

Phenomenological study of teenagers wayang fans

Studi fenomenologi remaja penggemar seni pewayangan

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Abstract

Recently, there has been a phenomenon of the existence of wayang fan groups as traditional art among teenagers, which is an element supporting the existence of wayang in the postmodern era. The purpose of this study is to explore the meaning of wayang and the activities of wayang art fans among teenagers. This study used a phenomenological approach by conducting interviews as a data search technique to seven teenager members of Sanggar BALADEWA. The results showed that: (1) the identity of wayang art fans was formed from the background as a 'puppeteer family' and a 'fan family' which created differences in meaning in wayang; (2) wayang fans are divided into active fans and passive fans as seen from their activities in Sanggar BALADEWA as a wayang fandom; (3) the existence of wayang for wayang art fans has shifted its function as entertainment due to mass production through digital platforms; (4) Teenagers who are fans of wayang not only have collections related to wayang, but also become 'dalang muda' as a form of wayang performance production. This study concludes that the art of wayang can adapt to the conditions of the times and there is also a shift in the function of religion to become an entertainment function that contains commercial practices.

Keywords: fans among teenagers; popular culture; wayang art

Abstrak

Belakangan ini dijumpai fenomena keberadaan kelompok penggemar seni pewayangan sebagai kesenian tradisional di kalangan remaja, yang merupakan unsur penyokong eksistensi wayang di era postmodern. Tujuan penelitian ini untuk menggali makna wayang dan aktivitas penggemar seni pewayangan di kalangan remaja. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologi dengan melakukan wawancara sebagai teknik pencarian data kepada tujuh remaja anggota Sanggar BALADEWA. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa: (1) identitas penggemar seni pewayangan terbentuk dari latar belakang sebagai 'keluarga dalang' dan 'keluarga penggemar' yang menciptakan perbedaan pemaknaan pada wayang; (2) penggemar seni pewayangan terbagi menjadi penggemar aktif dan penggemar pasif yang dilihat dari aktivitasnya dalam Sanggar BALADEWA sebagai fandom wayang; (3) keberadaan wayang bagi penggemar seni pewayangan mengalami pergeseran fungsi sebagai entertainment karena adanya produksi massal melalui platform digital; (4) remaja penggemar seni pewayangan tidak hanya memiliki koleksi yang berkaitan dengan wayang, tetapi juga menjadi 'dalang muda' sebagai bentuk produksi pertunjukan seni pewayangan. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa seni pewayangan dapat menyesuaikan kondisi zaman dan juga terjadi pergeseran fungsi religi menjadi fungsi hiburan yang mengandung praktik komersil.

Kata kunci: penggemar di kalangan remaja; budaya populer; seni pewayangan

Introduction

Wayang is a Javanese cultural performance art based on the existence of *ayang-ayang* or the shadow of a wayang. Wayang emerges from community collectives as local wisdom that is able to shape the mindset and behavior of the community (Rauf 2010). This makes wayang a Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2003 which must be maintained (Warsito & Kartikasari 2007). The central role of wayang life lies in a dalang with story-packaging skills that are able to influence the lives of the audience. Fans are also parties with an important role that makes wayang life as a cultural

product remain sustainable. Wayang as a performing art has its own group of connoisseurs from various walks of life, especially in the Java region (Soetarno 1995).

Before heading to the phenomenon of wayang fans, the discussion about fans has many studies from various studies. Most studies focus that fans as consumers try to interpret culture, negotiate and produce economic value of a culture, and exchange socially (Seregina & Weijo 2016). This allows fans to build sociality, religiosity, productivity and ideology on a culture. Fan groups or fandom is a picture of the process of fanaticism for new values and ideas produced through the tension between individual identity and collective identity (Fuschillo 2020). Fanaticism in fans makes it always construct self-identity and social status (Chung et al. 2017, Seregina & Schouten 2017). Therefore, it can be possible that wayang fans can be carried out a study of these patterns of behavior.

The existence of wayang has quite complex fan life dynamics. Sunardi (2015) explained that the dynamics of the existence of wayang fans are divided based on three eras, namely: (1) The Orde Lama Era with wayang fans coming from various elements of society because it is a means of moral education and unifying the nation; (2) The Orde Baru Era with the condition of reduced wayang fans because wayang experienced 'death' from the G30S/PKI turmoil; (3) The Reformation Era with the decline of fans due to globalization which encouraged the entry of various foreign cultures became the main attraction of Indonesian society, especially among adolescents. The dynamics of the ups and downs of wayang fans are ultimately caused by the flow of globalization which creates modern living conditions through digital technology that brings people to the global village (McLuhan 1994). The transformation of life into modern by Giddens (1990) made the loss of boundaries between countries in terms of trade, tourism, traveling, information, technology, even tradition and culture.

Globalization that brings changes in the field of tradition and culture is clearly seen from the existence of westernization. Huntington (1996) explains westernization is a process of imitation and adoption of western lifestyles that are increasingly free, individualist, rational, and consumptive. This is a threat to the existence of local culture because western culture is more easily accepted by the community (Larasati 2018). Simply put, it can be referred to as the penetration of western culture in local culture which includes values, norms, lifestyles, local wisdom, and customs. The penetration of western culture and local culture is experienced by each party because of differences in motives in interpreting a culture. For adherents of western culture, a culture circulates in a global society that is not limited by space and time. While adherents of local culture, a culture appears in a local community that is limited in space and time, and is reproduced through direct interaction.

