

Making the Local Transformative: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Banyuwangi's cultural policy

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Abstract: This article analyzes the AAA's statements delivered in his speeches from 2011 to 2012 about a new cultural policy of Banyuwangi. Using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, I will explore how local cultural discourses are constructed in a variety of his statements. These statements were the basic concepts of his cultural policy which was implemented in various cultural agendas in B-Fest since 2012. The formation, of course, cannot be separated from the frame of tourism industry in national and global scope. Following the framework of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), I will combine textual, discursive practice, and contextual analysis. Textual analysis examines the process of forming discourses on local culture in the midst of tourism as AAA has expressed in his speeches. Discursive practice focuses on the artist's response to the cultural policies adopted by Regent AAA. The last is contextual analysis of the real conditions of local culture and its perpetrators, bureaucratic institutions, and the global tourism industry that lays the ground for exploring critically how broader ideological and political interests are negotiated through cultural policy in Banyuwangi. The result of this study shows that Banyuwangi's cultural policy under AAA regime uses a transformation mode which change the physical appearance of the local cultures with glamorous style. With glamorous new look based on traditional cultural diversity of Banyuwangi, especially *Using* cultures, carnival is not only becoming fashion show. Fashion carnival that still carries the characteristics of art form or ritual that live in society would be more attractive and luxurious so that will attract the interest of foreign or domestic tourists who yearn for the exotic society and local cultures.

Keywords: Banyuwangi, Using cultures, carnival, market, tourism

Introduction

In 2016, the Government of Banyuwangi got international award from UNWTO, *Award for Excellence and Innovation in Tourism*. These achievement complemented other awards that were already obtained by the Government of Banyuwangi or Regent Abdullah Azwar Anas (hereafter AAA), a visionary young leader who has led the regency since 2010. This award, on the one hand, has brought Banyuwangi's name to the international event and, on the other hand, is expected to increase tourists arrival—both foreign and domestic—to Banyuwangi, thereby contributing to the welfare of society. The hope is quite reasonable because during the AAA leadership through the cultural and tourism policies that have been originally pioneered since 2011 and began inaugurated in 2012 in the form of *Banyuwangi Festival* (commonly abbreviated B-Fest) has occurred a surge in tourist arrivals. From 2010 to 2015, for example, there is a surge in the number of tourists visiting Banyuwangi (Rachmawati . Domestic tourists increased sharply by 161% from 651,500 people in 2010 to 1,701,230 people by 2015. Meanwhile, foreign tourists increased to 210% from 13,200 people in 2010 to 41,000 by 2015.

B-Fest is a creative breakthrough that makes the diversity of local culture and natural beauty as the main base of tourism development. Both elements are raw materials that are commodified through a transformation strategy to attract tourists, both internationally and domestically. Various forms of festivals and carnivals based on *Using* cultural richness become the main menu in B-Fest. The policy at the same time distinguishes the policies adopted by previous regimes which, although equally in the post-1998 Reformation period, still considered Using

cultures essentially. In the previous regimes, Using cultures, although being reinforced through various ritual, artistic, and linguistic events, were not managed using global formulas. Instead, *Using* cultures were positioned as fertilizers of local identity and on many occasions—particularly in the era of Samsul Hadi's leadership—were used for political purposes (Setiawan, Tallapessy, and Subaharianto, 2017a). AAA, on the other hand, has transformed the cultural diversity of *Using* to create various carnivals and festivals in B-Fest. The change and progress of Banyuwangi in the tourism sector has encouraged many tourists to come. B-Fest which in 2012 only consisted of several events, in 2018 held 78 events. Coverage is widespread, from art events, sports, culinary, to the contest of twins.

What is interesting behind all the successes of B-Fest is the mechanism used by AAA to offer and disseminate cultural policy that has been designed and worked with Banyuwangi bureaucrats to a wide audience. AAA is a smart regent in taking advantage of ceremonial opportunities to disseminate his ideas on the development of Banyuwangi's local culture. The opportunity to meet with folk artists, cultural observers, bureaucrats, honorary guests from Jakarta and other countries, has been utilized to strengthen and promote the development of local culture-based tourism as well as idealized as a preservation mechanism in accordance with the times. In addition, the contribution and role of the media, both conventional media such as print and television media and online media in preaching and constructing narrative ideal discourses related to cultural policy initiated by AAA and its implementation in the form of festivals and carnival variety from 2011 to the present cannot be ignored. Cultural policy initiated by AAA through B-Fest as well as the various events in it will not be able to influence opinions and create curiosity of non-Banyuwanginese people without any interference in the mass media. The media have participated in raising the issue and forming the opinion that Banyuwangi has a various cultural attractions other than the beauty of the blue flame of Mount Ijen.

