



**CULTURAL COMMODIFICATION: REPRESENTATION OF
*PESAREAN*¹ OF MOUNT KAWI AS CULTURAL TOURISM IN
INDONESIAN MASS MEDIA**

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ABSTRACT

Media is a tool to construct meaning to its readers. News that is released to the public is always related to the ideology and interests of the media in responding a problem. This research intends to see a representation of *Pesarean* of Mount Kawi which is conducted by local, regional, and national mass media in Indonesia. This research is a qualitative research with content analysis method. This study is going to be focused on the value embedded in texts which contain news about *pesarean* of Mount Kawi. This approach is very useful to figure out meaning that lies behind the news texts of *pesarean* of Mount Kawi. The result of the research shows that mass media supports the commodification process of *pesarean* of Mount Kawi. Through the narration of origin, genealogy, and heroism which are based on Indonesia's national historical event became one of the strategies that are used to demolish the representation of Mount Kawi as a haunted and taboo place to be visited by society. There is a similarity of vision in changing the representation of *pesarean* of Mount Kawi. Modernity and advancement of reasons have been the reasons for discarding cultural values and traditions that have developed within the culture of Javanese society for centuries by adapting them to the contexts of modern human life today.

Keywords: *pesarean* of Mount Kawi, commodification, representation, mass media

¹ The polite form of Javanese term for addressing cemetery



INTRODUCTION

Mount Kawi is a mountain in Malang district, East Java. Precisely, about 40 km from Malang city. The state of Mount Kawi in the life of the Malang district's society, or Indonesia in general, occupies an important position in the spiritual life of society. This is because, in Javanese point of view, the mountain is the throne of supernatural beings, the house of the gods, and the place that capable to be the connector between the human world and unseen world (Prastowardoyo & Anam, 2009: 3). Hence, it is not surprising that the behavior of the establishment of unity between the real world, society, and supernatural realm considered sacred as a manifestation of Javanese attitudes and perceptions which often derives its form in various forms of ritual founds in many mountains in Java (Yana, 2010: 17).

The growth of the people's view of Mount Kawi's sacredness is caused by a place called "Pesarean of Mount Kawi". Pesarean of Mount Kawi is the burial area of two prominent Islamic propagators in this region, they are Eyang Djoego and Eyang Iman Soedjono. Both figures are also known as medics, leaders and role models of society, also loyal troops of Prince Diponegoro while fighting against the Dutch in 1825-1830 (Sunardi et al, 1977: 30-47; Prastowardoyo & Anam, 2009: 27-28). Eyang Djoego was originally named Kanjeng Kyai Zakaria II, a priest of the Mataram palace, while R.M. Iman Soedjono is a nobleman who became warlord of Prince Diponegoro of Yogyakarta Palace. Both figures are spiritual advisors of Prince Diponegoro who escaped to the East after captured by Dutch, in 1830.

Pesarean of Mount Kawi is a sacred space for the growth of religious phenomena of pilgrims who comes from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. All pilgrims who come are based on a belief in the supernatural powers that exist in the tomb in pesarean of Mount Kawi. Therefore, to homage it emerges a rite that has been established and must be run by pilgrims who comes from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Tombs of Eyang Djoego and R.M. Iman Soedjono became *hierophany* for the pilgrims. The tombs of these two figures are not only tombs but also something sacred, *ganꦶ andere* (Eliade, 1987: 12). Charisma and values attached to



these figures have become the allure of visitors who intend to come on a pilgrimage to Mount Kawi. Many visitors make those tomb as a medium of praying to connect their self with their God. With *tirakat*² that was done in the ancestral tomb, the pilgrims who come to Mount Kawi hope to get a blessing in their life in the world.

Pesarean of Mount Kawi is a sacred space for pilgrims because every sacred space implies the existence of *hierophany*, a floatation of sacred things which comes from the separation of the surrounding cosmic environment to construct a region which is completely different from the profane (Eliade, 1987: 26). For religious individuals, like pilgrims, the world is not homogeneous because there is a clear distinction between the sacred and the profane. It is the view of the sacred that manifests in the beliefs and rites of pilgrims in the mountains of Kawi.