Westernization in Indonesian society is unilateral and includes all dimensions to maintain the cultural dominance of the carrier country or better known as global homogenization (Sztompka 2017). Global homogenization in Indonesian society was born because of the ease of access to information in the outside world without filtering that affects people's behavior (Lalo 2018). The acceptance of western culture in Indonesian society occurs among teenagers because it is considered new, unique, and modern. This also happens because of the lack of direct involvement in local culture due to individual attitudes (Suneki 2012). Furthermore, by Nugroho in "*Viral Sebagai Capaian Pertunjukan Wayang Masa Kini*" it is explained that people have a practical and dynamic lifestyle that is more attractive to teenagers (Dukut 2020).

Korean wave is one of the best-selling western phenomena among teenagers. Based on data from The Korea Foundation in the Korea Times that hallyu worldwide reached 89 million people spread across 113 countries with the number of fan clubs reaching 1,843 in 2018. The largest distribution is in Asia and Oceania reaching 70.59 million people with the number of fan clubs reaching 457 (Yeon-so 2019). The existence of the Korean wave as a popular culture society now has many fans. Korean wave as a form of culture that is favored by many people by Storey (2018) is referred to as pop culture because it covers all activities of daily life. The Korean wave became a 'complete package' to fulfill the desires of its fans through the popular culture industry through information technology (Hong 2016). Therefore, the existence of K-Pop tends to be popular and mushrooming among teenagers with its consumptive behavior.

Pratama: “Phenomenological study of teenagers wayang fans”

The Korean wave is one of the opponents of local art in terms of the existence and existence of fans from among teenagers. Wayang is one of the local cultures that is challenged by the Korean wave. The dynamics of globalization that bring western culture reduce teenagers from loving and even knowing wayang. This condition makes the connoisseurs of wayang only come from among the elderly and raises the assumption that wayang is an ancient culture (Nugroho 2018). This creates an assumption that teenagers who like wayang are a different society. Meanwhile, puppets according to Setiawan in “*Wayang Kapsul Radio JFM: Wayang untuk Kaum Muda*” have philosophical values as a guide as well as order because they form the nation’s character and communicative values as a spectacle because they are one of the means of disseminating information (Dukut 2020).

The existence of globalization that brings digital technology is an acceleration for wayang fans to form fan groups without seeing the boundaries of time and space like Korean wave fans. The emergence of various groups of wayang fans eventually became a value for the sustainability of wayang in the midst of resistance with western culture. Through social media such as facebook, instagram, and even youtube is a means of existence of wayang fans. Some of the existing wayang fan groups are PSMS OYE (Penggemar Sejati Manteb Sudarsono), KASFC (Ki Anom Suroto Fans Club), SBA (Saudara Bayu Aji), PWKD (Penggemar Wayang Ki Anom Dwijo Kangko), SKCK (Sedulur Ki Cahyo Kuntadi), Ki Sigid Ariyanto Fans Club, PWKS (Penggemar Wayang Ki Seno Nugroho), and many others.

The increase in the number of wayang fans by Wahyudi in Sudrajat (2021) raises cultural fanaticism due to an artist’s art work pattern by looking at the current era that makes fans part of the family. The use of youtube also gives an impression among teenagers about wayang as an alternative entertainment and space to expand and strengthen local cultural fan groups around the world (Cohen 2019). Through innovation, the use of youtube by dalang and crews makes the world of wayang loved by teenagers. Furthermore, the emergence of wayang fan segmentation among teenagers is based on the characteristics of the appearance and packaging style of the contemporary story by the dalang (Situmorang 2015). Youtube is a media tool through uploading recordings of wayang performances to introduce wayang which has an impact on the ‘mushrooming’ of wayang fans among teenagers.

Youtube optimization is a separate branding for today’s wayang through live streaming which is intended only as entertainment, so that the symbol of social value in wayang stories is less prominent (Gono & Rakhmad 2021). Another interesting feature of wayang in the current era according to Pratama in “*Kritik Penguasa dengan Sikap Blakasuta Tokoh Bagong Ki Seno Nugroho*” is the prominence of certain wayang characters as the identity of the dalang who penetrates among his fans (Utomo 2020). Wayang fans in Indonesia are not only in the form of groups that are just spectators or connoisseurs of wayang, but also come from interior studios. This does not rule out the possibility that there are teenagers who have their own way as wayang fans. Furthermore, wayang fans among teenagers cannot be separated from the change in the function of wayang as a popular show in the entertainment industry market (Awalin 2018).

Previous studies related to the art of wayang have two main focuses. The first focus is on the innovation of the wayang world by wayang artists (Kirana 2016, Pandanwangi & Nuryantiningsih 2018) and the second focus on wayang as a performance (Soetarno 2011, Nurcahyo & Yulianto 2021, Suyanto 2022a, Suyanto 2022b). Both research focuses using the study of performing arts. Unlike previous studies, this study focuses on the existence of teenagers as fans of wayang in interpreting wayang itself and the activities as wayang fans using sociological studies.