This article analyzes the AAA's statements delivered in his speeches from 2011 to 2012 about a new cultural policy for Banyuwangi. Using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, I will explore how local cultural discourses are constructed in a variety of his statements. These statements were the basic concepts of his cultural policy which implemented in various cultural agendas in B-Fest since 2012. The formation, of course, cannot be separated from the frame of tourism industry in national and global scope. Following the framework of Fairclough's CDA (1995), firstly, I will combine textual, discursive practice, and contextual analysis. Textual analysis examines the process of forming discourses on local culture in the midst of tourism as AAA has expressed in his speeches. The purpose of this analysis is to know and criticize the discourses mobilized by AAA in his speeches. In addition, textual analysis can also help to uncover power relationships that position subjects such as AAA regents, artists, and other parties in relation to what discourse and who takes precedence in speeches. Discursive practice focuses on the artist's response to the cultural policies adopted by Regent AAA. This analysis is useful for reading the discursive effects of B-Fest policies and programs, especially its impact on society and on the development of local cultures. The last is contextual analysis of the real conditions of local culture and its perpetrators, bureaucratic institutions, and the global tourism industry that lays the ground for exploring critically how broader ideological and political interests are negotiated through cultural policy in Banyuwangi.

Method

This article applies qualitative method. The data were collected from AAA's speeches delivered on a number of occasion during 2011 to 20012 periods. The speeches were recorded and transcribed. The collected were then analysed critically by using Fairclough tri-dimension model of CDA: text, discursive practise, and social praxis. At the level of text, the micro analysis was conducted by observing the linguistic elements operated on the texts. The second level explores the relation between text and power. Finally, at the third level I analysed the relation of text and social praxis.

Results and Discussion

Making the local transformative

AAA initially mimicked Jember Fashion Carnival (hereafter JFC), the largest fashion carnival in Indonesia organized by Dynan Faris, as a base to create cultural events that attract tourists to visit Banyuwangi. The success of JFC in making Jember one of the annual fashion tourist destinations encouraged AAA to adopt similar concept but by bringing the richness of local culture, especially Usingcultures and the natural beauty of Banyuwangi as raw material. For artists and cultural actors, what AAA would do by carrying the concept of JFC to Banyuwangi was considered to not respecting and appreciating the uniqueness of local culture. AAA on the advice of Dynan Faris and his team named the event *Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival* (BEC). Almost the same as JFC, BEC brings Using's cultural variety in the form of a fashion carnival that involves youth and artists. It is the concept that arouses resistance from the majority of artists and humanists. Facing such resistance, the AAA Regent does not overreact it. On the occasion of attending the event at the Culture and Tourism Agency, July 22, 2011, AAA said:

In the near future, we will find a breakthrough to *develop* and *preserve* our cultures....I encourage the government apparatuses related to culture and tourism to *approach traditional arts with tourism perspective*. It is important because we need to *utilize traditional arts potency to empower tourism activities*. We need to *create international network to attract global tourists to come here*, to view our cultural attractions. Therefore, at 22 October 2011, we will have BEC, *Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival*. I purposely invite manager of *Jember Fashion Carnival* (JFC) because now he has networks with *180 international photographers*. Therefore, please, do not make useless debates about BEC. For the traditional artists, do not worry, we will not erase our traditional characters. BEC is important to promote our cultural heritage. Then, for the real tradition programs, we will hold *Festival Kuwung* to expose Banyuwangi traditions. Once again, we need to compact to develop Banyuwangi arts and cultures. We must show to the foreign tourists that we are society with great cultures. (Setiawan, Tallapessy, and Subaharianto, 2017:18-19,my emphasis)

