is historical they undergo costanst transformation. Far from being enternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continous in 'play' of history, culture and power (Hall, 1990, hal. 225).

In this reseach, author find the side of fenomena which art patrol is a real tradisional identity. It meant that patrol was existing and inherited from the ancestors of the people of Java, including Bandulan. actually this case not only show about real identity of patrol but also as point of Art festival. On this, art festival patrol kentogan as 'identity as being', which as object of point globalization process on festival. In this process patrol sahur will be colaborated with out of variant art what come from outside of Bandulan, for exemple *ul-daul*. Results of art colaboration is new patrol music art as 'identity as becoming'. This condition as process of Madura urban area in Malang<sup>6</sup>.

The function of cultural contact pattern to make creatity side in the formation of cultural identity to borrow a term *culture contect'* Liep (2001) which explain about "This leaves creativity as a phenomenon of 'culture contact' or acculturation. The current conception of culture, however, which regards a cultural field as an open and complex system, involves much more inconsistency in the field". Almost of community on this discussion, making new inovation from the young community of (Arek) Bandulan. This can be seen by the form of some art music patrol group with their identical inovation. The identical inovation includes temporary and carateristic of tone production, decoration of the stage run patrol like dragon, and the song caracteristic use on perfomace which the most of them is local Java and Dangdut song. Patrol kentongan tradition is one of the main instruments which actually practice in front of the center of stage runs or people, it call it sesis.

## Sahur Patrol Festival and Karangtaruna Wira Bhakti

At the first time, sahur patrol festival was held in 2004 and was initiated first by Karangtaruna Wira Bhakti as the organization of development organization Bandulan young potential. This idea come from Choirul Anwar as the chairman of Karangtaruna Wira Bhakti Bandulan. Anwar (38) shows this idea because of his childhood experience about patrol kentongan. He thinks that this tradition is unique and interest object with the local atmosfer in the last. But now, it is changed by village orchestra music on patrol sahur. In the other side, his idea about festival come from his experiences when he visited from Saung Angkung Mang Ujo performance place in west java. In sort interview, Anwar said:

"Since there is no holiday for child during ramadhan, no patrol bamboo again. It is changed by street modern musik with some electric instrumen like guitar , guitar cable and ketimpung " ( Mr Andi interview on November  $22^{\rm nd}$ , 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Djakfar's research (2011) what explain about "Etos Bisnis Etnis Madura Perantauan di Kota Malang: Memahami Dialektika Agama Dengan Kearifan Lokal" said that malang which have many industry place is one of Maduranise urban area. Look at Djakfar, M. (2011). Etos Bisnis Madura Perantauan di Kota Malang: Memahami Dialektika Agama Dengan Kearifath Lokal. *IQTISHODUNA IQTISHODUNA (VOL 7, NO 2 page. 2011)*, 1-22.

"At the time I joined in comitte of young Karangtaruna, and then there is a new idea to make a competition to appreciate patrol. It is like a surprise for us, it grows up and makes an icon of Bandulan. We can see an example Saung Angklung Mang Ujo was in a marger of mannagement of perfomance a lot of people who see it, then there is the idea that the patrol made this nicer too for patrol. Music patrol was kentongan model which grow up with some creative idea and we try to make big uforia from society. I think this is the first and the last what be held by us, because we need big fund. The first, second, third, attracting sponsors " (Mr. Khoirul interview on May  $31^{\rm st}$ , 2015).