Ultimately, this research serves two purposes. The first is intended to explore the meaning of wayang among teenagers who are fans of wayang and the second is to describe their various activities as wayang fans. Therefore, this study was conducted to provide an explanation of the preservation of wayang in the midst of global cultural onslaught by teenagers who love wayang.

Research Method

This research uses qualitative methods with an interpretative paradigm that produces descriptive or narrative data as a whole from observations of various experiences of research subjects in the form of expressions, words and behaviors displayed. The interpretive paradigm is used because the results of this study seek to explore various meanings with various interpretations. Phenomenological approach is carried out to interpret and explore deeply a social phenomenon that takes place in a society. Schutz in Waters (1994) explains that the phenomenological approach is intersubjective and meaningful because it looks for the original motives underlying individual actions. Therefore, this study seeks to explore the various meanings that arise from wayang and the activities of wayang fans among teenagers.

The social setting of the research was conducted at the Sanggar BALADEWA located at UPT. Taman Budaya Jawa Timur, Surabaya City for three reasons. First, Sanggar BALADEWA is located in the urban area of Surabaya with the character of its people who still hold and love traditional culture. Second, Sanggar BALADEWA is one of the art studios, especially one of the interior and karawitan art studios that still exist to shelter cultural lovers and conservationists. Third, Sanggar BALADEWA places a focus on members among children to teenagers. Therefore, Sanggar BALADEWA was appointed as a social setting for the phenomenon of the existence of wayang fans among teenagers.

The subjects of this study were members of Sanggar BALADEWA which was conducted purposively with the following criteria: (1) being at the high school to college education level; (2) actively participate in online and offline wayang performances for the past five years; (3) know the two wayang characters and their characters; (4) have an idolized dalang; (5) have a favorite wayang character. Based on the existing criteria, there were seven teenage members of Sanggar BALADEWA as research subjects.

The data collected are primary and secondary. Primary data is the main data because it is obtained and processed directly by researchers. The main data is obtained through in-depth interviews by making interview guidelines and conducting interviews directly with informants to explore the meaning or construction that is built on the phenomenon of research and observation on various activities carried out by informants regarding the phenomenon studied around activities in the world of puppetry. While secondary data becomes supporting data because it is collected from existing data and processed by other parties. Supporting data is obtained through literature studies, namely looking for reading sources derived from books, scientific journal articles, and others. The data findings that have been collected are analyzed through three lines of activity initiated by Miles & Huberman (1992) including data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

Results and Discussion

In this chapter, the results and discussion by researchers have been divided into four sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter deals with the emergence of the identity of a teenagers wayang fans. The second sub-chapter explores the meaning of wayang by teenagers wayang fans. The third sub-chapter describes participatory culture of teenagers wayang fans. The fourth sub-chapter explains that wayang as popular culture for teenagers wayang fans. The following are the results and discussion of the phenomenon of teenagers wayang fans.

Identity of teenage wayang fans

The formation of the identity of teenagers as teenagers who love wayang cannot be separated from three basic things. The first comes from a family background that cannot be separated from the world of wayang directly or indirectly. The purpose of not being separated from the world of wayang is the life of families who are in the 'wayang universe' as wayang artists or fans. The second comes from how to get to know the world of wayang, which is the way families introduce the art of wayang to teenagers by inviting them to watch wayang performances, telling wayang stories, and teaching to play wayang. The

Pratama: “Phenomenological study of teenagers wayang fans”

third comes from the beginning of knowing the art of wayang which is seen from the closeness of the family to the world of wayang.

“*Pakdhe* (brother of the father), in ancient times, when I was a child, I didn’t go to school, I often performed puppets so mas at home. For example, his son’s birthday event or this event means just performing wayang at his house. Now that’s it, I must have been since childhood, how about it, like immediately like so on wayang and that I saw in full, always not wanting to go anywhere. Anyway, just look at the wayang.” (Informant NAN).

“Which introduces (to wayang) both parents, but most fathers. Because when he was a child, he was often invited by the father of *wayangan* (wayang performance). So the father is *ngrawit* (gamelan player).” (Informant AGL).

“Father of *dalang* (puppeteers), then mothers are also traditional dancers. So since childhood I’ve been. From childhood already know wayang.” (Informant SAS).

This is in accordance with Barker’s statement (2013) that individual identity is constructed from a kinship environment which in this context is a family and family social obligation in the form of socializing introducing wayang to maintain the existence of wayang as a traditional art that must be preserved in the post-modern era from the dominance of outside cultures, such as Korean Popular and Japanese Popular. From there, the identity of teenagers wayang fans is classified into the Table 1.