The above is the first AAA's statement made in front of artists and cultural actors responding to the resistance related to the implementation of the BEC. He idealizes the development of traditional cultures in the perspective of tourism. Of course, this is not something new because Bali government has done it for a long time. What's new is how to put the traditional cultures of Banyuwangi not merely as a whole attraction that is usually held in certain events, but as raw materials that will be transformed into a fancy fashion that will be exhibited in show on the street. In Anas's expression, "exploiting the potential of traditional art to reinforce tourism activities", we can clearly find an ideal orientation that places traditional art as the main source

to be utilized to enrich tourism. The word "exploited" positions traditional art is used only to realize certain goals without emphasizing the aspects of development. The goal is to build an international network so that foreign tourists will visit Banyuwangi to see the cultural attractions created. For this reason, AAA took Dynan Faris, the manager of JFC, as a consultant because he already has a network with 180 international photographers. This network is expected to be utilized to promote cultural events created by the government of Banyuwangi regency. AAA considers the "internationalization" of cultural attractions of Banyuwangi to be helped by the presence of the photographer's network because they will inform the citizens of the world. The discourse of traditional art—the cultural attraction of creation—internationalization is the elixir formula offered AAA as well as the milestone of the early birth of the cultural policy of Banyuwangi Festival in 2012.

Traditional art, thus, is transformed into the glamorous and attractive fashion formula visually. Transformation is ideally positioned as the cultural formula in post-colonial or developing countries that are intensifying the tourism industry. The principle of transformation will change the physical appearance of the local cultures, but the substance of its philosophical value is assumed to remain intact and bind members of a community. With glamorous new look based on traditional cultural diversity of Banyuwangi, especially Using cultures, carnival is not only becoming fashion show. Fashion carnival that still carries the characteristics of art form or ritual that live in society would be more attractive and luxurious so that will attract the interest of foreign or domestic tourists who yearn for the exotic society and local cultures. The principle of transformation ala AAA regime is believed to boost the tourism industry of Banyuwangi, which has relied solely on tourist arrivals to exotic places such as Mount Ijen, Sukamade National Park, Alas Purwo and G-Land.

Because of the urgency of this formula, AAA asks artists and cultural actors not to have "useless debates". The phrase invites criticism and resistance by artists and cultural actors who have different opinion and orientation. The phrase "useless", further confirms that there is something more useful to develop and empower the potential of Banyuwangi's local cultures, such as BEC, instead of making a fuss about it. Thus, despite the seemingly neutral impression, the phrase actually warns criticism that anything to do in the BEC arena is a real effort to bring local art and culture into the global tourism industry circle. Therefore it should not be debated let alone be resisted or rejected. To assure representatives of artists and cultural actors, AAA says that for traditional artists there will be held special event no-frills carnival. The district government has no intention to erase traditional art. This is also an answer to the concerns of some cultural actors that assumed the presence of BEC in the middle of Banyuwangi community will marginalize the existence of traditional cultural expressions. So, there are two frameworks, namely the carnival that makes traditional art as raw material to be transformed in the form of fashion and special events of traditional arts. What should be noted is that both are directed to support Banyuwangi tourism, in particular to attract the arrival of foreign tourists.

BEC is a shift in the cultural policy of the district government of Banyuwangi which adapts the global tourism market through a transformation mechanism that makes traditional culture a creative source to be commodified into glamorous performances. BEC is a cultural hybridity in the direction of the state regime to empower local cultures that incorporates elements of global culture—the concept of fashion carnival—asa new meaning directed at economic interests. The strength of local cultural significance is invested with global meanings and practices by borrowing the local outlook to change it in a very interesting fashion look. The new look of the local is expected by the interest of international and domestic tourists to come every year to Banyuwangi.

The success of BEC 2011 prompted the AAA regime to create follow-up activities in 2012 with the addition of some interesting agenda such as *Gandrung Sewu Parade* (A Thousand Gandrung Parade) and *Banyuwangi Jazz Festival*. All the agenda is framed in B-Fest which also features an internationally oriented sports agenda such as *Tour De Ijen*, a bike racing, and the social agenda such as *the Orphan Festival*. Meanwhile, to accommodate the Javanese community, the AAA regime also held a Wayang Kulit show. Through a variety of menu activities in B-Fest, AAA regime wants to show that in this area there are many cultural activities, sports, and social is very interesting to visit.