Various socio-cultural dynamics that occur in Mount Kawi is caused by the diversity of the pilgrims who come. The presence of various circles from various ethnic, social strata, and culture makes the cultural feature in Mount Kawi special. As time goes by, due to the fame and the large number of pilgrims who come to visit both local and foreign, the conditions in Pesarean of Mount Kawi start to change. A large number of visitors and the potential income that can be obtained makes pesarean of Mount Kawi becomes a commodity which is able to draw income, not only for the region, society but also individuals who are involved in it.

The potential of pesarean of Mount Kawi as a potential source of income for local governments through tourism development began to be seen since the 1970s. In 1974-1976 the central government provided support for Inpres project in the amount of Rp. 24,500,000 to build infrastructure which supports the sustainability of pesarean of Mount Kawi (Sunardi et al, 1977: 16). To support the activities and ease the access of pilgrims, central government through regional government to build market and terminal near pesarean of Mount Kawi. Inauguration of the development was carried out by Regent of Malang, R. Sowigyo on 12 August 1976. With the

² Restrained lust by fasting or meditating to achieve a goal.



increasingly available access which was provided to get to pesarean of Mount Kawi, then, it is directly proportional to the increasing number of pilgrims who come to Mount Kawi. Through the infrastructure development, local governments able to earn income through taxes and retributions.

With the availability of easier access for pilgrims, the area of pesarean of Mount Kawi is more and more crowded by their visits. The growth of Mount Kawi as a place of pilgrimage not only affects the number of pilgrims who come but also impacts on the existing socio-cultural life. The life of Mount Kawi's society has a traditional feature (Rahmaniah, 2015: 35). Community's livelihood systems are still traditional, there are hunting and gathering, breeding, planting in the fields, fishing, and farming. The social life of the people there still holds to their ancestral cultural customs, that is Java. The language that is used in everyday life is Java-Mataraman. However, the condition is gradually changing along with the more famous and the more increasing number of visitors who come to Mount Kawi. That can be seen from shifting livelihood system of the community that began to spread into business world that supports ritual activities in there, the use of Indonesian as an everyday language and some Mandarin terms or languages because of local people's frequent interaction with Chinese people, and the emersion of various Chinese worship place as well as acculturation of Javanese and Chinese culture there.

Besides that, economic life there has changed and developed. Along with the growth of pesarean of Mount Kawi, various business units of commerce and services that exist around there has established. Many lodgings, restaurants, gift shops, till unofficial pilgrimage guides offer their services as pilgrimage guides there. Movement in sociocultural conditions that have occurred in pesarean of Mount Kawi has been happened due to its increasing popularity as a pilgrimage destination which offers dream and hope for the pilgrims. Especially with the success stories that exist among the pilgrims who was made the pilgrimage there that increase the belief of pilgrims who come. That can be seen from the daily increasing number of pilgrims who visit pesarean of Mount Kawi.



The potency of pesarean of Mount Kawi as local government's source of revenue through the development of local tourist declared as "Ritual Village" by on duty Regent of Malang at that time (Rahmaniah, 2015: 26). It uncovers the path of the openness of Mount Kawi area as a sacred rite for pilgrims from diverse ethnic, cultural, and social class backgrounds. Besides that, on the official website of Malang district government (www.malangkab.go.id), pesarean of Mount Kawi is one of the local government's leading tourist destinations to attract tourists to visit this area.

Currently, pesarean of Mount Kawi is no longer just a religious field of pilgrims, but also a tourist destination. Pesarean of Mount Kawi which is actually a cultural product of society has turned into a commodity that can be sold to people. This condition affects the existence of cultural objects, in the form of ritual rituals and beliefs of local people who have been manifested in the form of pilgrimage grave, in the religious life of people there. Pesarean of Mount Kawi's neighborhood which is a sacred place for pilgrims has become a cultural spectacle and visitors' profane activity. The commodification of pesarean of Mount Kawi, according to the author, has potency in raising many issues that lead to loss, such as 1) loss of authenticity of cultural products, 2) destruction of cultural artefacts, 3) the fade of ancestors' local wisdom values because the packaging of cultural products is adjusted to the needs of tourists, and 4) the emergence of new cultural products which are based on economic interest and that does not fit the local values of traditions,