Table 1.
Identity of teenage wayang fans

Identity Type	Background	How to Know	Getting to Know Early
<i>Têdhakan</i>	Puppeteers	Grandfather of a Puppeteer	Kindergarten
<i>Babonan</i>	Family	Father of a Puppeteer	
<i>Tiban</i>	Fans	Father of a Fans	Elementary School
<i>Katutan</i>	Family	Brother of a Fans	

Source: Field data findings modified by the author

Referring to the Table 1, the identity type of teenagers wayang fans which includes *têdhakan*, *babonan*, *tiban*, and *katutan* was adopted by Javanese terms by Poerwadarminta (1939). First, *têdhakan* means that successive descendants are counted from the previous two generations. *Têdhakan* fans mean teenage wayang fans who have a background of a puppeteer’s grandfather with a pattern of wayang recognition through watching wayang performances. Second, *babonan* means successive descendants counted from one generation before. *Babonan* fans mean teenage wayang fans who have a background as the father of puppeteer’s with wayang recognition patterns through watching wayang performances. Third, *tiban* means suddenly given. *Tiban* fan means a teenage wayang fan who has a background as a father of a wayang fan with a pattern of introducing wayang through watching wayang performances or telling wayang stories. Fourth, *katutan* means to be carried away. *Katutan* fans mean teenage wayang fans who have a sibling background, especially a wayang fan through playing wayang.

Wignjosobroto explained that humans have personalities that are formed through the process of social relationships and habits that exist in their social environment (Narwoko & Suyanto 2007). Identity according to Barker (2013) is expressed through various signs which include personal tastes, beliefs, attitudes, and lifestyles. Simply put, identity is flexible according to the situation conditions in a certain time and space. Self-identity formation through reflection on emotional self-understanding.

“I maybe, how can I become Yudhishtira. Because my own position as the first child, how can I protect people without any conflict. Yudhishtira is anti-conflict. The character is quiet, authoritative, doesn’t talk much but always acts.” (Informant RIY).

“If I am a wayang, I am still Bima. Like what is it, Bima is good and bad. Bima, if he has met the smart Krisna, will become a strong knight. So there must be friends who can really be with

Bima. Bima without Krisna is stupid. There is a point that when Bima needed advice from Krisna, there were some. But what is really relevant to me, that suits me is Bima. You see, the mental hard or euphoria that exists. I'm *loss* (free character). I mean whatever I live with reckless capital. Just believe it, rest assured. The important thing is to be sure." (Informant DAN).

"Ramawijaya. Manly, magical, handsome, incarnate god, then the lack is a bit strange, a bit *slek* (weird) brain." (Informant SAS).

"Kumbakarna. Actually, the character of Kumbakarna, I have a sense of salute because he is a sincere character. A violent giant, The name alone is a giant that is notoriously fierce, ugly. But in Kumbakarna I saw sincerity." (Informant AGL).

The personalities of teenagers wayang fans are also formed through the representation of wayang characters. The representation of wayang characters is created through self-expression in various life experiences. There are four wayang characters who represent themselves as teenagers wayang fans. First, Yudhistira has the character of thinking before acting, little talk a lot acting, anti-conflict, patient, tough, calm, and authoritative. This cannot be separated because as the first child who must be an example for his younger siblings. Second, Bima has a manly character, dignified and 'hard' physically, firm in opinion, never give up, diligent in learning, dare to take risks, but difficult to think clearly. Third, Ramawijaya has a dashing and handsome character, but full of suspicion that easily makes disputes. Fourth, Kumbakarna Has a sincere and sincere character with the impression of a scary physical look.

This is in accordance with Barker's (2013) statement that self-identity is expressed through personal tastes, beliefs, attitudes, and lifestyles in which adolescents represent themselves into certain wayang characters. Teenagers who are wayang fans identify their personality through the character of the wayang character as seen from the suitability of experience and emotional behavior. Habits that are 'close' to the character of wayang characters shape the personality of teenagers through behavior in social relations with other individuals (Wignjosoebroto in Narwoko & Suyanto 2007).

The meaning of wayang

The emergence of two teenage identities of wayang art fans creates a difference in meaning in wayang. This meaning occurs because of the articulation process that is able to reveal the meaning of a cultural product completely and correctly for the union of two different things in certain conditions and periods (Hall in Barker 2013). The meaning of wayang is also strengthened by idolization of puppeteers, idolization of wayang characters, and idolization of *lakon* wayang.

Wayang performances in general are based on *lakon*, *sabet*, and *iringan* as the three main elements of presenting wayang performances (Sunardi 2019). Simply put, the explanation of the *lakon* as a story displayed with a certain message content, *sabet* is the visual motion of wayang on the screen, and *iringan* is a series of music that builds the atmosphere, strengthens events, and directs the storyline. The diversity of the first experiences of teenagers who are wayang fans know wayang makes a difference in the attraction of wayang. The wayang characters idolized by teenagers are knights with different characters and story origins. Bima characters have the character of *sasangka* and *sudibja* knights, Krishna characters have the character of *sarjana* and *wijaya* knights, and Gunawan Wibisana characters have the character of *sujana* knights.

There are five knight characters according to Hardjaprakosa (1990) in wayang characters idolized by teenagers who are fans of wayang. First, *sasangka* is religious through spiritual practice to find oneself. Second, *sudibja* has a strong, determined, sturdy, and *sentosa* character. Third, *sarjana* has a clever, intelligent, and intellectually literate character. Fourth, *wijaya* is a leader with glory, prosperity, and justice using wisdom for others. Fifth, *sujana* is vigilant, carefully reads the situation, and has prudence.

