

***The Commodification of Culture and Ethical Transition of Tourism Development:  
An Insight from Osing Community, Indonesia***

**Komodifikasi Budaya dan Transisi Etik dalam Perkembangan Pariwisata:  
Sorotan Kasus pada Suku Osing, Indonesia**

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**ABSTRACT**

*Tourism development in many cases induces various socio-cultural consequences at the local community level. In Banyuwangi, local government commoditizes traditional rites of the Osing community for tourism purposes. Framed by Granovetter's social embeddedness and Bentham's utilitarianism, this study investigated the socio-cultural consequences of tourism development and portrayed how it influenced ethics in tourism activities of the Osing community. Following qualitative research with interviews and observation, the results suggested that Osing economic activities reflected cultural commodification. The cultural commodification expanded social networks in the relational and structural embeddedness that were operated by trust among the actors. While relational embeddedness was recognized on the personal relation, structural embeddedness was identified among government institutions, private sectors, Pokdarwis, and Osing community. Although the cultural commodification was identified, the ethical economic activities remained on collective values, or so called as collective utilitarianisms. The cultural commodification derived to widen social networks, yet the communal ethical economy remained the same. The study proposed community members to construct economic activities based on local values that were utilized to strengthen their socio-cultural identity. The study allowed better understanding of sociological consequences as undergirding framework in policy making and business cooperation.*

**Keywords:** *cultural commodification, indigenous people, social network, tourism development, utilitarianism*



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## INTRODUCTION

The issue of tourism development has received considerable critical attention in the literature. It has previously been observed that it prompts positive impacts on country economics, particularly to the region where tourist area exists. The notion holds true in Banyuwangi, as the result of my anecdotal observation, the tourism development creates diversification of local people livelihood, increases income, and gives space for women to involve in the working force. As a result, the per capita income (PCI) of the region increased 138% (Anas, 2019); thus, it helps increase economic development and preserve poverty. However, the promising positive impacts in the economic sector must be followed by other consequences, such as socio-cultural and ecological consequences. This can be illustrated briefly by the existing guest house as the demand for temporary living space for tourists. Thus far, economics cannot be isolated from socio-cultural and ecological consequences (Choi, 2010).

There is a growing body of literature that recognizes adverse impacts of tourism development on economics and environmental aspects. From an economic point of view, the negative impact of tourism development appears in the demand for imported goods, revenue leakages, and excessive dependence on the tourism sector, and land price inflation (Kumar, 2019). The high and unreasonable price of land on account of tourism development interferes with land possessing for living space. Consequently, other problems such as slums and quality of life decreased erratically. From the environmental perspective, tourism development changes the land use in agriculture and leads to risks on the food security for local people. Sutawa (2012) and Lanya et al., (2017) reported that the land use in agriculture has remarkably transformed to tourism facilities as the development in the tourism sector took place. In the same vein, Cordova et al. (2021) identified the waste problem as an emerging challenge that happened in Komodo Island as a tourism place.

The negative impact of tourism development also occurred in the social-cultural aspect. These socio-cultural impacts may be explained by the emergence of cultural commodification. In the new global economy, cultural commodification has become a central issue for tourism development. As the name suggests, cultural commodification stands for commodity and modification which refers to goods or services associated with capitalist production while modification is defined as changing. The term cultural commodification in tourism is mostly defined as the action to turn culture into a commodity, package, and other cultural artifacts, such as crafts, performance, photography, hospitality, and identity (Cole, 2007) and sold to tourists. To this matter, cultural commodification can be briefly understood as changing the culture to be an economical commodity like the market demand. The definition is exemplified in the preeminent earliest work undertaken by Greenwood in 1989 who has investigated Alerde festival of Fuenterrabia in Spain and Basque festival using an anthropological perspective. Based on the study, he reckoned that the performance no longer belonged to performers only, rather turned into a show for outsiders. He added that the performance was commoditized and considered as an object that was miniaturized by making the performance shorter and varied to appeal tourists. The evidence from this study suggests that cultural commodification transforms the traditional art into commodity by the presence of tourists and revolutionizes the traditional art from authenticity to momentum as coinage by Graburn in 1984 as *authenticity to memento*.

A number of studies have begun to examine the social impacts of cultural commodification on several countries. Zhuang et al. (2019) identified that Chinese residents' moral values changed, such as people being eager to leave their agricultural livelihoods, becoming less hard-working, and demanding higher salaries and more job opportunities. Widya Setiyanti & Sadono (2011) also reported that tourism activities in Pramuka Island provided opportunities to open enterprises and job opportunities for the local people. People shifted their job to tourism enterprises that leverage the transformation of tourism enterprises as the main income although it was insufficient amount. Hence, these findings raise intriguing questions regarding the nature and extent of the hedonism of people's daily life due to the advancement in the tourism sector. This finding is consistent with that of Pratheep (2017) who discovered tourism activities in India only gave a positive impact on a small scale and particular parties in the society while the vast major of this society got a negative impact. He found that tourism activities increased socio-cultural distortion, threatened traditional customs in the country or region, spurred illegal trading in historic objects and animals, commercialized and commodified traditional cultural

events, and lessened aesthetic values. These results reflect those of Goulding (2000) and Halewood and Hannam (2001) who also found that the socio-cultural consequences of cultural commodification are destroying local identity and cultural values, standardization of culture, and cultural conflicts. All in all, the most striking finding of previous studies showed that cultural commodification relinquishes authenticity that escorts other socio-cultural consequences (e.g. Getz & Page, 2016).

Opposing the previous studies, recent evidence suggests that cultural commodification strengthens identity and pride as community members. This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that when the community members perform a culture, they are aware that they are the representative of the society and the depiction of the community way of life. They become image of their culture and *mesmerized* the culture and the embedded values of it. Consequently, if the performance is modified, social-cultural, political, and economical aspects consequences are experienced by the whole group. In 1958 Anscombe labeled this as group consequentialism concept that contended consequences of the actions only devoted and shared by the group; thus, good consequences or negative consequences will be within the group. It can therefore be assumed that cultural commodification supports the sense of belonging of the group member because they and the whole members will encounter with the consequences, and thus they have to consider the best actions that bring good consequences. In view of its affinity, a communal characteristic is embedded in people's actions and consequences. Returning briefly to the positive socio-cultural impacts of cultural commodification, extensive studies (Cole, 2007; Finn, 2009; Su, 2011) reported that cultural commodification saves the culture form distinction due to the increasing demand, increases the possibilities of new cultural formations as an interaction between tourists and local people, renews and upgrades existing values as the local people have self-consciousness and pride to their own culture, and sustain the local culture.