Just like in 2011, BEC 2012 continued to incorporate and populate *Using* cultures. The difference, if at the BEC 2011 took the theme *gandrung*, *kuntulan*, and *janger*, BEC 2012 used *Kemiren barong* as a creative source that was commodified in bombastic JFC-style-ethno-fashion with *Re_Barong* theme that brings the following concepts. *Reconstruction* means rearranging in terms of form without changing the original values contained therein. *Redefining* means formulating and straightening self-understanding. *Reproduction* shows the maintaining of self-identity through multiplying paths. *Reactualization* means actualizing yourself again. *Revolution* emphasizes the acceleration of ordering, formulation, defense, and self-actualization. These meanings are a form of discursive legalization of the modified *barong* Using which the community considers sacred. By emphasizing "without changing the original values contained therein" and "maintaining self-identity" and "defense", the BEC 2012 organizers tried to convince traditional leaders and culturalists that the bombastic fashion they created for carnival interests would not interfere with the meaning traditional philosophical *barong*. To reinforce commitment to *Using* cultures, *Re_Barong* will feature three dominant colors: red, green, and yellow. However, the discursive legalization was deconstructed by the founders of the BEC 2012 by reinforcing the "multiplying" aspect of "redefining in terms of form", as well as the "acceleration of self-regulation, formulation and self-actualization" oriented towards the emergence of cultural products that are still tradition-based, but in essence and meaning increasingly diverse in the increasingly modern mindset as well.

A month before the performance of BEC 2012, several artists and cultural actors protested against *Re_Barong* theme which was considered deviated from traditional *Using* grip. They pointed to the concept of costumes with the theme of *Re-Barong* deviated from the grip of *Using barong*. In tradition, *barong* is dominated by red, as a symbol of "ferocity", so if it is changed into pink, of course there will bring different meanings. In addition, they also criticized the carnival musical accompaniment plan that would use recorded music. The presence of recorded music certainly did not match the musical richness and resources of the considerable artist. What is interesting about the protests was the lawsuit against fashion colors to be exhibited and accompanying music. It means that they did not trouble the change of meaning of *barong* from ritual to just a carnival. Perhaps, such consideration based on the reality that in Banyuwangi, outside BEC event, ritualistic nuances have been often featured in other carnivals, such as *Kuwung Festival* and Indonesian Independence Day anniversary. Attempts to sue the use of pink color that was considered violating *barong* color indicates that they were still trying to maintain the smallest traditional philosophical meaning in the new cultural products. The presence of live traditional music that would accompany the participants of BEC 2012 was a form of artist negotiation in the midst of a transformation mechanism driven by the AAA regime. No matter how small, the traditional aspect of *Using* must emerge because it correlates with the local identity that must be maintained.

Responding to the protest, Dynand Fariz and organizing committee negated the pink color of fashion modified *barong*. And, recording music was replaced by traditional live music as it took

place in BEC 2011. According to an informant who had access to the organizing committee, after their protests and requests were obeyed, artists and culturalists no longer questioned *Re_Barong*. Moreover, some of them were involved as a jury member to assess the costumes of the participants. This reminds us of the BEC 2011 event, where artists rejected the event, but when involved as a drummer and performer, they were silent, stopping resistance. We call it "a resistance in order", a discursive resistance driven by certain factions so that their interests can be accommodated by the dominant group so that economically and culturally they will benefit. This resistance model leads to the inconvenience of cultural actors that lead to the failure of maneuvering and positioning and, ultimately, the ideal building in the development of local cultures. If they have a togetherness in maneuvering and negotiating with the dominant power of the state regime-in the crucial sense of the policy, the possibility of their voices would be heard by the regime. Furthermore, such inconvenience can lead to mistrust among cultural actors who both feel they have contributed to the development of *Using* culture. Under such conditions, the ruling regime will be the winner because the resistance can be controlled and turned into a form of support when some culturalists are given a little 'sustenance' of the events they initiate.