The character of the wayang character idolized by teenage wayang fans is a form of 'ideal hope' for the character of one's personality as a picture of a knight or the next generation of young people. Another

Pratama: "Phenomenological study of teenagers wayang fans"

thing that emerged from idolized wayang characters was the emergence of knowledge of wayang characters from two great epics of the 'wayang universe', namely the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The world of wayang cannot be separated from the existence of *lakon* wayang. Stories in the world of wayang are a form of depiction of people's lives. This makes the *lakon* wayang have a place as a 'picture of the state of life' of the community.

"Dewa Ruci. Bratasena (the name of Bima's youth) studied in Durna, even though it had been the subject of discussion many people would be killed by his group Duryudana and Sengkuni. But the favorable circumstances, strong determination, finally got knowledge (magic) from nature." (Informant REP).

Teenagers who love wayang have three types of *lakon* wayang. Kresna (2012) explains that the three types of *lakon* that are popular. First, mystical *lakon* is a story about a journey of self-discovery, the meaning of life, and a spiritual journey full of magical elements. This type is on *lakon* Dewa Ruci. Second, tragedy *lakon* is a story about the gradual fall of core characters in a major war. This type is on *lakon* Brubuh Alengka and *lakon* Bharatayudha. Third, *kraman lakon* is a story about the seizure of royal power and the emergence of rebellion from a kingdom that raises patriotic attitudes. This type is on *lakon* Tripama and *lakon* Gojali Suta. Similar to wayang characters, *lakon* wayang of each identity have differences based on knowledge of the wayang world. The identity of teenagers from 'puppeteer families' favors *lakon* from the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics, while teenagers from 'fan families' only like *lakon* from the Mahabharata epics.

The experience of getting to know wayang through watching a wayang show becomes memorable from the packaging of the show by the *dalang* (puppeteer). This is what attracts teenagers to love wayang.

"Ki Anom Suroto is his voice for *suluk* (Javanese poetry sung) is very good. *Gandhem arum* (melodious and smooth). Like a person singing it uses a bass voice, a heavy voice but very long." (Informant NAN).

"Ki Sukron Suwondo from Blitar. I'm also a big fan of him. Arranging *gendhing* (musical accompaniment in wayang performances) is also good, making *langgam* songs (traditional Javanese music genres) is also good, *sanggit* (dramatic packaging of wayang stories) is also very good. It's Mr. Sukron." (Informant AGL).

"One thing, Mr. Manteb even though he is dead. Like a *sabet* (How to play the wayang), the favorite mastermind is still Mr. Manteb." (Informant RIY).

"Mr. Enthus Susmono followed the times. Moreover, he also musically gamelan also followed the times. Including using contemporary musical instruments such as violins, saxophones, then there is what the name is... The big *bedug* is called *timpani*, like that." (Informant ILM).

Referring to Soetarno & Sudarsono (2007), there are several types of *dalang* favored by teenagers. First, *dalang apik* is the puppeteer who is able to present wayang performances in accordance with the aesthetic rules of the interior world. This type of puppeteer is in Ki Anom Suroto with the characteristics of *suluk*. Second, *dalang wasis* is the puppeteer who is able to present a wayang show dramatically. This type of puppeteer is in Ki Sukron Suwondo with the ability to arrange *iringan gendhing* and *nyanggit lakon*. Third, *dalang sabet* is the puppeteer who is able to present a wayang show by highlighting the wayang movement. This type of puppeteer is in Ki Manteb Sudharsono and Ki Anom Dwijo Kangko with *sabet* style seem 'alive' and acrobatics. Fourth, *dalang tontonan* is the puppeteer who is able to present wayang performances according to the tastes of the audience. This type of puppeteer is in Ki Enthus Susmono with innovations in *garap iringan*, wayang characters, and delivering critical messages.

Some aspects of wayang that have been described previously cause differences in the meaning of wayang among teenagers can be seen in the Table 2.

Table 2.
The meaning of wayang

Aspect	Identity of Teenagers Wayang Fans	
	Puppeteer Family	Fans Family
Attractions of Wayang	<i>Sabet</i> <i>Lakon</i>	<i>Sabet</i> <i>Lakon</i> <i>Iringan</i>
Idol Wayang Characters	Gunawan Wibisana (Ramayana) Bima (Mahabharata)	Bima (Mahabharata) Kresna (Mahabharata)
Favorite <i>Lakon</i> Wayang	Brubuh Alengka (Ramayana) Tripama (Ramayana) Dewa Ruci (Mahabharata)	Gojali Suta(Mahabharata) Dewa Ruci (Mahabharata) Bharatayudha (Mahabharata)
Idol Puppeteer Type	<i>Tontonan</i> <i>Apik</i> <i>Sabet</i> <i>Wasis</i>	<i>Tontonan</i> <i>Apik</i> <i>Sabet</i>
The Meaning of Wayang in Life	Philosophy Spirituality Entertainment	Philosophy Nationality Economy

Source: Field data findings modified by the author

The meaning of wayang that emerges for teenagers who are fans of wayang is not only based on the meaning of wayang in their lives, but also through the attraction of wayang, idolization of puppeteers, wayang characters, and *lakon* wayang. First, wayang as ‘an art that has aesthetic elements’ or beauty from aspects of *lakon* (message and storyline), *sabet* (wayang movement), and *iringan* (music that strengthens the story with gamelan and modern musical instruments). The attachment of aesthetic aspects to wayang performances is the creative result of wayang artists in responding to challenges in the current era to attract connoisseurs of wayang performance (Danaswara et al. 2022).