Recent evidence suggested the impacts of cultural commodification as a part of tourism development on society; nonetheless, so far very little attention is given to the discussion of social adjustment in the form of cultural commodification and ethical morals in the context of indigenous society despite the fact that ethnic tourism tends to be commoditized for outsiders (Cole, 2007; Zhuang et al., 2019). This niche discredited Bentham's utilitarianism that stated changes in society are followed by an ethical transition. Similarly, a systematic understanding of socio-cultural change is lacking particularly in the Indonesian context. This gap flaws the idea proposed by Shepherd (2002) and Mokgachane et al., (2021) that whenever tourism was developed, the different consequences and society adjustment occur and are unique from one society to another. The difference is highly possibly caused by the typical characteristics of society. Previous published studies are also limited to provide a detailed investigation of consequences of the cultural commodification, reasons for cultural commodification, and criteria of cultural commodification since we hypothetically believe that cultural commodification does not merely happen in all rituals because people have awareness to maintain the authenticity of their inherent cultures. Besides, the previous studies of tourism development have not dealt with a positive impact on the socio-cultural aspect caused by cultural commodification. In most studies, cultural commodification is exclusively perceived to bring patronage negative issues to socio-cultural aspects and gauged as a tool of the capitalist to gain benefits. Thus, the study would have been more relevant if the researchers had conducted rigorous study on the positive side of tourism development to present the possibility of positive and negative impacts. As suggested by Pratheep (2017) and Shahzalal (2016) that positive and negative consequences from tourism development are indispensable; thus, discussion on both sides should be made. In addition, the phenomena of tourism could be analyzed using a socio-economics perspective as the main thesis of (Granovetter & Swedberg, 2019) is so-called embeddedness that economic activities cannot be detached from the social relation and existing institution. Last, study uses Granovetter' embeddedness as the theoretical framework in the field of tourism is understudied (Czernek-Marszałek, 2021).

Regarding the moral ethics, the study aims to capture the ethical moral of Osing tourism activities using Bentham's utilitarianism. Indeed, Bentham defined aggregation is the pleasure of the whole community as the decision was taken from the majority members, however, he does not consider the voice taken as the major decision as an endeavor to gain pleasure. It is possible that the communal decision did not result from all levels in society and represent all levels in the society if the heard voice is only those who

are in the upper stratification. In the tourism context, this notion becomes an intriguing question whether the decision of appointing Osing community as tourism destination, since the original idea of developing tourism sector must be mandated by the government, creates pleasure or pain for the Osing community. To this end, the second research problem focused on portraying ethical issues of the Osing economic activities.

Within this guise, the central thesis of this paper is aimed at investigating the risks of tourism development on the socio culture in Banyuwangi, particularly in the Osing community. The specific objective of this study is to investigate the socio-cultural consequences of the development of tourism and depict how the development leverages ethics in economic activities in the Osing community. The Osing community has been chosen as evidence of their rapid change and regional economic enhancement due to the tourism-based policy. The Osing society in this case becomes the icon of Banyuwangi as the tourism destination. To justify the research question, this investigation takes the form of a qualitative case study approach using interviews and observations to collect data. The data analysis used interactive model-based Miles et al. (2014) and Cresswell (2014), and Bentham's utilitarian theory (1995) and Granovetter's embeddedness theory (1985) as the theoretical framework to analyze the phenomena.

The importance and originality of the study is that it explores both positive and negative socio-cultural consequences of cultural commodification in one indigenous community, namely the Osing Kemiren community. This study gives a major contribution to the improving theoretical understanding of the chasm in cultural commodification and the ethical-moral transition in indigenous society that contends with the beneficial economic and social consequences. Furthermore, understanding the socio-cultural risks, commodification, and ethical moral movement will help the political aspect, pertinent to policy making. However, due to practical constraints, this paper cannot provide a comprehensive review of power relations among actors that could worsen the negative impacts in terms of profit distribution and the wellbeing of the community. Besides, no quantitative analysis was conducted to scrutinize the data; thus, no metrical data presentation was found in this study.

This paper has been divided into five parts. The first part deals with an introduction followed by a literature review, methodology, results, and discussion, and ends with the conclusion and suggestion. Throughout this paper, the terms risk, impact, and effect refer to both positive and negative consequences due to tourism development.

In relation with the aims of the study that focus on capturing the cultural commodification and ethical moral transition, the present study uses two theories. The first theory is Granovetter's Theory of Embeddedness that scrutinizes the embedded social attributes in every economic action, including the cultural commodification in line with tourism development. Since Granovetter gave little attention to explain the dynamic of ethical moral transition as a result of commodification, Bentham's Theory of Utilitarian that explains moral principle in society members' action is used. All in all, the combination of the two theories is suitable to answer cultural commodification alongside with ethical moral transition respectively.

Granovetter's embeddedness theory was originally a refinement of the concept embedded-disembeddedness postulated by Polanyi, (1977). Granovetter's embeddedness theory asserts that economic activities cannot be detached from social relations. Thereupon, Granovetter defined that economic activity as a social-economical action-oriented to fulfill needs (utility) where the economic action is socially situated and the social construction influences the result of the economic institution (Czernek-Marszałek, 2020a). Based on the definition, he offered an explanation that the economic activity in the society takes place as a result of a strong attachment (over-embedded) or a weak attachment (under-embedded) of social action in the society. Thus, to some extent, social action in a certain way impacts economic actions, and the magnitude of the concept is explained in socio-economic networks. Later, Granovetter classified two forms of social network, namely relational embeddedness, and structural embeddedness. Relational embeddedness refers to the pattern of relationship between individuals or dyadic personal relationships while structural embeddedness is defined as the relationship between a dyadic group and a broader individual or group. In economics, the social network has a strategic position in economic activity to influence willingness to share economic information, form

socio-cultural structures, and determine economic transactions, such as flexibility on price of commodities.

Specifically, benefits of social embeddedness can best be treated under three headings: trust, precise information transfer, and joint problem solving (Czernek-Marszałek, 2020a). Taking an example of trust issues in economic activity between a travel agent and the chair of Kelompok Sadar Wisata Kencana (a local organization that manages tourism activities) in Banyuwangi, they gain benefits, flexibility, and fair financial advantage since both parties are bonded social relation, especially their same identity as Osing people. In addition, social embeddedness impacts the information transfer within the economic activity, the closer the relation among actors, the smoother the information distribution. Concerning economic activity, the most valuable information is tacit knowledge (e.g., experience, mind, competence, commitment, and kindness) because it reveals consumers' preferences and distribution information. Last, joint problem solving is used to manage risks in social relations because some risks indicate that one party sacrifices not to get maximum economic benefits but to maintain long-term relations with other parties. To manage the risks, actors maintain the closeness of social relations to obtain flexible interests for economic transactions among the actors.

To date, some previous studies have used Granovetter' embeddedness theory as the underlying theory of their research. Altinay et al., (2016) reported that in tourism, social entrepreneurship was developed through social networks and their ability to unite and mobilize different institutions to share and exchange resources. The research also highlighted the role of social capital as the assets embedded in relationships between individuals, networks, and societies. Another study showed that in the case of tourism in North Halmahera Regency, Singgalen et al. (2019) revealed that participation and partnership was pivotal to achieve the sustainability of community-based tourism implementation. Thus, support from various stakeholders is still needed to form a sustainable local tourism institution. Similarly, Zhou et al., (2017) studied rural tourism in China that demonstrated network-embedded perspective as a pivotal economic-modality. The typology of bridging and bonding determined the capacity of entrepreneurs to build networks in tourism. The difference level was influenced by geographical aspects and the intensity of the networking among the tourism institutions. Dahles et al., (2020) and Dahles & Susilowati (2015) have investigated the resilience of MSMEs of silver craft in Kotagede Yogyakarta during the crisis period of 1996-2006. Using embedded theoretical frameworks from Granovetter, their longitudinal history showed the fluctuations in the tourism industry. Dahles argued that economic activity could not be detached from social and livelihood issues at the micro level. The economic transactions were in a social context demonstrated through personal rapport and strong interactions with business partners and other stakeholders. MSMEs were able to create jobs, build supporting businesses, establish business relationships, and adopt new technologies, and encourage governments to take policies to improve health support and better employee livelihoods. The results suggested that the success level of tourism enterprises is not only determined by personal capability, but also social modality. However, despite the fact that social networks are beneficial for tourism enterprises, the degree of the relationship should be carefully determined. Czernek-Marszałek (2020b) in Poland showed the negative impacts of over embeddedness because it limited cooperative innovation, adaptive travel, and independent decisions over established cooperation, increased nepotism, interpersonal conflict and susceptible to opportunistic behavior. Although previous studies have used Granovetter's theory of embeddedness, researchers have not treated the embeddedness in much detail such as relational and structural embeddedness. Besides, the previous studies have not dealt with festival tourism as the local people's identity.