In the commodification process of pesarean of Mount Kawi as a cultural tourism site, the role of mass media as the informer to a wide audience is also influential. As Hall (1997) shows that media is a tool that can be used to see how our world works. Media is a tool to construct meaning to its readers. Media coverage to the public is always related to the ideology and interests of the media in responding a problem (Khosu, 2015). In this context, media can be an instrument in establishing a representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi to their readers. In the commodification process of pesarean of Mount Kawi, it is seen that the owners of capital have been tried to change that place as cultural artifacts that have usability values become a



cultural industry that has economic value. To do that, the owners of the capital changed the representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi, which had been a sacred space of pilgrims to be a tourist attraction which is profane and can be enjoyed by a various group of people. This study aims to see the representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi which has been conducted by local, regional, and national mass media in Indonesia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is still not much research that has been done about Mount Kawi, especially about the pesarean there. Moreover, research that discusses the commodification of ritual in Pesarean of Mount Kawi has never been done. Here are four previous studies on the commodification of cultural products that can be used as a comparison.

First, Frank Ruben Chappell's research entitled, "Selling Your Relatives: The Impact of Cultural Tourism on Balinese Ritual Life" (2011), was studying the impact of cultural tourism on Balinese ritual life. Chappell wanted to know how tourism influences ritual ceremonies which are undertaken by the Balinese also Balinese views on the presence of tourists in important ritual situations they undergo. Chappell found that tourism does not change the life of Balinese rituals because they unify the economic factors of tourists even into the most sacred events. In fact, the Balinese proved an example of how acceptance to tourists is economically beneficial to society. The Balinese has adapted themselves to the presence of outsiders as a positive force. Tourists are interested in strengthening the identity of different Balinese culture, it is called Balinization. This form opens the way for the Balinese to ensure the sustainability of ritual practices in the future.

Second, research of Moh. Soehadha entitled "The Commodification of Islamic Javanese Asceticism: The Expansion of Tourism Market and Prostitution Behind the Pilgrim Tradition in Mount Kemukus" (2013), was studying the effects of the market expansion of tourism and prostitution in prospering prostitution behind



the pilgrimage tradition in Mount Kemukus. Soehadha found that the form of deviation from asceticism, whether Hindu, Buddhist, or Islam, was further confirmed by the influence by the expansion of the tourism market, especially in making sex as a commodity to gain capital accumulation. The tradition of pilgrimage with sex ritual has reinforced the ambiguity of Javanese asceticism, on the one hand, united (manunggal) by seeking the God's way, but on the other hand, reaching for pleasures and merely pleasures of the world.

Third, Irsyan Basri's research, entitled "Commodification of Duata Ritual on Bajo Ethnic in Wakatobi Regency of Southeast Sulawesi Province" (2014), was studying the commodification which was done to Duata ritual in Ethnic Bajo in Wakatobi Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province. Irsyan found that the factors that led to the commodification of the Duata ritual were the nature of open society and the creativity of society, the mass media, the economy, and tourism. The commodification of rituals effects the socio-cultural life of people who tend to harm after the commodification, such as the blurring of cultural identity. The process of commodification that has carried out on the ritual led to meaning, that is as part of cultural preservation, cultural identity, and creativity. In addition to this, the strategy of inheritance can be done through three things, empowerment, documentation, and development.

Fourth, Rachaneekorn Sae-Wang's research entitled "Spirit of the Loom: The Conservation and Commodification of Surin's Textile Cultural Heritage" (2015), was studying the conservation and commodification efforts of textile products in Surin, Thailand. Wang believes that since textiles from Surin has been used as clothing material and scarf of APEC leaders in 2003, its popularity among society has increased. It impacts on tourism there. That condition has been able to create jobs, especially on textile production business. The impact was so extraordinary. The business of silk farming, weaving, until the process of producing textile materials into cloth is growing rapidly. Knowledge of the process of making these traditional fabrics is inherited orally. Textiles have become the cultural heritage of Surin society



and have intrinsic value both as a way of life and local wisdom of society. The impact of the commodification of cultural products has two sides. Commodification has a positive effect on people's economy. On the other hand, the process of commodification on cultural products has slowly eliminated its authenticity. It is related to the values of cultural heritage that has been preserved for generations of generations which slowly eroded by the market demand. Today, Surin textile fabrics have become cultural commodity and knowledge of the process of making these materials has become a cultural product of protected intangible culture.