Second, wayang as ‘part of their lives that are always inherent in the lives of Indonesian people’ with elements of philosophy, spirituality, nationality, economy, and entertainment. Wayang eventually became a cultural value of ‘eastern society’ full of meaning (Sauky & Bukhori 2021). Third, wayang as ‘a form of social change that cannot be separated from the past, present, and future that will’ comes from nostalgic, future, constructive, liberatory, and humanist types of performances. The existence of wayang in the current era makes it a means of critiquing social changes that occur in people’s lives (Danaswara et al. 2022).

Fourth, wayang as ‘a reflection of themselves becoming knights of the nation’ who have a religious, intelligent, vigilant, determined, and wise nature. *Lakon* wayang dan karakter tokoh wayang yang memuat semangat nasionalisme menjadikan para penggemar seni pewayangan selalu mengingat dan menanamkan rasa bangga dalam membela tanah air (Mandara et al. 2020). Fifth, wayang as a ‘manifestation of virtuousness’ because of their spiritual attitude, knowing their identity, defending their homeland, and understanding the dynamics of national life. Similar to the fourth point, this fifth point explains that wayang contains the essence of microcosm and makorcasm as humans who are virtuous, inventive, and prioritize charities (Muada 2021).

Participatory culture as an activity for teenager’s fans of wayang

The activities of teenage wayang fans who are members of Sanggar BALADEWA make them have interaction between fellow fans, interaction with ‘non-fans’ of puppet art, other people’s views on teenage wayang fans. This became a form of fans and wayang fandom. Fans according to Jenkins (2006) are hunters of cultural products who are able to reproduce cultural products in a community through freedom, deepening, and self-expression.

Pratama: "Phenomenological study of teenagers wayang fans"

Referring to Jenkins (2006) that fans bring up a culture of following all activities of idolized objects to make it easier to express themselves, argue, and even exchange ideas among fans who have the same idol objects. The interaction between fellow wayang fans at Sanggar BALADEWA cannot be separated from expressing opinions and exchanging ideas both about the world of wayang and outside the world of wayang. The interaction that occurred for the teenagers who were fans of Sanggar BALADEWA wayang was the discussion of *lakon* wayang, *iringan* wayang, and even the idea of forming a new studio and making wayang together. Self-expression also arises from activities outside the world of wayang in the form of discussions about motor automotive and even vacationing together.

"Discussing all kinds of things, sometimes motorcycles, hanging out for coffee, if the wayang must be *lakon* (wayang story). For example, I like the play of Dewa Ruci, there is a script, I have it. I kept comparing it with the same script but from a different storyline point of view. Then when it's about to perform. Sometimes think of the order of accompaniment and gamelan anything and who plays anyone." (Informant DAN).

"I once initiated. Want to establish a *sanggar* (studio) like BALADEWA with friends. Never discussed that, it's just that it seems to be too far away. Continue to also have plans to make wayang together and order wayang dues." (Informant AGL).

One of the activities of wayang fans at Sanggar BALADEWA as a wayang fandom is in the form of regular training. Regular training that is rotating between members of Sanggar BALADEWA in the field of wayang and gamelan brings out the expertise of each member. This is in accordance with Jenkins' (2006) explanation that teenagers as fans not only hunt wayang as a popular cultural product, but also deepen the wayang.

The interaction between fans also has an impact on the behavior of teenage wayang fans at Sanggar BALADEWA as one of the wayang fandoms, making them also spread information to people who are not wayang fans. The dissemination of information about the world of wayang is not only explaining about the world of wayang and showing a wayang show through a youtube channel, but also teaching to play wayang and gamelan.

"I was once a speaker at an international school, anyway the school was very minimal (knowledge about wayang). Then I finally introduced the wayang, told the story of the wayang. I kept saying 'wayang is not very ancient, the proof can follow the modern. Even musical instruments (gamelan) can be connected to the keyboard' directly." (Informant RIY).

Sanggar BALADEWA itself is also referred to as a fan community or known as fandom. This is in accordance with Gooch's (2008) statement that fandom is a fan group created from the same fan interests. Sanggar BALADEWA was formed inseparably from teenagers who have a similar fan of wayang as a popular object of traditional art performance. Sociologists Ferris & Harris in Duffet (2013) also stated that the existence of fans is a form of popularity of a text, image, performance, even a character with a positive emotional relationship. The emergence of a sense of family, togetherness, perseverance, and even teamwork among wayang fans in creating cultural products in the form of wayang performances with their characteristics. However, fan behavior with the association of positive emotions according to Hills (2002) is also accompanied by an obsession with wayang as a product consumed. This ultimately makes teenage wayang fans unable to position themselves, unable to respect time, and even have their own idealism among fellow wayang fans.