In the BEC 2012 event of the AAA regime but consistent with the concept of transformation from traditionalism to an idealized modernity will bring tourists to enjoy the rich culture of Banyuwangi. Here is the welcome of the AAA Regent in the opening of BEC, November 18, 2012:

"...I do respect and I am proud of our children who today will perform in BEC. Mr. Minister and Mr. Surya Paloh, we say, they are self-managing and self-financing in all creative process, applause. Therefore, to the indigenous leaders, cultural actors, whom I cannot mention one by one, I express my pride and thanks to all the people of Banyuwangi who from day to day more compact, making a better Banyuwangi in the future." (Subaharianto and Setiawan, 2012)

Before entering into policy analysis, I will describe AAA's discursive strategy in explaining his policy in front of people, cultural actors, and political elite of Jakarta. In front of them, AAA conveys "a sense of pride" to BEC participants who will be performing with *Barong Using* modifications since all of them are self-managing and self-funding in creative process.

The statement of pride and the mention of participants with "children" indicates that AAA is both a leader and a 'parent' who can respect and respect the creative achievements of their children; a fairly gentle empathy discourse from a leader. His thanksto the indigenous leaders, cultural actors, and all the people of Banyuwangi createan image of AAA as more perfect leader who can protect. He also shows discursive intelligence by appreciating the more compact people in reaching a better Banyuwangi in the future. There is an improvement in the quality of empathy he shows from the proud expression to the participants of Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival (BEC) 2012 to the expression of gratitude to the people of Banyuwangi who have demonstrated solidarity in the success of government programs that are all aimed at a better life.

Such expressions are a discursive strategy to demonstrate their capacity to lead and bring change for the people of Banyuwangi to the invited guests of central government officials and political elites. Of course, this positive impression becomes his cultural-political capital for him as it will become the elite's record of AAA's capacity and prowess in the lead. Cultural expression becomes the entrance to negotiate its self as a leader who can bring about change. The confidence of national figures is certainly not enough so that the expression of gratitude to the people perfect the negotiations played by AAA. Thus, the attractiveness of BEC to

beenjoyed by the invitees and the majority of spectators from Banyuwangi does not merely prove that the ruling regime with the people is capable in doing cultural transformation in the midst of globalization, but, moreover, it becomes a strategic force to disseminate the discourse of AAA's in the practice of government as well as the politico-cultural capital for his future interests.

To emphasize the significance of change and progress achieved by Banyuwangi during his two years of leadership, AAA also needs to specify the advantages that make him different from previous leaders. He elaborates to explain the underlying concepts of development programs in Banyuwangi, including the tag-line *The Sunrise of Java* created at the beginning of his leadership.

“We need to create a new tag-line of Banyuwangi . If Solo is *The Spirit of Java*, Banyuwangi is *The Sunrise of Java*. Because at the frotier of this island of Java, it is Banyuwangi which first enjoys the sunrise. Banyuwangi woke up earlier than the district in the western part of Java. This early rising sun and wake are what we consolidate in the form of cultural and economic consolidation; we consolidate in socio-political forum with party leaders and other leaders.” (quoted in Subaharianto & Setiawan, 2012. *Ibid.*)

“Since we lead” is a declarative expression that makes “since” a word of affirmation that there is a difference and a change in this eastern tip of Java. Indeed, regents in the Reformation era like Samsul Hadi and Ratna Ani Lestari had also brought progress, but under the leadership of AAA and Yusuf Widyatamoko, many positive changes are felt by the people. The elaboration of meaning of *The Sunrise of Java* describes the concept or bow that became the main support in running the government and the success of development. Convincingly AAA formulates a consolidated geographic advantage in the form of culture and economy. Clearly "cultural and economic encounter" is presented and negotiated to the invitees and the people who attend as a positive advantage for Banyuwangi. Thus, it is quite clear that the combination of accelerated economic growth sustained through various cultural activities is a mainstay and to strengthen it requires socio-political consolidation with the district leadership forum.

To reaffirm economic and cultural interconnection, as he idealized on many occasions of speech, AAA provides an overview of the transformation policy formulated by the Banyuwangi regency in the continuation of his speech.