Bentham's utilitarianism explains the ethical moral of archiving a good end goal. The concept of utilitarianism points out happiness as the consequences of adoring rules in the society. A good end refers to happiness while the bad thing is represented by suffering or pain. As goodness becomes the means, then morally, it consents as the end goal. However, an end goal can be categorized as good if it has intrinsic pleasure and no further consequences. An end is considered as a good one as far as the decision is made based on the consideration of maximum happiness that can be obtained by most society members. To this end, this theory proposes the term maximum happiness as the good end goal is obtained by all society members on their actions. Although, in society the happiness of everyone is

different, a pattern of general happiness should be also considered and taken as a final decision. Therefore, the utilitarian theory clearly explains the consequences of the aggregation. General happiness taken as the consensus will bring pleasure to most of the people and the rest will gain pain or supplementary happiness. The people who have different forms of happiness will adjust and compromise their happiness as society expects.

The previous studies using utilitarian theory are commonly found in the topic of animal welfare in wildlife tourism. It is likely that utilitarianism becomes a philosophy of ethics that gives equal attention to humans and animals interactions taking place in wildlife tourism like fishing and watching dolphin herds (Dobson, 2009). Using the ethics of utilitarianism, balanced decisions between human interests and wildlife welfare can be structured to consider the benefits and disadvantages gained from wildlife tourism activities. This has been seen in the case of Dobson (2009) in that he reported the negative impact of wild tourism leads to the awareness of moral considerations so as to pay attention to the animals that become attractions in wildlife tourism.

Research on wellbeing and tourism provides an interesting finding because it is able to explain the relationship between utilitarian philosophy and tourism development. The ideal form of tourism development would be a utilitarian one which does not compromise the wellbeing of local people (Kay Smith & Diekmann, 2017). One of the prominent findings of Kay Smith and Diekmann is its ability to devise an integrative model of tourism based on the relationship of time and the short-term utilitarian philosophy of medium-term and permanent optimum. Their attention to sustainable ecotourism and ethical indigenous tourism is a defense of the rights of local communities involved in tourism development.

Research on tourism and applied ethics outlines ethics in tourism activities. The basis of ethical and tourism studies lies in the impact of tourism emerging from various discrepancies in many sectors that grow along with the presence of tourism (Fennell, 2000). He mentioned that the patterns of relationships between different entities are determined by social situations and constructed tourist interactions. Thus, ethics encompasses more than the presentation of consequences, such as the basis of tourists' motivation urged by tourism development and promotion, so ethics plays a role to govern tourists, actors, developers, and government to share similar motivations and assumptions in relation to tourism goals developed in local communities.

Research on utilitarianism posits tourism as an activity of accumulating the achievement of satisfaction (Fennell, 2018; Reisinger, 2009). Fennell stated that there are 4 important assumptions in understanding the relationship of tourism and pleasure as end of human action (summon bonum, supreme good) namely (a) pleasure is the summum bonum; (b) tourism is a rational strategy in seeking pleasure; (c) tourism may in fact be the best strategy to attain pleasure; and (d) tourism may be of such value to the individual that it is conceived as the supreme goal in one's leisure repertoire or in one's life (Fennell, 2018). Fennell divides tourism activities that are ego-individualistic and centered on the existence of other actors. This division makes it easier for us to see the final human goal (summon bonum) so that we can make moral categorization of tourist behavior as hedonism if the tourism is ego-individualistic, and utilitarian ethical moral aggregation if it is communal oriented. Unfortunately, Fennell (2018) and Reisinger (2009) neglected the moral ethics of the local community so that the local community is only judged as an intrusion of service providers for the satisfaction of tourists. As a result, the studies failed to understand the moral ethics of local communities in the context of changes due to tourism.

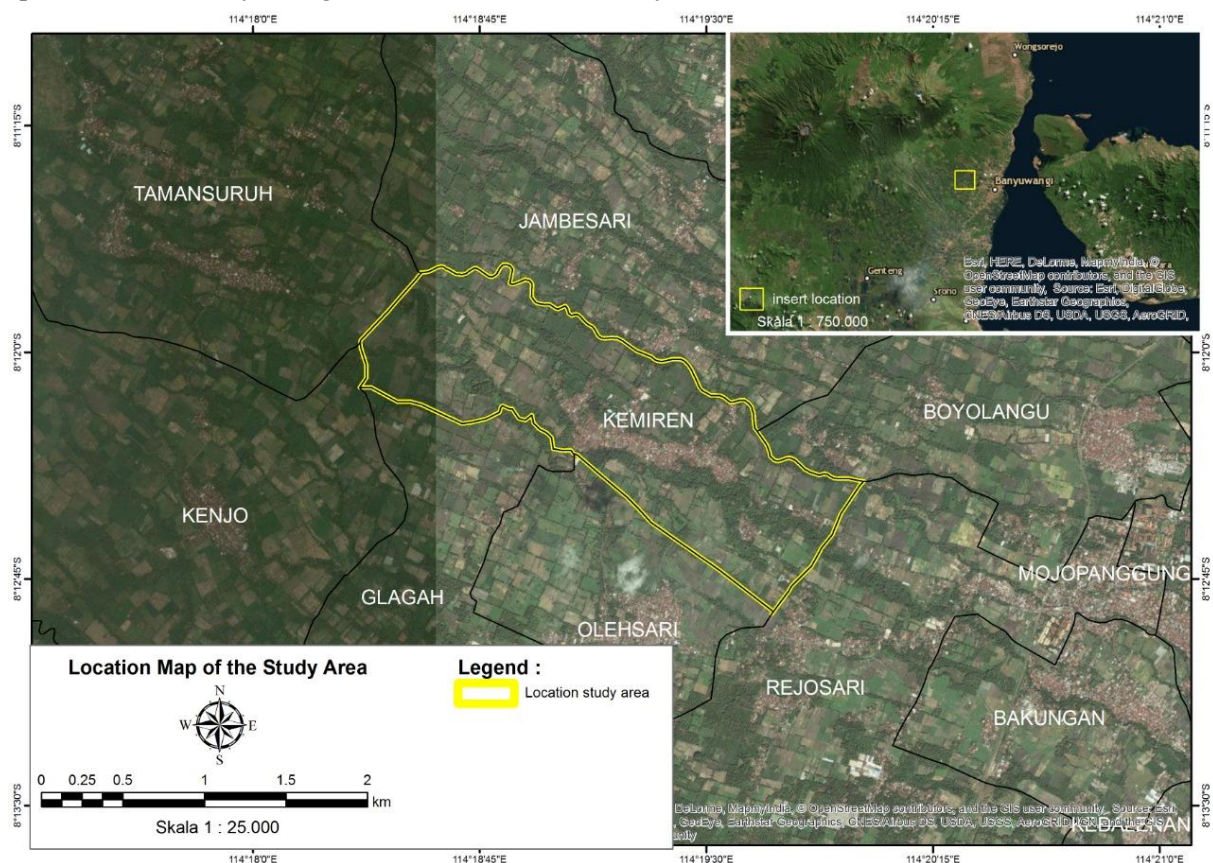
Although previous studies have been devoted to use Granovetter' embeddedness theory and Bentham's utilitarianism, limited attention is given to capture the phenomena of commodification as the result of tourism development by combining the two theories. The complementary theories will be beneficial to have holistic comprehension of the phenomena in tourism development.