Since 2005, the first festival, this event held simple concept type. In fact, it can be said to be within the limitations. The limit case problem in fist festival because of the limit fund whose festival commite have. In second event the situation like fist event. Actually case of limitation not only about fund but also about participan on this festival. Nothing fund for pubblication is one of factor for the limit participant. In third event is better than before, there is sponsor funding from Utama Mama Company who covered this event. Jarot (30) as chief of field said that:

"Patrol is the first time that the child squeezed mosque alley eight who coordinatroy by Mr. Mulyadi, first our first the qualification of kentongan, we look for qualification of the participants, I canceled this event until three times because there is not the follow [...] First event almost participant is kentongan type, mbak. we look for kentongan style and then grow up to the sesis model. As I know, sesis style follow in this event in third patrol festival. The transisition mode of car sesis "(Jarot interviews on October 25th, 2015)

The real process of festival patrol sahur Bandulan was repected by their community, some people give argument that this event just enliven Ramadhan month.almost the participan in first and second even are student of Al-Qur'an education center. But in third, publication process because of funding, can attract many participants to take part in the festival, include *ul-daul*. This process said too by Anwar (38):

"The fist time, there is no one wanna be sponsor. I understand they may hesitate this quality event second we do not know what the quality of first event because no one helpers the fund. In second event there is sponsor who helped our fund until 300,000 rupiah, as for the rest except state celebration, that is a specially patrol evet. We get the funding in third event because there is existing value of political but it is not fluctuation residents and surrounding and not on patrol because of problems between the factory with my constituents so communicator finally there is no coflict make from this problem. [ ... ] this is stort story of sponsor join us, mbak" (Mr. Khoirul , interviews on April  $5^{\rm th}$ , 2015 ) .

Sponsor funding festival as like Utama Mama company give for first fund in third festival as much as Rp. 11.000.000,-. For the next event, they give more than fist festival. In the committe experience, PT Utama Mama gave us fund about Rp 45.000.000 in seventh festival. The profits presence patrol sponsor of the festival show acculturation proses which did not realize that just walk outside of committe progress. Almost aculturation, more leads on ul-daul type, but the unique one is can be identificated by kentongan procession that often appear next to the perfomance of some Bandulan patrol group. This situation make some differentiator from new patrol and ul-daul. The developing and globalization this festival can see from many participant whose cam from other place, like Probolinggo, Lumajang, Batu, and other place outside of Bandulan.





Figure 1. Publication poster from 7th and 10th Bandulan Patrol Festival

Festival movement and its development is so fast creating a distinct advantage for the community in their brand of torism. Especially tourism potential in the development of the whole festival was created by the communities themselves and there are not supported by central government. Overall budget supported by PT Main Mama or GL. Aimed at strengthening identity through annual performances patrol enabled in order to become a tourism icon recall capable protrudes which is simply tradition patrol from Bandulan.

"Ten years ago, we saw the potential in our sahur. There is a potential patrol awaken people to sleep, isn't there? because music patrol simple no wear sesis, do not use decorating yet we have not stripped there, because of me theater members, the theater once I trus we are also interesting once we thinking Malang if made in mountain tourist spot northwest hasn't got what it ...? One of them is the music," (Mr. Khoirul , interviews on April  $5^{\rm th}$  , 2015 ).

## Innovation and Formation of Cultural Identity Bandulan On Patrol Modern Art

The result of culture contact is new art patrol music which make eleven group what have identic type of themselves. Characteristics of new cultural identity from Bandulan can see from the new inovation of patrol what the patrol colaborated local culture in Bandulan like jaranan, campursari and karawitan. The karawitan, jaranan and campursari is the other part of 'identity as being' Bandulan local culture.

Eleven patrol music group are Black Camp, Lintang Songo, Plateking, Beduk Prink, Kertajaya, Pepiling, Tas Ntoes, Putra Manunggal, Cakar Elank, AHC dan JBR. The groups formed in the range of 2007 until 2008, but by the end of 2015 a group formed from part of the music group patrol Bandulan. Almost group produced their music by self-taught treatment. There is some group which produce their type of musik with teaching by *ul-daul* grup or other local art tradition such as jaranan or karawitan lokal grup. This process belve that some group have many experience about type of percussion so it make some grup more uniqe than the other. In some interviews from Plateking, Beduk Prink, Black Camp and Kertajaya, for the

self-taught treatment patrol group, have different type of music cause the produce by their character.