There are numbers of different backgrounds that make folklore in Mount Kawi as a form of cultural commodity. Those are, 1) although historical figures who was buried in Pesarehan are Javanese and Muslim, pilgrims who come and perform rituals come from various ethnic groups, such as Javanese, Tionghoa, Malay, even from foreign countries, 2) cultural mixing of Javanese, Islam, and Chinese coloured the spiritual life in Pesarean of Mount Kawi's neighbourhood and Kawi Palace. The three forms of culture was blending into one and become a package of religious tourism together, 3) besides the role of the Tourism Department, there is a management domination of religious tourism activities which has conducted by a foundation in Pesarean of Mount Kawi which regulates all the needs of ritual facilities, 4) Social structure of society is divided into three communities, Priyai (spread in South Malang), wong gunung (spread in eastern Malang), and the West has been much influenced by Majapahit culture (Kamal, 2010: 54-55). The condition of social structure is influenced in the formation of cultural space that affects cultural conditions that exist in Mount Kawi. It is because Mount Kawi is not only visited by local pilgrims but also pilgrims from various regions with various backgrounds.

This research is using Stuart Hall's representation concept. Representation is a practice of constructing meaning through the use of signs and language du Gay et.al., 1999: 24) (Hall, 2003: 23). Therefore, language is the main medium which is used by people in constructing meaning around them. Language should not only be interpreted narrowly as words, but also include visual, audio, and audio-visual



language. In other words, many things and objects around human beings are neutral objects without meaning. Human builds a number of perception through signified and signifier relation in that object till it has to mean for himself and others. So, it can be understood that meaning is a process of creation which is done by human towards things. Meaning does not have a standard, however, it is fluid and keeps changing according to human development context in understanding things.

Hall (2003: 1), sees that language is a representational system because through language, human able to defend dialogues that happen and enables human to build cultural understanding together and interpret the world around them in the same way. Language is one of the media which able to represent thoughts, ideas, and feelings in a culture. Therefore, representation through language is an important thing for meaning creation process, because culture is a battlefield of meaning. Through culture, various meaning about various things is created and legitimated as a common truth.

Meanings about many things in human's life are produced constantly and exchanged in every social interaction everywhere the human be the part of. Every cultural member must divide set of concepts, depictions, or ideas which allow them to think, feel, and interpret the world in the same way. It is possible by the usage of the same cultural code. In this case, that 1process is a representation system which is built within its cultural member because language works through representation (Hall, 2003: p. 4).

Language is a signifying practice (Hall, 2003: 5). Human gives meanings to many things also objects around them. Many things around human are organized and framed by signifying practices because it is beneficial to the participant (du Gay et. al., 1999: 18). Each representational system which is functioned in this way can be considered works according to language representation system. Painting, photo, music, story, etc. Are representational media. Painting and photo are the media of representation which is used to communicate a message about people or events. So does the music works as a language because use it's musicalization to communicate



its feelings and ideas. So, through culture and language production and meaning circulation gets its place.

Representation connects meaning and language with culture (Hall, 2003: 15). Representation uses language to deliver a meaningful thing about the world to others. Because of that, representation is the most important part of production and exchange process of meaning among cultural member. Through representation, it's possible for us to connect concept and language to address things, people, or everything around us (Hall, 2003: 17).

Hall stated that there are two representation system, mental representation, and language (Hall, 2003: 17-18). *First*, mental representation related with conception inside our head about things around. Meaning is strongly depending on the system of concept and depiction which is built in our mind which is used on representing a various thing in the world. The various thing about various object and thing around us is conceptualized inside our mind the way how it should be understood. *Second*, language is the actualization of mental representation. Language is strongly depending on where we live. Hall calls these two things as a system of representation because they not only contain merely individual conception, but also a various thing in organizing, grouping, arranging, and classifying concept and determining relationships among them.

In interpreting process, there are two related representation systems. *First*, the thing that allows individual to interpret meaning towards the world by constructing a set of equal correspondences between many things – people, objects, events, abstract ideas- with a conceptual system that they have. *Second*, depends on the construction of relationship set between conceptual map with a set of the sign which is arranged or organized into a various language which is functioned in representing that concept. Therefore, the relationship between object, concept, and sign are the body of meaning production process which is done through language. Process in relating those three things are called by Hall (2003: 9) as representation.