## METHOD

The present research used a qualitative approach with a case study design. The benefit of this design is that it enables us to explore detailed social embeddedness and investigate the ethical morals of the Osing community at Kemiren village in their tourism activities. The case study was used to explain social changes within the last twenty years. During the period, the tourism activity possibly impacts on the social life of the Osing community as the pressure from the powerful actors who have interests. Consequently, there are close relations among the actors, so the social embeddedness has emerged as a powerful platform for problem solving in relation to Osing tourism development. Therefore, the current research designed a proposition that stated social relations are established based on trust and norms that influence individual life and communal decision on the economic activities. The research was conducted within 6 months. The research was initiated in June 2019 and ended in November 2019.

The area of the study was chosen for its cultural viscosity in the Osing people daily lives so that Kemiren Village becomes a representative of Losing culture in Banyuwangi tourism development. Based on the agro-ecological condition, Kemiren village is an area dominated by rice fields with extended 3 km residential houses pattern to the main road. (see Figure1) The road connects downtown Banyuwangi from the east with Kalibendo Plantation and Taman Suruh Baths to the west. Kemiren village is located at a low topographic altitude of 144 meter above sea level. The Osing community as the area of analysis spreads across 9 sub-districts in Banyuwangi Regency. The community members practice agricultural livelihood and the agricultural rites. They are isolated from the rest of Blambangan Kingdom, and they speak Javanese Banyuwangian and believe in Islamic syncretic.



**Figure 1.** Location Map of the Study Area

The data of this study were primary and secondary data. The primary data referred to the main information that we gathered directly from the field. The data were collected through semi-structured interviews and an interview guideline was used to govern the interviews. The informants consisted of fifteen males and four females aged between 21 to 73 years that mostly had a secondary level of education. The informant of this study was recruited using purposive sampling and followed by snowballing technique. The interview was conducted with village apparatus, artists, members of *Kelompok Sadar Wisata Kencana* (a local organization that manages tourism activities), owner or

homestays, traditional authorities, youth leaders, and other members of the community. The interviews were focused on seeking for life history and the impact of tourism development in the economy, social, and culture. To increase the reliability of the data, the observation was also being conducted particularly to describe the ecological condition and attitudes in the festivals and Pasar Kampoeng Osing (temporal market happening only on Sunday). The secondary data were the overview of the research setting obtained from documentation and literature review. The literature review was done by reviewing previous studies, journal articles, news, and documents from the village government. The secondary data were used to strengthen the primary data. Once the information was gathered, the data was analyzed using interactive model-based Miles et al. (2014) and Cresswell (2014), and theoretically using Bentham's utilitarian theory and Granovetter's embeddedness theory.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The present research aims at investigating the risks of tourism development on the socio-culture in Banyuwangi, particularly in Osing society. The specific objective of this study is to describe the consequences of tourism development from a socio-cultural perspective and how it influences the ethics in running economic activities in the Osing community.

### **Cultural Commodification of the Osing Culture as Economic Actions**

In Kemiren Village, living festival performances were managed by the local people and other parties. Based on the data analysis, people involved in realizing the performance can be broadly categorized into two-fold involvement i.e., on-site involvement and off-site involvement. On-site involvement was identified through community members' engagement in routinely various festivals performed by the Osing community, innovation of new events, lodging facilities, café and souvenir shops in the Kemiren Village area. In this case, the people gave direct involvement in the Tumpeng Sewu festival, Ngopi Sepuluh Ewu, Barong Ider Bumi, Angklung Paglak, and Pasar Kampung Osing. On the other hand, off-site involvement is generally accessed by invited or selected artists based on the selection conducted by government or private organization. The common festivals performed were but not limited to Meras Gandrung Dance organized by Taman Gandrung Terakota owned by sociopreneur Sigit Purnomo and Gandrung Sewu Festival which became the annual agenda of Banyuwangi Regency tourist attractions. Additionally, the other performances were Seblang Olehsari, Seblang Bakungan, Kebo Alihan Festival, and Gandrung Sewu Festival.

From the closer inspection on the involvement, the findings illustrated that community members have awareness to engage and contribute to their culture. We believe that the involvement was inspired by pride as the community members and the owner of the performed culture. An example from the interview with Gamelan makers evidently supports the notion when they are invited to perform Gamelan in tourism events. It suggested that the pleasure of cultural commodification is not merely economic motives, but non-economic. A possible explanation for this might be that people are aware of their attributed identity as the community members, thus when they perform, they exemplify the culture and way of life. The finding confirms a study conducted by Cole (2007), Finn (2009), and Su (2011) who asserted that although the culture is performed for outsiders and commoditized, it upgraded self-consciousness and pride to its own culture, hence the culture sustainability level increases.

The strengthened values and identity as community members due to commodification is contrast to some previous studies (e.g., Zhuang et al., 2019), Goulding, 2000; Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Getz & Page, 2016) who discovered commodification brought adverse socio-cultural consequences. This is evident in the case of tourism development in Bali, where the socio-cultural sphere is mostly dominated by the tourists' lifestyle, such as bar, shops, cafes, and other commercials sectors. In general, the socio-cultural is different and no longer "primitive" culture as prior condition in the society; thereupon, the destination appears less authentic, and the value of the product is reduced. This consequence opposes the modern concept of tourism itself that demands on the authentic experience as stated by Cohen (2012) that tourists travel to seek their own lifestyle in hosted destination where a special existential state of being is true and authentic. To this end, it can be drawn to a conclusion that the presence of tourists, especially foreigners, leads to and speeds cultural differences, especially in the structure of the society



as structural changes in tourism profile, growth of tourism activities, and intensive interaction between local and tourists (Kırlar Can et al., 2017). Above all, the negative consequences should be blamed on the interaction of two or more different societies that have different socio-cultural structures and values (Erwin & Smith, 2008).

The finding also reflected that Osing community members are not only involved in cultural activities but also in the tourism enterprises attributes or so-called cultural commodification such as providing accommodation, additional entertaining facilities, and souvenir shops. The developed facilities and additional elements are provided as the companion for festivals in which the culture was performed, modified, and added by economic motives. It suggests that the economics and the condition of the community are adapted to the needs and demand of the tourists. The phenomena can be understood that once the cultural heritages are performed to outsiders – tourists, the ambience of the community will be adjusted in accordance with the needs and demand. Thus, the authenticity of the milieu and the culture are modified and no longer fully belong to the community members as per se, but also to the tourists' satisfaction and interests.