"Historically from street child music experience its first come, Mbak. They ngamen Goes around in one place to another place. His name is Aris is one of street child who creation of music street, Mbak. He was willing interspersed with musical collaborations like  $tong^7$ , mixed howl so that [...] The majority are involved it 's got soul music to, Mbak ...so it not abstrak musik, Mbak . If Black Camp is the origin of Amen - amen<sup>8</sup> so know, that know a lot<sup>9</sup> " (Mr. Sutris interviews on December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015).

"If it patrol there is no form of music if Arek - Arek was first tune, Mbak. If it's gone bad. Initially it was used to carry kentongan continue Arek - Arek 's view o ... This tool - it Arek - Arek who had joined the kentongan was finally on his own learning " (Mr. Suliat interviews on December  $28^{th}$ , 2015).

"The first time children learn without a coach, made up their own, listen to music, dangdut example later intro made like this and nurtured this junior level, so elementary, junior high, elementary, middle  $^{\rm 10}$ " (Mr Yit interviews on January  $23^{\rm rd},2016$ )

"I applaud also the same these children also learn musical note, they ever. Only be matched if it was the music to be use eventually become so wrote [ ... ] more here if East Java so like ngendange like this so the make like this, the music of gendang like tayuban " (Mr. Sodik interviews on December  $16^{\rm th}$ , 2015)

In the other grup who is taught by local traditional group like jaranan is has the identic music like the 'identity as being' of Bandulan culture. For exemple JBR patrol group, in this group they do to make some inovasition with jaranan type music on patrol. Arif (30) as a chief JBR said that:

"Our children were there used to be participating jaranan hence the type of music so can jaranan [...] some one is part of jaranan drums but we always call him Mas Nyambek. For our it is not come from our community but in other community so if there is event we go to together wit 24 people. [...] Mas Nyambek he come from Sukun, Mas Sugik come from Supit Urang, [...] which jaranan only three person there are Aji, Mas Nyambek and Mas Sugik. There are is my friend, once I told cultivated in a sense let music patrol JBR the other from the other Mas Nyambek have conection with Pak Pri also friends of art also continue accumulates so other music than anything else." (Mr Arif interviews on January 23rd, 2016)

In this accumulation cuture contact on festival patrol can make some new, but stay on the caracteristic of Bandulan cultural identity from Patrol. at the end of this process shows the festival 's role in the formation of cultural identity in Bandulan with the object patrol . The role of the festival, in the end, became as like container for the strengthening of culture and the creation of new creativity in the field of culture .

<sup>7</sup> Tong is A keg is a used bucket that has a qualification of thickness

<sup>8</sup> Amen - amen a term designation for street singers.

<sup>9</sup> Natural version of interviews with Java Language "Sejarahe iku melok amen, Mbak. Keliling-keliling neng daerah-daerah yo amen ngunu iku, Mbak. Jenenge Aris iku sering amen nek gadang terus lomba lomba amen ngunu iku lo,Mbak. La iku mau di selingi karo musik kolaborasi koyok tong, campur peking ngunu iku [...]Mayoritas yang ikut itu kan punya jiwa musik to, Mbak... ndak asal-asal nabuh to, Mbak. Kalau Black Camp ini kan asalnya dari amen-amen jadi tahu, maksudnya tahu banyak

<sup>10</sup> Natural version of interviews with Java Language "Pertama niku lare-lare belajar niku terus boten wonten sing anu boten wonten pelateh kaet siyen boten wonten pelatih damel-damel piambek krungu musik musik dangdut ngonten mangke intro ngenten musik niki ngenten-ngenten [...] wong niki, Mbak sing dibina niki paling ageng SMP dadi SD,SMP,SD,SMP"



Figure 2. Bandulan Patrol Festival on 6th and 10th

#### **CONCLUSION: ACTUALIZATION IDENTITY ON FESTIVAL**

Festival on development is not only to be object of development tradional but also it produce of the cultural identity. In festival, mode in some community, Its like life style<sup>11</sup> position who make different with another communities. The associated of the formation of cultural identity patrol in Bandulan fully is corroborated by the large number of patrol group in testicles which is as a result of the formation of identity<sup>12</sup> in the festival.