METHOD

This research is a qualitative research with content analysis method. This research will be focused on meaning that is attached in texts which contain publication about pesarean of Mount Kawi. This approach is very useful to figure out meaning beyond publication texts towards pesarean of Mount Kawi. The data source of this research is local, regional, and a national newspaper in 2000-2017 which reported about pesarean of Mount Kawi. Those networked newspaper consist of (1) two local networked newspaper, those are malangpost.com and malangtimes.com, (2) one regional newspaper, which is beritajatim.com, and (3) five networked newspaper, those are merdeka.com, okezone.com, tempo.co, nasionalisrakyatmerdeka.com, and tribunnews.com. this data source is the words in the networked newspaper which contains representation about pesarean of Mount Kawi.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Pesarean of Mount Kawi as a Place of Historical Relic

Pesarean of Mount Kawi has been re-represented by national media such as merdeka.com, okezone.com, tempo.co, nasionalisrakyatmerdeka.com, and tribunnews.com as a place of historical relic. It was represented as the tomb of two Indonesian warrior figures against the Dutch. As nasionalisrakyatmedeka.com begins the news narration with historical aphorism “*bancur badan dikandung tanah, budi baik dikenang jua*”³. Through this narration, the writers connect with the image of the two figures which buried there, they are Mbah Djoego and Iman Soedjono as historical figures. A large number of societies who visits pesarean of Mount Kawi is depicted clearly to fade mythological element that is often attached to both figures. Depiction about the representation of this place as cultural and historical tourism area does not fade the old representation of the haunted ness of it which has grown among society.

³ It means eventhough the body is destroyed and burried in the ground, good behaviour will be remembered.



The narration that is built, is loaded in the news title “absorbing the journey and lesson of Eyang Djoego on pesarean of Mount Kawi”.

Not different with that mass media, another national mass media such as merdeka.com, okezone.com, tempo.co, and tribunnews.com also represents the same thing. These four leading mass media also represents pesarean of Mount Kawi as a place of a historical relic which has strong relation with Indonesian struggle against the Dutch. Proposing history and genealogy of the two figures that were buried there always become the first narration that built the story frame. Besides that, tempo.co on it news also depicts that pesarean of Mount Kawi is a tomb of pious personage. Through news narration about society’s refusal towards the use of this place as a film met a challenge from them because they believe it will bring bad influence on the image of pesarean of Mount Kawi which is currently crowded by people visits. Tempo put forward society’s refusal of the point of view to the representation of sacredness that was tried to do by the film maker of this place which will depict Mount Kawi as a haunted place. Tribunnews.com also shows the same thing. Elaboration such as “Eyang Djoego as a descendant of Pakubuwono I and R. M. Iman Soedjono as a descendant of Hamengkubuwono I” gives confirmation about historical blood line of figured who was buried in pesarean of Mount Kawi.

Same with national mass media, local and regional mass media also represents pesarean of Mount Kawi as the same thing. Historicity aspect that clearly relies on the war of Prince Diponegoro has become the base of legitimation which has used in narrating two figures buried there. One of malangpost.com’s news gives depiction to one of the key keepers of this pesarean who is a “Sydney graduated IT master”. The representation which is depicted by malangpost.com shows that the key keeper there is a tradition which has been inherited from generation to generation to keep the continuity of activity there. Impressions about pesarean of Mount Kawi as a historical relic artifact become the main elaboration that is delivered in thin mass media. Regional online mass media of east Java, jawatimurnews.com, also build the same narration. Through publication towards society’s refusal in the making of the



*pesugihan*⁴ movie in Mount Kawi, the writer put forward the narration of society's refusal of Kawi's image which will be returned to haunted place and place to look for *pesugihan*. In this news narration, it can be shown that Kawi's image depicted as un-haunted place and as tourism place which can be enjoyed by everyone and every time looks neatly build.

Pesarean of Mount Kawi Gives Bless to Visitors

Representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi as a place which is used for *pesugihan* rites seems ambiguous. Pesarean of Mount Kawi in national, regional, and local mass media till depicted as a place which able to give blessing for its visitors. National networked mass media, nasionalisrakyatmerdeka.com, besides depict pesarean of Mount Kawi as the graveyard of two historical figures also narrate societies believe to myths there. The myth of blessing that the visitor will get if they receive dewandaru fruit that was planted there by R. M. Iman Soedjono is also narrated. About the belief, the writer strengthens in by stating about a number of foreign tourists who visits this place are from different ethnicity, belief, and country. Some of them who visited pesarean of Mount Kawi were from Singapore, Malaysia, RRT, Taiwan, India, United States of America, England, Hongkong, Japan, Australia, Canada, Suriname, Dutch, West German, Zanzibar, and various middle east country.