“We report to the the Minister that we held *Parade Gandrung Sewu* followed by 1200 children, from kampongs and villages. They spent the night in schools in this city. They present a remarkable dance. And as a transformation of urban and rural communities, BJJ had been held by combining Banyuwangi ethnic music with jazz music in a very beautiful way. This is our new way to show the cultural transformation. And, BEC is a bridge between modernity and locality, because it presents a theme that changes annually rooted from local customs. This is the difference between ours other carnivals. This year BEC takes the theme of *Re_Barong of Using* Kemiren. This *barong* has an important meaning in the history of Banyuwangi.” (Subaharianto and Setiawan, 2012).

The footage of the speech affirms AAA regime's cultural policies that seek to bridge and transform rural and urban societies, between traditional culture and modern culture, modernity and locality, such as those conducted through the BEC and Banyuwangi Jazz Festival (BJF).

This mindset indicates the existence of binary opposition to be surpassed and maximized by the state regime in terms of society and culture. Villagers with diverse traditions and localities are a cultural subject that can be maximized as a source of creativity for new cultural products, which attract tourists. In addition, villagers with cultural richness need to be transformed, invited to enter the logic and laws of the tourist market that demand unpromising and immutable animation and compassion in many forms, although still take inspiration from cultural roots. In that frame, the role of the state regime becomes the central because they position themselves as leaders who understand what is best for the village community. Village community and culture that have long experienced cultural hybridity are imagined as children who need to be guided in order to empower the ketradisian still held in the law of tourism economy. They are expected to imitate and imitate the urban community—an epicenter of modernity—that is well aware of the potential of a market economy. The look of the local culture-based fashion *Using* is an idealized new product and cultural expression can be an example of how to repack tradition in the market formula. The bridge to modernity and locality is also the particularity of the concept played nicely in BEC. The selected form of carnival is a thematic fashion carnival based on local cultural richness—from 2011 to 2018 utilizing *Using* culture as BEC raw materials. It is natural when AAA claims that BEC is unique because customary themes change every year. That is why even with JFC, BEC has a particular distinction in terms of raw material that will be validated with the concept of carnival. Not surprisingly, BEC becomes a mandatory menu in B-Fest.

By packing cultural products in a local tradition-based carnival event that gained tremendous welcome from the community, the AAA Regent became a central figure who was thought to be able to provide a new touch to Banyuwangi's cultural treasures. The culture-based hegemonic leadership will facilitate the state regime to undertake other programs, such as large investors' investment, both domestically and abroad, which discourse will create community welfare. The AAA Regent in his follow-up speech said:

“Hopefully the economy of Banyuwangi will grow well in the future. Mr. Minister, we say, I repeat this, not because of my pride, but we want people to have pride. Thanks to the hard work of all the people, the investment interest changed from the year 2010 ranking 31, 2012 is ranked 3 in East Java, after Gresik and Sidoarjo. Our foreign investment realization is no longer number 26, with various policies, the realization of our foreign investment is already number 2 in East Java. Hopefully this will continue to increase along with the growing agroindustry. On December 12...after competing with many cities in Indonesia, we will be ground breaking development of the largest and most modern sugar factory in Indonesia will be conducted in Glenmore District. If this is already going on, *insyaallah* 12 thousands jobs will be absorbed for our residents. And this is the basis that we build is agroindustry, besides we prepare the land for heavy industry of 600 ha in the north ... Hopefully in the future the cultural spirit that becomes our compactness capital can we keep well ... If Mr. Surya want to build a hotel, please welcome, not only build in big cities. Small towns need to be developed ”(Subaharianto and Setiawan, 2018).

The discourse of collective pride in the upgrading of investment grade in Banyuwangi in East Java region affirms that AAA is designing Banyuwangi as an investment-friendly area, both national and multinational. The success of increasing investment becomes an important

marker for measuring leaders' success in the neoliberal political economy system. The openness and convenience afforded by AAA regime have increased the investment rating of Banyuwangi, including the realization of foreign investment. Interestingly, AAA does not want to say the achievements merely the successful achievement of his government, but he thanks to the "hard work of all the people of Banyuwangi". This humble principle may be a cultural capital that can bring public sympathy to his government. AAA wants to bring that success into the pride of the people of Banyuwangi. The pride of this investment achievement is an attempt to create a wider public belief in his leadership that has been constructed always fighting for the improvement of the lives of his people. To reinforce that aspect of pride, AAA uses the metaphor of "competing with" in the context of building a sugar factory in Glenmore. It means the people of Banyuwangi should be proud because there is competition and struggle to get investment achievement related to sugar. The absorption of 12,000 workers—though it is still said *insyaallah*, "God willing"—will certainly contribute to the economic growth of citizens. At this point, the question of what kind of work will be given to the people of Banyuwangi need not be raised by AAA because the important thing is how to give them good news so that being proud of the leadership of this young regent is a fairness.