In contrast, cultural commodification does not merely bring economic benefits, but also brings positive impact on the rebirth of a distinct custom that is otekan performance. Prior to the existence of cultural commodification, the habit of pounding rice as a communal activity no longer existed. People used technology to pound rice, so it decreased the local activities to jointly process the rice using *tumbukan* and decrease the number of employees. Because of the demand for otekan performance, the Osing community used the exclusivity to revive the tradition of processing rice as the communal activities, in such a way, the members obtained cultural-gain and economic gain. In view of its affinity, the results suggested that cultural commodification was not only stimulated by tourism activity but preceding conditions such as technology development.

The interpretation above was illustrated as one interviewee put it:

*“... no, since there is a milling machine, it is no longer being used. It used to function to separate rice skins from their contents. But since there is a milling machine, we have never separated the rice skin with its contents using lumpang (vessels made of wood or stone to mash rice, coffee, or other processed materials and usually used with an alu-mashing device made of wood with a shrinking middle for the grip).*

*“Since there is a milling machine, we did not use lumpang to process harvested rice anymore. The lumpang and alu will be used to process flour when there is an event like a wedding.”*

*“Once someone said that he wanted to know what gedogan was like. I was told to learn how to play gedogan on Sunday. Since that day, we rehearsed day and night until 10 p.m. The otekan (see Figure 2) is played by at least 5 women dressed in a typical Osing attire and a man who plays angklung (musical instrument from Sundanese region in West Java that is made of a varying number of bamboo tubes and attached to a bamboo frame).” (Interview Swn, Sukosari Cultural Reserve, October 10, 2019).*



**Figure 2.** Otekan performance

The findings are consistent with those by Cole (2007), Kirlar Can et al., (2017) and Getz & Page (2016) who found that the presence of tourists urges cultural differences and modified authenticity. The consequences might be partly explained by intensive interaction between local and tourists and the economic motives while gaining maximum economic benefits. This idea supports the notion proposed by Bentham (2000) in his utilitarianism that argued the tendency of an action to increase overall happiness. The economic activities of the Osing people illustrate that the feelings of pride to introduce the culture and gain the economy prompt them to continually sell and produce in commoditized activities. The action and the choice to modify the festivals showed that the pleasure from both aspects constituted the metaphysical foundation, and the choice behavior reflected the level of the gained pleasure. As the community members gain socio-cultural gain such as pride and strengthened identity and economic benefits, they tend to continually do cultural commodification as suggested by Bentham (2000) that pleasure becomes the go signal that directs creatures to sustain important activities, and pain becomes the stop signal that obstructs activities that are causing harm.

The finding also suggested that cultural commodification influences the social relations among actors in the implementation of festivals in which economic transactions take place. Zooming out the consequences of the cultural commodification, we find that it broadens the social networking among the actors, modifies social network, and establishes new social network. As we observed, the social conditioned of economic transactions occurs in 4 typologies of relations between actors, namely 1) within Osing Kemiren community members, 2) between the Osing Kemiren community with tourists, 3) among the Osing Kemiren community with tourism enterprises (hoteliers, travel agents, and tour guides), and 4) between Osing Kemiren community with government

In the first category, social involvement in the festivals dispose of communal values manifested in traditional rituals. The different interests of the indigenous Osing community members are melted down through simultaneous joint activities to realize the rituals. Thus, participation in this ritual is a form of belief in the obligation to carry out the orders of the Danyang and the founding ancestors of Kemiren village that were never violated and changed. Within this guise, relation among Osing members proved that cultural commodification does not modify the members' relation and involvement in realizing festivals and living the cultural heritage, even as we observed, their eagerness and awareness to sustain the rituals are reserved and strengthened as the cultural commodification present in Osing community.

In the second category, cultural commodification convinces that it augments new and broadens the social relationship within the Osing community from the single connection among community members to connection between the Osing members and tourists although the relation settled is an impersonal and temporal. The result may be explained by the fact that cultural commodification attracts the tourists to come to the Osing community to enjoy and experience festivals and the authenticity of the Osing culture

in the inherited region. Consequently, the interaction among the tourists and the Osing members cannot be avoided. As a result, the allure to provide and present the best performance for the tourists rises and leads to open the enthusiasm of being connected with tourists in the ritual in which in the prior era, the performance was only devoted to community members.

In the third category, the social conditioning is stressed and undergirds the business relation among hoteliers, travel agents, and tour guides and Osing that are generally positioned as the part of itinerary. The result exemplified that cultural commodification of Osing culture opened the relations to the wider scope of social networking among various actors. Besides, the repeated and long relationship formed a flexible contract business where the pure business motives gradually became personal relationships. As it suggested, the shift was driven by trust and economic benefits among the actors. The hoteliers, travel agents, and tour guides get paid from tourists and the local people earn income from shopping for tourists during festivals or during events.

In managing the activities among the Osing Kemiren community with tourism enterprises, *Kelompok Sadar Wisata Kencana* becomes an important actor in the implementation of these festivals. It becomes the central and powerful actor to govern the profit distribution and well-being of the community. They managed the festival activities that consist of the preparation of venues, the preparation and rundown of events, the distribution of tourist order packages to members of the Osing community and a number of administrative works such as correspondence and reporting activities. The rationality drawn from the social relations of *Kelompok Sadar Wisata Kencana* and members of the Osing community is in two complementary interests, namely cultural obligations and economic benefits. Since the institution structured the whole cultural activities, we hypothetically believe that *Kelompok Sadar Wisata Kencana* is the midpoint of social networking among actors involved in Osing tourism activities.

The last category is identified through the government's reciprocal relations with the Osing Kemiren community. In the tourism activities, the government has the right to foster and control the administration of Kemiren village as a superior destination and legalizes *Kelompok Sadar Wisata Kencana*. By controlling the economic activities, the Government of Kabupaten Banyuwangi expects to realize Osing Kemiren community as a leading tourist destination and appealing destination based on the Ministry of Creative Economy and Tourism. Having this reputation will certainly bring trust from various parties, for example from the State-Owned Enterprise (SOE) and funding through corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs. On the other hand, the Osing community gained economic benefits and strengthened Osing's identity of having tourism activities. The result depicts that the relations between the Osing community and the government are strengthened because of political interest from the Osing community appeal and economic benefits following the recognition.

Social networking can be roughly classified into relational embeddedness and structural embeddedness. The relational embeddedness can be noticed within the Osing Kemiren members of community to realize the festival performance and supporting facilities, while the structural embeddedness was in the form of relations established among actors such as between the Osing Kemiren community with tourists, among the Osing Kemiren community with tourism enterprises (hoteliers, travel agents, and tour guides), and between Osing Kemiren community with the government. The difference in social embeddedness was determined by power relations in tourism activities that show dynamic and steadily changing, thus they work in every angle, many levels, and interconnected knowledge (Cole, 2007). Seen from an economic perspective, the relationship among the actors depicts local enterprise that relies on the human as the foremost element, but they live according to their self-determined cultures and rules.

The single most striking observation to emerge from the data analysis was the selected modification of culture artifacts. The following table recaps the cultural commodification of culture in the Osing community (see Table 1). The table shows that there has been a marked change of some festivals from pure traditional festivals, turning into performance for tourists that requires economic charge, or called cultural commodification. Cultural commodification can be loosely described as the modification of traditional festivals and the occupied values into tourist destinations and tourist attractions leading to the conversion of the original value. For example, cultural commodification changes the usage value of a festival as a bonding mechanism in the society into an economically motivated exchange.