Patrol art festival show that in urban communities have power of survive to show their identity on global area. However, it depend on local society culture who have patrol tradition, but they can product Java style of patrol which different style than others. Growing the festival the do not use all of local knowlage, but they combine global knowlage such as lighting and

<sup>11</sup> Chaney, in particular, has posited an elaborate theory of lifestyle *sites* and *strategies* as a means of mapping the way in which forms of consumption underpin the aestheticization of everyday life. Thus, according to Chaney, lifestyle sites and strategies refer to the ways in which individuals creatively rework the cultural resources at hand into their everyday lives as physical and symbolic markers of identity and taste. Look at Bennett, et. al., (2014). *The Festivalization of Culture : Festival Space, Identity, Experience and Belonging.* Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company p.14.

<sup>12</sup> Thus being culturally open is neither a universal concept, nor necessarily more or less ubiquitous. It is more of a strategic practice, resource or frame for managing meaning in settings infused by different types of individuals and groups, and different modes of social communication and gathering. Openness is not the same thing for every person, nor is it the same for each person across particular settings. It may rest on similar conceptual dimensions – such as curiosity, for example – though its objects can be diverse. Look at Bennett, et. al., (2014). *The Festivalization of Culture : Festival Space, Identity, Experience and Belonging.* Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company p.17.

costume. On festival, the can show more and more they ability about creative culture product. It is mean that they are part of global society Malang. This argument is strongly with the fact that patrol have be popular culture because of festival and aslo make icon of culture tourism Malang. All of the act is tell where tradition is exposed by the strength of global capitalism and modern life style, it does not always make the tradition to be crushed, becomes one kind, and even disappear (Naisbitt, 1988).

#### REFERENCE

Abdullah, I. (2007). Konstruksi dan Reproduksi Kebudayaan. yogyakarta: Pustaka Belajar..

Bennett, et. al., (2014). *The Festivalization of Culture : Festival Space, Identity, Experience and Belonging.* Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Bouvier, H. (2002). "Musik Tong-Tong" dalam Lebur Seni musik Dan Pertunnjukan dalam Masyarakat Madura . Jakarata: Yayasan Obor Indonesia .

Djaka Kamuradja. (2012). *Tondu' Majang & Gelleng Sokoh.* Retrieved from: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_Zl4uGaBlt4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_Zl4uGaBlt4</a>

Fettersman, D. M. (2010). Etnograpy Step-by-Step. Washington DC: Sage pubictions.

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. London: Sage Publications, Ltd.

Hobsbwan, E. (1983). *The Invention of Traditon.* Melbourne: Cambrige University Press, p.1- 4

Djakfar, M. (2011). Etos Bisnis Madura Perantauan di Kota Malang : Memahami Dialektika Agama Dengan Kearifatn Lokal. *IQTISHODUNA IQTISHODUNA (VOL 7, NO 2 page. 2011)*, 1-22.

Liep, J. (2001). *Locating Culture Creativity : Modernity, The World System and Creativity.* London: Pluto Press.

Mey, s. (2013). *Patrol.* Retrieved from: <a href="http://jatim.kemenag.go.id/file/file/mimbar323/lshi1376504850.pdf">http://jatim.kemenag.go.id/file/file/mimbar323/lshi1376504850.pdf</a>

Miftahol Arifin Nur. (2014). Lagu "Tondhu' Majang" Yang Dimainkan Oleh Musik Etnis Ul-daul "Semut Ireng" Di Desa Parteker Kecamatan Pamekasan from <a href="http://id.scribd.com/doc/232164539/">http://id.scribd.com/doc/232164539/</a>

Rahmat, A. (2012). *Komodifikasi Seni Musik Traditional Tong-Tong.* Malang: Universitas Brawijaya.