What is interesting is how AAA positions the agricultural-industry sector as the main force idealized as a buffer of investment development in Banyuwangi. Why is not the mining sector he supports? Actually, by expressing the agricultural-industry sector, AAA does not mean negating the big investment discourse that he supports, Tumpang Pitu gold mine in Pesanggaran that is resisted against by many people there. Of course, AAA does not want to raise the discourse because he does not want to cause public reaction. Moreover, Surya Paloh, one of the national elites who also wants to invest in Tumpang Pitu, is in front of him. Thus, the disclosure of investment achievements in the field of agricultural-industry such as the plan of establishing the sugar mill in Glenmore, in addition to demonstrating the success of the AAA regime in lobbying and negotiating with investors, also shifts the issues surrounding mining and confirms success in developing agricultural potentials within the industrial framework.

The discourse on growth and investment in Banyuwangi can also be read as an attempt to normalize the neoliberal political economy that needs not being mentioned because there are still many factions who are allergic. Discursive mobilization of investment achievements and employment absorption is sufficient to explain that there is nothing to fear with neoliberalism because it will give people economic welfare under market law (Turner 2008; Harvey, 2007). The people of Banyuwangi must be ready for it, because at the regional and national levels the system has also been adopted, although it has never been recognized. What never arises, of course, are the ecological losses of greedy and unfriendly investment practices and economic imbalances between workers and investors. The most important thing is to invite investors to do industrial business in Banyuwangi. As collateral for investment in industry, Banyuwangi government provides 600 hectares land in the north, Wongsorejo. AAA's insensitivity to the protests of the tiller farmers whose lands they will make into industrial estates suggests that as a leader he is more favorable to large investors than his people. Investment in the industry for the AAA regime is certainly more economically promising than the farm-run businesses. In other words, respecting large investors is more important than serving people's resistance to the opening of industrial zones.

"Respect" to Surya Paloh who attends BEC 2012 confirms the desire. Paloh is the owner of Media Group who is also eyeing Tumpang Pitu. As a form of Paloh's attention to the culture of Banyuwangi, Metro TV made coverage directly from the location of Gandrung Sewu Parade and BEC 2012. It would certainly provide advantage for AAA regime, especially for

broadcasting the event nationally. AAA's invitation to Paloh to build a hotel is an invitation to invest in public space. The fascination between the state regime and the national and international corporations investors needs to be coupled with the concept of "collective pride" because such cooperation can, once again, bring prosperity and prosperity, although in practice only certain elites enjoy maximum.

Conclusion

On of AAA's great capacities is producing communal solidarity and pride to support his cultural policy in Banyuwangi. In order to safeguard the collective pride of investment achievements, the "cultural spirit" that has been transformed into a market-based culture needs to be maintained. Spirit of culture is the main capital to maintain cohesiveness between the government apparatus, cultural folk artists, and society. Under such conditions, local cultural wealth is invested with a new meaning: attracting investors to invest in Banyuwangi because this area has many cultural attractions that can attract many tourists. In other words, cultural products through the principle of flexible transformation such as BEC generated through the policy of the district carnival will become a hegemonic apparatus that makes the people of Banyuwangi remain convinced AAA is trying to provide economic goodness and cultural goodness in his leadership. The transformation of local cultural richness into the framework of modernity and globality such as festivals and carnivals, is at the heart of Banyuwangi's cultural policy during AAA's leadership. Cultural and tourist attractions give the majestic orchestra and pride to the citizens of Banyuwangi, so they will not question what the regents do. Thus, it will gain economic, political, and cultural benefits with the widespread consensus of the people towards his hegemonic power and it is all obtained through a cultural expression that is integrated with the tourism industry. Cultural attractions, once again, will attract investors to do their economic efforts to dredge the earth's wealth of Blambangan.

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