**Table 1.** Cultural commodification of Osing Rituals.

Rituals	Original Version	Commodified Version
Tumpeng Sewu	conducted in the month of Djulhijah (one of Islamic month) as the expression of gratitude to God and hope of health and fertility popular with typical Osing culinary, <i>pechel pithik</i> which has a philosophical meaning “kang diucel-ucel saben dinane kethitika barang hang apik” (what is managed wrestled every day is a good thing) carried out communally on the terrace of each house	designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2014 became one of Banyuwangi Festival events starting in 2012 held along the main road of the village became a culinary tour package with a price of Rp.250.000 / pax followed by dance performances
Barong Ider Bumi	held on Syawal 2 <sup>nd</sup> (one of Islamic month) as part of <i>bersih desa</i> tradition to avoid the community from disaster and grateful for the windfall that has been received started from the Kemiren Village office then travels around the village and finished by tradition called as <i>Makam Buyut Cili</i> that is considered the ancestor of Kemiren Village	No cultural commodification found
Tari Gandrung	expression of gratitude for the harvest honor of the figure of Dewi Sri the tool of struggle to build the spirit of the remaining Osing population after the 1767 dutch company's destruction consisted of 3 acts namely Jejer, Paju or Ngibing and Seblang Subuh	became Banyuwangi Tourism Mascot based on Banyuwangi Regent Decree No. 173/2002 designated as a Welcome Dance based on the Decree of the Regent of Banyuwangi No. 147/2003. became a tour package for Rp. 1,500,000/pax maximum for 60 tourists shortened staging time includes: Jejer gandrung, Repehan (repeated), Paju gandrung (repeated), Seblang Subuh
Festival Ngopi Sepuluh Ewu	became the philosophical value of <i>lungguh, suguh</i> and <i>gupuh</i> in honoring guests.	became a festival along with the popularity of coffee culture held on the terrace of the house where visitors were charged a rate of ten thousand to enjoy coffee labeled the activity with <i>Sak corotan dadi sak duluran</i> Brewing (together then brothers)

Source: Primary Data, 2019

The rituals that characterize Osing people identity undergo a change into something that can be presented for the benefit of tourists, or commodified. Tourists enjoy the exotic performance of the rituals as performed by the people. They are urged to experience the authentic momentum of the performed Osing cultures. However, in fact, Lanfant (in Shepherd, 2002)) argued that once cultural heritage is turned into a tourist commodity, then its cultural meaning is commodified into a commercial value in which the beautified culture leading to hyper reality. The cultural commodification values a considerable number of economic exchanges. Tumpeng Sewu Festival activities for example, with approximately 1,113 household heads of families spent at least one chicken and coconut as the basic ingredients of the seasoning, back then the economy was potentially developed. The role of Pokdarwis Kencana in Tumpeng Sewu Festival activities is very central to regulating who gets the opportunity to receive orders valued by Rp. 250,000/pax from tourists. Pokdarwis Kencana also manages the cooks of pechel pithik menu valued Rp. 200,000/pax. Compared to another study area, Greenwood in 1989 also found that the Alerde festival of Fuenterrabia in Spain and Basque festival was modified as the demand of the tourists. The cultural-economic activities of Osing people depict an act of rationality to live weluri (traditional) values. In the beginning they perceive Barong Ider Bumi ritual as an activity based on weluri values to protect citizens from danger or disaster. Next, Ngopi Sepuluh Ewu Festival is more elucidated as an activity to appreciate guests. Furthermore, the renovation of the traditional house, Gebyok, becomes an activity to maintain a traditional house as a weluri tradition that shows cooperation and tolerance. The

act of rationality shown by Osing people depicts a form of resistance through political identity (ethnicity) using tourism (Anoegrajekti & Effendy, 2007). The construction of the socio-cultural history of the Osing community has shaped economic activity based on the rationality of these values. To this vein, *weluri* is sustained not only due to the history, but also people's awareness of the commodifiability of the values as a tourism commodity.

Reflecting the cultural commodification of Tumpeng Sewu ritual, in the early days of the Tumpeng Sewu ritual, tumpeng and *pechel pithik* dishes represented personal self-interest that contained gratitude for the safety and fertility of Kemiren Village. However, due to cultural commodification, the values are modified by economic motives. Besides, over time, the self-interest of community members turned into economic interests whose social relations must be perpetuated between *Kelompok Sadar Wisata* as the authority to regulate tourism enterprises and Osing people as the service providers. *Pokdarwis* understands the potential for opportunities and social jealousy that may disrupt the harmony of the Osing Kemiren Indigenous Community. To this matter, the rules of who gets the opportunity to create and present services for tourists such as *pithik pechel* are distributed evenly according to the number of guests who book. The management of *Kelompok Sadar Wisata* showed that the festival has economic values that ought to be shared to all members of the Osing community. The management of the *Kelompok Sadar Wisata* also illustrates that the attraction of economic values is significant, so then people will engage to get the gain and other parties will automatically or voluntarily manage the earning system. This phenomenon is maybe explained by Weber (in Sumarti, 2007) who mentioned that interests encourage human action, where their perspective on the world determines the decision they make.

What stands out in this table is the absence of cultural commodification of *Barong Ider Bumi*. *Barong Ider Bumi* is a colossal ritual performed by the Osing Kemiren community. The value of sacredness has not changed, ranging from philosophy, *slametan* rituals (an event to express gratitude to God Almighty by inviting neighbors and eating together of the meal symbolizing wish and pray), and *pechel pithik* culinary dishes. The symbolization of *Barong Kemiren* is an important part of the *Barong Ider Bumi* ritual carrying the meaning of togetherness (*barong* = together), hard work, reminder of history, value of being grateful and resented to God Almighty (symbolized by a dome-shaped crown). For that reason, the *Barong Ider Bumi* ritual becomes a representation of the value and self-image of Osing Kemiren so that the arrangement remains the same to avoid bad luck and is not commodified. The strength of the value inherent in the *Barong Ider Bumi* ritual for the Osing community shows that they have the rationality to choose which rituals can be commodified and which cannot. Sacredness in the *Barong Ider Bumi* ritual is the main reason *Barong Ider Bumi* does not experience cultural commodification as other rituals. Thus, it can be concluded that cultural commodification occurs only in profane cultural spaces.

The literature on cultural commodification has highlighted the positive impact and the negative impact (Indiarti, 2016; Karsono et al., 2019). In the study of Banyuwangi Angklung Festival (Karsono et al., 2019), the negative side of cultural commodification was perceived through a view of the siltation of cultural meaning and degrading the quality of culture. While the positive side is shown in the view that cultural commodification in the form of festivals forms a medium of social integration and cultural sustainability and is believed to build the character and mentality of the perpetrators (Karsono et al., 2019). The process of cultural commodification and strengthening Osing identity built through Banyuwangi cultural events and festivals inevitably becomes cultural commodification (Indiarti, 2018).