So does the other national mass media, they represent pesarean of Mount Kawi as a place which has no relation with hauntedly rites activity also more into the graveyard of two heroes. On the other hand, they also represent this place as a place that able to bless the visitors who come. People's beliefs about mythical things, such as bless for those who pray devotedly in the two heroes tomb also dewandaru fruit which gives prosperity for those who receive it also be the narration that is depicted. In national networked mass media merdeka.com, the famous story about two well-known entrepreneurs in Indonesia that was visited this place also be the depicted narration about pesarean of Mount Kawi.

⁴ Something which can makes people rich



Pesarean of Mount Kawi: Icon of Cultural and Religious Tourism

In commodification process of pesarean of Mount Kawi, shows that mass media in Indonesia give positive impact to the sustainability of commodification that has occurred. Various publication by Indonesian mass media gives a new interpretation to the image of this place from sacred and only for pilgrims, to be profane space which able to be enjoyed as a means for weary releasing, tourism. Through this process, numbers of tourist who comes to pesarean of Mount Kawi will give income to those parties. It shows what Hall has stated that language is a battlefield of meaning (Hall, 2003: 1). Through representation of Mount Kawi as a public space which available as tourist place gives a challenge to the representation of Mount Kawi as a place to look for *pesugihan* that have lived in society. In this context, there is ambiguous understanding that exists towards the representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi. On the one hand, representation of Mount Kawi's sacredness as a space for pilgrims that is brought by hope in getting bless is forced by the representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi as cultural and religious tourism space for tourist.

In process of new representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi as cultural and religious tourism place, of course, related to the creation of representation that has been done by mass media, whether the national, the regional, or the local. The interesting thing is those mass media that wrote news about pesarean of Mount Kawi supports the new image of this place as a place of visitors' profane activities, that is tourism. There is no news that published by putting forward the crowd of visitors' due to its promising *pesugihan*. Strengthen form toward the representation of Mount Kawi as cultural and historical tourism place is done by narration development toward historical figures and their genealogy based on available historical sources. In this process, it can be understood about how our world works by seeing media in publishing an event to the public (Hall, 1997).

Representation process of pesarean of Mount Kawi as a form of tourism destination for visitors give legitimation to commodification process which occurs to



this place as a cultural artifact which needs to be conserved. Branding process that has done, consciously or not by mass media, is an important thing in identifying Mount Kawi for tourists who will come. This is because labeling to image or identity of a cultural artifact is very important in commodification (Pong, 2015: 135-136). This process will give impact to the way visitors look at the existence of pesarean of Mount Kawi. A condition that is shown by mass media in depicting pesarean of Mount Kawi as tourism destination which offers the various attraction of multi cultural culture as if shows the same purpose with the development of tourism potency that has been done by District Government of Malang, East Java, Indonesia. From the official page of District Government of Malang (malangkab.go.id), pesarean of Mount Kawi is one of tourism destination which is put forward to attract tourists to visit Malang District. This condition clearly is shown in one of mass media publication that draws attention to the lack of government role in developing the tourism potency of pesarean of Mount Kawi. In other words, in this context, it can be shown that mass media has an important role in guaranteeing and preserving commodification process of this place as a historical and cultural tourism place that is no longer haunted or taboo to be visited by people. Mass media has a role in creating new representation to the meaning of Mount Kawi as a historical and cultural tourism place.

CONCLUSION

Mass media in Indonesia has an important role in commodification process of pesarean of Mount Kawi. Mass media has a role in creating new representation to the meaning of Mount Kawi from a haunted and taboo place to be visited by people to be historical and cultural tourism destination that allowed to be visited by everyone. The narration of origin, genealogy, and heroism which are based on Indonesian's national historical event become one of strategy that is applied to bring down the representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi as a haunted and taboo place to be visited by the public.



Representation toward pesarean of Mount Kawi as an icon of cultural tourism has done all at once, through national, regional, and local mass media. In commodification context to cultural product, the similarity in a vision to change the representation of pesarean of Mount Kawi as cultural tourism destination can be seen. Development of modernity and advancement of reasons become the reason to put aside cultural values and tradition that has developed inside Javanese culture for centuries by adjusting it with nowadays modern human's life.

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