Looking at the explanation above about the activities of teenage wayang fans at Sanggar BALADEWA, there are two types of wayang fans, namely active fans and passive fans. Referring to Savira (2021) who explained that fans have types based on their behavior, namely passive fans and active fans. The classification of the type of teenagers who are fans of wayang is divided into several aspects which can be seen in the Table 3.

The interaction of fellow wayang fans at Sanggar BALADEWA as a wayang fandom gave rise to participatory cultural practices. Participatory cultural characteristics according to Jenkins (2009) exist in the Sanggar BALADEWA group. There are five characteristics of participatory culture as a teenager's

activity for wayang fans. First, low barriers to expressing a culture. Teenage wayang fans can express themselves freely through regular practice or a performance. Second, strong support among participants. Teenage wayang fans interacted with discussions about the world of wayang which included *sabet*, *iringan*, *lakon*, and even the idea of establishing a new studio and making wayang together. The interaction with discussions outside the world of wayang regarding the world of motor automotive as another hobby.

Table 3.
Types of teenagers wayang fans

Aspect	Fans Type	
	Active Fans	Passive Fans
Talking Issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Lakon</i> and <i>iringan</i> wayang 2. The idea of establishing a new studio 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Lakon</i> dan <i>iringan</i> wayang 2. Motor automotive world 3. Discussion of <i>tongkrongan</i>
Knowledge of the Wayang World	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Biography of known puppeteers 2. Division of the puppeteers' hinterland style by region 3. Know all wayang characters, but have difficulty identifying characters with similar shapes and characteristics 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Known residence of the puppeteers' 2. Know all wayang characters, but have difficulty identifying characters with similar shapes and characteristics
Interaction on 'Non Fans'	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Practice playing wayang and gamelan 2. Socialization to junior and senior high school students 3. Become a resource person about wayang and gamelan for international school students 4. Introducing wayang through <i>iringan</i> wayang on YouTube 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Just show the activities of playing gamelan and wayang 2. Introduce wayang when others ask questions

Source: Field data findings modified by the author

Third, the existence of informal mentorship in the sharing of knowledge and experience between 'old people' and 'new people'. Teenage wayang fans have a pattern of mentorship in routine practice activities. Mentorship in the form of senior members helping to teach junior members when playing wayang, *suluk*, and playing gamelan. Fourth, trust that each participant has a meaningful contribution. Teenage wayang fans have emerged cooperation in routine training and cultivating a performance with their respective expertise, both in the field of wayang and gamelan. Fifth, the existence of social connections of the participants. Teenage wayang fans with family backgrounds who are in the wayang world, participate in routine rehearsals, and perform a performance ultimately have a connection to wayang artists and other wayang fans. The exchange of information, cooperation, and freedom of expression as fellow fans lead to creativity in creating works in the form of wayang performances in a 'youthful style' (Rohimah et al. 2021, Dinar et al. 2022).

Wayang as youth popular culture

Wayang became popular culture because it emerged among teenagers through idolizing behavior. The idol of teenagers in wayang makes them form groups with the same objects of favorite and in the end is called a youth subculture from the diversity of other people's views on them. Groups of teenage wayang fans have a tendency to share different activities and lifestyles with the general public (Clarke in Hall & Jefferson 2006). By Williams, this happens because wayang art as an object that teenagers like and is aimed at creating teenage fun (Storey 2003).

Barker (2013) explains that a subculture is a collection of individuals with distinctive value labels and norms that are different from society in general. Teenage wayang fans get a unique young individual label because they like wayang as a form of knowing the nation's identity through the nation's cultural

Pratama: "Phenomenological study of teenagers wayang fans"

ancestral heritage, but seem '*ndeso*'. The unique label and '*ndeso*' are owned by teenage wayang fans, this cannot be separated from wayang that have an audience of fans among the elderly (Nugroho 2018). This makes teenagers have different assumptions among other teenagers by society in general.

"If the view is maybe more or less they see me as a *Njawani*... *Njawani* is a condition where I know who I am, in the sense that I know who I am, know who he is. Not just Javanese people, but as an Indonesian nation that has a special culture. Gamelan wayang are special. Sometimes there are also those who say 'you are unique, still young but love wayang' once it exists." (Informant RIY).

"Actually, in junior high school, it was labeled old-fashioned. It was initially discouraged (psychologically) because it liked wayang to be labeled so. But when I was in high school, because I won the East Java level competition (wayang performances), many people began to support it. So even more excited. My friend also said 'I have a *dalang* (puppeteer) friend'. So it feels like I'm proud." (Informant REP).

The existence of wayang in the era of popular culture also shows a shift. This shift can be seen in the function of wayang rituals in providing guiding values into entertainment functions as popular performances (Awalin 2018). The entertainment function attached to wayang in the era of popular culture also shows evidence that it is dynamic with the ability to adjust to the demands of an era, even becoming a function of consumption from the existence of various productions of consumptive goods with wayang 'labels' (Akhyanto 1988). This shows that wayang in the era of popular culture as 'low culture' because it emphasizes an economic benefit through mass production and the dilution of values in wayang which is referred to as '*adiluhung* culture' (Storey 2003).