The finding is contrary to the present finding that shows the Osing community in fact has a system of classification in which cultures can be or cannot be commodified. Osing's cultural landscape in fact has a system of classified knowledge that categorizes sacred culture and profane culture. In this case the traditional ritual of *Barong Ider Bumi* which is a condition where transcendental sacred values never change its implementation system while the art of *Gandrung* performance that is considered as a social dance and has profane values then experiences cultural commodification tailored to tourism interests. This basis is the guideline of whether a ritual or art can be accommodated or not. This situation was also supported by the Government's attitude that gave freedom to the Osing tribe to choose which rituals experienced changes and which rituals did not change.

Theoretically, this fact suggests that the commodification of culture does not mean contrary to the interests of tourism. Cultural authenticity cannot be measured through economic measures based on the

repetition of cultural industries (commodified) (Shepherd, 2002). The trend of tourists is currently moving in the pursuit of "authentic" cultural experiences to get to know ourselves better. Speaking of cultural authenticity, the assessment is related to who does and where the cultural space is displayed to be important to tourists, and along with that for the local community to share the cultural experience with the tourists is their way of strengthening and perpetuating their cultural identity. This situation lies in the objective situation that no local community is completely static, historical and has no agency over itself and is aggregated over space and time with its external world (Shepherd, 2002).

### **Consequentialism Utilitarianism as the Osing Economic Moral Ethics in Tourism Activities**

The socio-economic standing of the Osing community posits these three perspectives. At the beginning, from a cultural perspective, the Osing community became a cultural icon of Banyuwangi presented in Gandrung dance performances. According to (Anoegrajeki & Effendy, 2007), Gandrung dance became a project as a tourism icon, an object of "conquest" among Muslims who want Gandrung dance to be performed adoring to Islam law, a project to strengthen identity as a result of the opening of opportunities for Gandrung dancers in tourism. Second, based on the social perspective, Osing community was situated in the marginal compared to other ethnicities in Banyuwangi (Madurese, Javanese, Buginese, and Balinese). Prior to the political structure revitalization in Banyuwangi, the Osing community members did not have the opportunity to serve as government bureaucracy or board members. Nonetheless, after the revitalization in 2004, Osing members received strategic places in the government bureaucracy. As a result, it indirectly contributed to the existence of the Osing tribe which had been on the fringe and marginalized. The last is economic perspective that set the image of Banyuwangi as a lagging district and marginalized economically in East Java. However, due to tourism development over the past 10 years, positioning the Osing as a cultural icon has lifted significant economic growth along with the increasing Osing community member's welfare.

Since the second set of questions aimed to describe the moral ethics of the Osing tourism activities, informants were asked to indicate the moral transition in the community activities. There was a sense of communal activities amongst interviewees. They do the tourism activities based on communal decision and self-awareness as an Osing community member. The following is an excerpt of interview illustrating the communal values on the Osing tourism activities

*"For example, traditional clothes, compared with Jambesar and Boyolangu, continue to be broadcast in the mosque "hello, wear black clothes and udeng for tomorrow's festival". Everyone will do or tomorrow will be Ngopi Sepuluh Ewu, and then people will wear black clothes. If I might say, this happens because people are envious and like to show off. When a member wears black clothes in the festivals others will follow. I think so because people will prefer to buy rice rather than clothes like other villages." (Interview Ri, Dusun Krajan, October 1, 2019).*

It is apparent from the excerpt that the economic moral ethics act on the principle of obtaining the greatest amount of collective profit. This consequential economic moral ethic is conceptualized as a characteristic of the Osing indigenous community that provides the basis for what should be desired and influences the choices available from the forms, ways, and objectives of action. The perception of actors is bound by a moral imperative to put the collective interest first to act and bear together the chosen action. This ethical typology is in line with utilitarianism in the sub theory of consequentialism that explains the only thing that matters in deciding the most appropriate thing to do is the human imperative to act. The following interview excerpt corroborates the theoretical description above.

*"... A leader cannot be unable to think only from one point of view. From a religious point of view, it is a responsibility. From an economic point of view and mathematics perspective how much negative and how much positive it is. That's all to be thought about. How to bridge that breakthrough must also be possessed... positives and negatives are given. Praying is not important to me, for me what is important is to be grateful for what we do. Because God promises, whoever is grateful for the blessing will be added..." (Interview ESA, Kemiren Village Office, September 30th, 2019).*



The economic activities in the Osing community also showed an aggregation of the estimation of the amount of pleasure and pain impacted from the taken decision. Objections and rejections from indigenous groups were among those that represent how pleasure and pain are calculated and tailored to needs and became an accepted way out of the community members. The following excerpt illustrated an aggregation in the economic actions to ensure the decisions brought pleasure to all members.

*“At the time, Kemiren artists protested the Color Fun Festival because it dealt with DJ music (modern music), thus we modified it as Sembur Kuwung Festival that uses traditional music. Once, an artist protested that the value of sincere embedded in Osing culture was no longer sustained because it was commercialized. Then I responded that we, government, want the society to become peaceful and prosperous, and I assumed that it was hypocrite that people are sincere all the time.” (Interview with ESA, Kemiren Village Hall, September 30, 2019).*

The interview indicated that the decision of Osing as a tourism destination originally initiated the government's interpretation of what is best for various parties. In the process of the development of tourism as an interest is actually driven by the interests of the elite. This notion resonates in Kasmiami et al., (2016) who found that the development of ecotourism was still inclusive so that people who were able to access such availability were top class household groups. Dialogue between the interest groups shows that the utility of an entity is relative to the point of views of each stakeholder. Within this guise, the final decision to choose tourism as part of their livelihood should be seen as a process of aggregation of moral ethics as a result of the impulse to seek pleasure and rule out the possibility of negative effects or pain.

The construction of the economic moral ethics of the Osing community showed altruistic characteristics that were oriented towards communal interests and ability to gain economic opportunity coming along with the tourism development. These altruistic attitudes are demonstrated by the disclosure of individual financial benefits that became second priority after gaining communal economic benefits with Osing's identity as the basis actions. Harmony and social integration are priorities to maintain intimate relations between the Osing community and tourism. This notion is well represented in their perspective while discussing individualistic urban social relations.

*“It is for Osing development. We barely obtain bigger benefits, even if we are at break-even point (from their economic activities), so I don't want to exaggerate my village (based on the economic benefits of tourism activities). You already know that people here are great and have a high communal living sense compared to people who are already in the city who have higher ego.” (Interview SMT, the informant's residence, October 8, 2019).*

The construction of economic ethics of the Osing tribe is internalized through interactions with various parties who have various interests. The internal dynamics of the Osing community showed that intensive interactions with external entities of the Osing community that carry individualistic values in the name of business are suppressed in such a way when dealing with the Osing social expectations and cultural values. In the context of tourism development, the social structure of the Osing community depicted changes where youth groups have a vital social role in organizing tourism activities. The social structure of the traditional Osing community was characterized by stratification based on gerontocracy, age seniority being the basis of stratification. However, today the central role of youths belonging to Pokdarwis Kencana provided strong evidence that the principle of gerontocracy slowly changed and was replaced by youth agility and creativity.

The perception of actors is bound by a moral imperative to put the collective interest first to act and bear together the chosen action. Clearly, this can be seen from the retaining sacred values of the Barong Ider Bumi ritual in which Osing people agree not to commodify the ritual even though other rituals undergo transformation and change due to tourism activities and also the calculation gain that is overlooked by homestay owners when faced with the subjectivity of communal interests. This ethical typology is in line with consequentialism that posits the majority consensus becomes the communal agreements along with the consequences. Like the consequential concept, utilitarianism also proposes that the actions to gain happiness will be the communal decision, thus it may partly explain the absence of cultural commodification in Barong Ider Bumi.

Consequential utilitarianism as the Osing economic moral ethics in tourism activities was also depicted in the strengthened Osing member identity. The following excerpts illustrated that the tourism development in Osing community strengthened identity and revived the values of community.

*“It used to be embarrassing when we were known as Osing Kemiren members. Now, we are proud of being Osing people.” (ESA interview, Kemiren Village Hall, October 30th, 2019).*

*“The benefit of our identity also impacts Gamelan music players. They earned livelihood from the performance. In other words, our identity as Kemiren people impacts on our wellbeing. However, Gamelan craftsmen have not yet received the same benefits because the identity creates our profile as a well-known Gamelan music player from Kemiren, not a Gamelan craftsman from Kemiren.” (Interview SGT, Kemiren Village Hall, October 7th, 2019)*

*“... the good thing about people here is the high level of social values in the society. It is different from the people in the city who have high ego.” (Interview MSD, Kemiren Village Hall, October 8th, 2019)*

Osing's historical trajectory that placed Osing in a fringe discourse gained revitalization momentum after being appointed as Banyuwangi's cultural icon. Pride as an Osing people becomes a cultural strategy wrapped by various tourism interests. The policy of revitalizing art and culture applied by the Banyuwangi government also positioned culture as a means of enhancing and bringing community wellbeing into reality (Anoegrajeki et al., 2018). In other words, the economic moral ethics experienced hybrid values of hedonistic and aggregative actions for the communal interests.

In other words, the economic moral ethics experienced hybrid values of hedonistic and aggregative actions on account of the communal benefits. All in all, the economic moral ethics of the community relied on the principle of obtaining the greatest amount of collective gain. This consequential economic moral ethic is conceptualized as a characteristic of the Osing community that provides the basis for what should be desired and influences the choices available from the forms, ways, and objectives of action. In addition to that, the sociocultural construction in the form of weluri tradition is integrated or in line with tourism economic rationality. Consequently, the amount of the transaction is not the basis of the economic transaction but the trust. The finding is consistent with that of Dahles et al. (2020) and Dahles and Susilowati (2015) who discovered that the resilience of MSMEs of silver craft in Kotagede Yogyakarta during the crisis period was influenced by the personal rapport, strong interactions business partners, and other stakeholders. To this matter, it can be understood that economic activities are impossible from the context of socio-cultural, and the sustainability of the economic activities are determined not only by capital but also by social modality.

These data must be interpreted with caution because of the limited supporting theory and literature that can be used to explain the ethical moral transition. A note of caution is due here since the discussion on the utilitarian theory was mostly used under animal wellbeing study and the utilitarian in social-economic activities was underexplored. However, despite the cautious interpretation, it is possible to hypothesize that the Osing community used consequentialism utilitarianism.

The present results are significant in at least two major respects. It was successful as it was able to identify the social adjustment in form of cultural commodification both for modified rituals or unmodified rituals. This study favorably identified the underlying reason for modified and unmodified rituals in Osing society. Moreover, it was also able to identify the ethical morals of Osing tourism activities. Despite the promising results, questions remain such as the comprehensive review of power relations among actors, the profit distribution, and wellbeing of the community through quantitative and qualitative data sources.

## CONCLUSION

This paper set out to describe how social adjustment and ethical transition happening due to socio-cultural commodification in tourism in Osing Community. This study has shown some significant results

in the process of commodification in the Osing society. At the beginning, the result presents that commodification is found in Osing tourism activities; however, not all rituals experience modification, such as in Barong Ider Bumi. People lodged the arrangement of the rituals to keep on sacredness of the rituals as it directly connected to people's belief in God power. The people believe that the modification of the ritual brings negative impacts on their live as the structure of the ritual has been arranged based on *weluri* of the ancestor. The result depicts that the traditional values embedded in cultural commodification. The people also have prior knowledge on the cultural commodification system to decide which rituals can be modified and which cannot.

Another significant result of the study is in the form of social network operated in Osing tourism activities. As the cultural commodification happens, the social network living in the Osing community is also modified to be broader. The cultural commodification opens a new relation among actors, namely relation within Osing Kemiren community members, between the Osing Kemiren community and tourists, among the Osing Kemiren community and tourism enterprises (hoteliers, travel agents, and tour guides), and between Osing Kemiren community and government. The relations are characterized into relational and structural embeddedness. The relational embeddedness was observed from the personal relations between the aforementioned actors while the structural embeddedness was highlighted in the relations among government institutions, private sectors, *Pokdarwis*, and Osing community. It is found that the relation experiencing cultural commodification is those driven by the particular interest such as economic benefits, so the expand of the social networking is fruitful for Osing community to gain stronger cultural identity.

With regard to economic ethic transition, the collective value remains the same as the risks of the cultural activities are also community responsibility; thus, it proclaims collective utilitarianism paradigm exists in economic activities of the Osing community. Based on the results, the present study hypothesizes that the Osing community members do the economic activities based on two blended social concepts, namely utilitarianism embeddedness. Therefore, the novelty of the present study is in the form of characteristics of tourism activities in the Osing community, namely utilitarianism is embedded in the culture, which is modified to gain maximum benefits, while persisting values are embedded in the society.

This new understanding should help to improve theoretical and practical aspects that tourism development not merely brings negative impacts on the tourism site and the society because the society member is eager to retain their culture as well as the economic benefits. It implies that tourism development strengthens society member identity. At the same time, it can be recognized that retaining cultural identity becomes their attempt to live the authenticity of being an indigenous society that to some extent is commodified to gain the economic benefits. All in all, attempts to achieve the economic benefits as well as retain cultural heritage make Osing people modify their economic activities based on the cultural values. As a result, the novelty of the present study is the concept of utilitarianism embeddedness. Practically, the findings, social embeddedness among actors involved in tourism activities in Osing and collective utilitarianisme are pivotal in maintaining tourism development and culture.

This study was limited by the use of a small sample size that did not allow depicting all voices of Osing people on the tourism development in their region. This gap would be a fruitful area for further work to extend the informants to have a comprehensive understanding of social adjustment and ethical transition in the Osing community. Besides, the shortcomings of this study lie in the lack of information about the sustainability of the ecosystem in the development of rural tourism. A comparative study might add the whole understanding on the impacts of tourism development on social and ethical aspects.

Based on the findings, the government shall regard to those economic paradigms during the policy making. We recommend the government to provide education and training to retain cultural values and develop innovation of tourism attraction. For Osing community, we suggest to ensure the position of *Pokdarwis Kencana* as the one core management to secure the function of economic distribution, so that the benefits can be enjoyed by all Osing community members. To this matter, *Pokdarwis Kencana* needs to set up standard operating procedures as a starting point to ensure community members who want to be involved in tourism understand and comply with the benchmark service standard in the tourism activities. For enterprises, it is necessary to edify the local characteristic of tourism in Osing to some

degree to establish their respect for losing cultural values as the core business in tourism. Last, for tourists, they need to appreciate the losing culture as a tourist experience that is useful in enriching knowledge of cultural diversity. Theoretically, it is suggested that embeddedness theory is combined with other social theories to explore comprehension on actor's power relations.

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