Digital platforms as mass media also play a major role in shaping wayang as an entertainment show into popular culture (Bungin 2009). The use of digital platforms ultimately shows that wayang are dynamic and adaptive. The practice of wayang entertainment cannot be separated from the role of wayang artists or puppeteers as content creators who optimize digital platforms.

"Wayang can be seen on youtube, streaming. For me there are negative and positive sides. But there are more positive sides because the people of Indonesia, Nusantara are more able to know 'what kind of wayang' from digital media, even many learn about wayang from digital media. Personally, I am happy and I hope that wayang can *nututi majuning jaman* (following the times)." (Informant AGL).

"Mas Kangko created a youtube channel for sharing about wayang. Introducing wayang characters. Until there is a tutorial *sabet* (how to move the wayang). Learning (playing wayang) online is easy." (Informant DAN).

"For example, youbube, to my knowledge, he (puppeteer) made a studio in his own house and held wayang as usual. There is only a camera, no audience. Who manages from the *dalang* (puppeteer). As far as I know, the pioneer was Ki Seno, only finally penetrated into other *dalang* (puppeteer). Finally, because it is included in youtube, there must be a fee from youtube. Now the payment from youtube is for the salaries of *niyaga* (gamelan players). The money is from youtube adsense." (Informan NAN).

Wayang became popular culture because of commercial practices on people's production and consumption (Storey 2008). Consumption activities occur from the presence of wayang fans who continue to watch wayang performances through youtube and search for knowledge information about wayang through tiktok. Furthermore, consumption activities also occur in the purchase of objects related to wayang ranging from wayang kulit itself, performance equipment (*kothak* wayang, mic stand, cempala, keprak, and kelir), fashion called *Kejawen* clothing (beskap, jarik, blangkon, and keris), as well as wayang merchandise (compact disc recordings of wayang performances and *lakon* wayang books).

"At home now there are almost 300-400 wayang. One more box, because in the past there was already a box containing approximately 120 wayang. I used to buy wayang when I was in the 5th grade of elementary school. In the past, the price of one wayang was around Rp 500.000." (Informant DAN).

“Blangkon, beskap, keris and others exist. It was mine and had an older brother. Not bad (in quality) and often used interchangeably. If it’s blangkon, I usually only use three. Batik tulis all. If the beskap I have my own is only one. Others have older brothers.” (Informant REP).

“There are several recordings of wayang performances by old puppeteers on my laptop. There are Mbah Darman, Mbah Leman, Pak Kesdik. Some are just audio recordings. If the recordings of old puppeteers are mostly audio, but there are also videos. I really have to take care of it, I keep it. Because it’s an important thing.” (Informant AGL).

In contrast to consumption activities, production activities are carried out by teenage wayang fans in the form of puppeteering behavior that adjusts freedom of expression in art in the form of novelty of the ability of the play and the packaging of the performance by combining drama. Therefore, teenage wayang fans can be said to be a consumer as well as a producer called ‘dalang muda’ from the puppeteering activities carried out. Strengthening this explanation, Dipopamiak (2015) describes the role of ‘dalang muda’ as heirs to rural culture, actors in the rural world, and conservationists of the rural world. Thus, teenage wayang fans as ‘dalang muda’ strengthen the nation’s identity through pride in traditional arts.

The existence of teenagers wayang fans in the midst of the rise of global culture makes wayang still exist and be sustainable. Wayang for teenagers is now not an ‘ancient culture’ but a ‘popular culture’. Wayang became popular culture by referencing elements of popular culture theory by Storey (2008). First, wayang are trendy because in this era they are in great demand by the public, especially among teenagers who even have a community of wayang fans. Second, wayang is uniformity due to the practice of showing/broadcasting wayang performances using digital platforms by many *dalang*.

Third, wayang is adaptive because the show is able to adjust the wishes of the audience with various innovations in it such as delivering criticism of developing social issues and *garap pakeliran* (how to package wayang movements, dramatic wayang stories, and musical accompaniment). Fourth, wayang have durability in a certain period with certain characteristics of the state of market share in that era. Fifth, wayang have profitability because they have the potential for consumption practices when a wayang performances is held from the existence of selling objects related to wayang.

Conclusion

The study of teenagers as fans of wayang has its own interests. The point of view of teenagers as fans of wayang using sociological studies is new because some of these studies collaborate with two perspectives of study. First, the study of fans who generally study western culture using the perspective of cultural studies. Second, the study of wayang uses a performance art perspective.

The results of this study found two things. First, the meaning of wayang among teenagers cannot be separated from the background of family identity that is ‘close’ to wayang. Their affinity with the ‘wayang world’ also forms a philosophical, spiritualist, nationalist, and economic identity. Second, the activities of teenagers as fans of wayang form a participatory culture that is both consumptive and productive practice. Summary, this study explains that wayang has undergone a shift in function. In the end, this study also has advice for Indonesian teenagers to maintain wayang as one of the nation’s cultures in the midst of the rise of global culture. The government’s strategy to bring out the love of Indonesian teenagers for wayang also has an important role in maintaining the existence of wayang in the current era.

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