

Wayang as Local Communication Media in Building Public Awareness of Environmental Crisis

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Abstract

A movement to conserve Gemulo water source conducted by FMPMA group uses cultural values through puppet performance (nanggap wayang) in Bulukerto, Bumiaji and Sidomulyo Villages, Batu City, East Java. Nanggap wayang is used to be a local communication media to inculcate environment conservation values, social movement, and development communication. This research used qualitative method and ethnographic approach aiming to analyze the role and contribution of leather puppet performance (nanggap wayang kulit) on the performance of Gemulo water source conservation movement initiated by FMPMA community and some related society elements. This research employed empirical findings and various literature review references in its analysis. The result of research shows that wayang is still capable of serving as local communication medium for modern community amid massive new media development. Wayang, as local communication medium, provides education, guidance, morality value, and Javanese symbol. The complexity of wayang function also represents collective behavior inculcating Javanese values. Philosophical story of very ecological wayang can enrich the right-on-target and sustainable conservation model. Wayang also becomes effective media of development communication, of change, of socialization, and of education, thereby triggering the development of consciousness and positive feedback from local people (community).

Keywords: wayang, conservation movement, water source, local communication media, development communication

Paper type: Research paper

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INTRODUCTION

Mass media and information and communication technology develop very rapidly in the last decades. Perfect metamorphosis of communication media serving as information sender to the public keeps developing, leading to a time in which *the second media age* generate many new media readily eroding the existence of traditional communication (Alkhajar 2011). The new media like television, social media, radio and electronic newspaper having two dimensions are often used by both people and government to deliver information and education. Straight delivery with the eye-catching audio visual complexities can evidently attract public's attention, just like showcase world that can present all actual information from all over the world, new media master communication technology awesomely in certain context in this era. In its process, communication will be acceptable to the public if language delivered is compatible and acceptable to the public (Dewi, Mukarom, and Ridwan 2020) who controls communication media will rule the world. Then, in this presence of sporadic new media, are traditional communication media forgotten?

Amid the modernization of information and communication technology, the role of traditional communication media cannot be underestimated. Traditional communication media like *wayang* (puppet) in Javanese plays great role until today. *Wayang*, as local communication media having grown and developed crossing Indonesia's long historical journey, has had distinctive resistance in its defensive system facing various challenges over times.

The function of *wayang* communication delivered straightly (3-dimension) in Javanese environment liquidly can absorb any condition and plural difference, just like new media currently. Richard West and Lynn Turner (2008) define communication as individuals' social process with symbols used to create meaning in their environment. Communication is a process of transferring experience in the form of information from an individual to another using not merely words in conversation but also facial expression, voice intonation, and local ductility (Veronica and Azeharie 2019).

Javanese are well known for their cultural diversity. One of cultures still maintained until today is *wayang performance (nanggap wayang)*. Uniquely, despite bombarded with entertainments shown with audio visual method, *wayang* is still existent within society. It can be seen from both government and people

routinely organizing *wayang* performance. *Wayang* serves not only as entertainment but also as "precondition" of customary activities such as *bersih desa* (cleaning the village) usually held on Syuro month (the first month of the month of Islamic/Javanese calendar). This *wayang* performance is sacred to complement *slametan* rite. A motivation of *wayang* performance is to express gratitude to God for giving *slamet* (safe) condition and to ask God for always giving *slamet* condition.

Wayang is inherent to social system of Javanese. Therefore, it is one of institutions that can answer and fulfill the people's needs, not only financial need but also the need for interaction between fellow human beings, interaction between human beings and with environment, and human communication interaction in information dissemination. The utilization of *wayang* is intended to give education by using media loved by local people (Aly et al. 2017). Therefore, when community issues arise, *wayang* becomes a good local communication medium to achieve inner tranquility and to facilitate the people's demand, including when they are faced with environmental hazard, so that *wayang* performance is used as an environment conservation institution.

Discussion of *wayang* becomes an interesting issue because there are two tendencies: firstly, *wayang* performance for customary purpose far away from environmental issues (e.g. for entertainment and event purposes). Secondly, viewed from conservation movement, it is still entrapped in the formalism that serves too "vulgar" representation and demand with limited artistic touch, so that it can be boring and cannot achieve the objective of performance as expected. It is because, among others, conservation activity uses cultural and customary channels very rarely.

Wayang study has been conducted textually by Wahyudi (2012) using structural analysis explaining *lakon* (story) of Dewa Ruci telling about Bima who learned from Drona how to master *ilmu kesempurnaan* (perfection science). This study discussed the structural problem of Dewa Ruci story, the meaning of Bima-Drona couple, the meaning of Dewa Ruci story, and the meaning of Dewa Ruci story performance.

The story (*lakon*) of Dewa Ruci represents behavior teaching the attitude of love to environment, just like when Bima wants to look for *tirta perwita sari*

mahening suci in which he should unite with the nature by means of jumping down to the sea, the teaching of love-to-environment behavior shown by Bima during finding the true knowledge (science) until finally seeing Dewa Ruci. Story of Dewa Ruci itself actually tells a pupil's obedience to his teacher, Bima and Werkudara's obedient to Begawan Drona (Priest Drona). Kurawas who was told to be jealous of Pandawas who always be the winner and lucky asked Durna for helping them make Pandawas in a trouble so that Bima who was considered as the strongest figure in Pandawas was instructed to find the science of life perfection or *sangkan paraning dumadi*. The story of Dewa Ruci represents a message to maintain and to preserve forest ecosystem, to maintain animal's life sustainability, and the character that can unite with nature (Setyawan 2020).

Barbara Hatley (2015) has ever conducted a research on *wayang kulit* (leather puppet) and *ludruk* (one of theatrical genres in East Java) in Java, and she found that socio-politically *wayang* contains message related to moral quality in each of its characters, this moral message is always inculcated hereditarily and has been social behavior standard that should be role model to Javanese, concerning self improvement, self control, and duty service (Hatley 1971).

According to (Endery Putra et al. 2018) *wayang* can also be used as a communication medium to deliver health education to the public. The utilization of *wayang* in public health education evidences that *wayang* is very flexible and liquid in its role as local communication media acceptable to ordinary people. This delivery of health education using *wayang* media was conducted by Dr. Djoko Santoso who attempted to make new innovation in utilizing *wayang* as communication medium to deliver health education. *Wayang* with its flexibility in practice can present a variety of information that is absorbable to the public by utilizing daily Javanese language to substitute for long medical foreign terms dominated by Latin.

This verbal information delivery in communication media of *wayang* is highly affected by language use and selection. The use of daily Javanese languages such as *Krama Inggil*, *Krama Madya* and *Ngoko* is considered as more understandable to ordinary people as the receivers of information. Nevertheless, not all Javanese languages can be used, one of which is Ancient Kawi Javanese language (*bahasa Jawa Kawi Kuno*), because language choice is important in communication process. Dr. Djoko Santoso realized that not all spectators present *nanggap wayang* know the language, so the language chosen should be the one understandable to all classes of society. The substitution of "*ludiro inggil*" for hypertension, and "*ndrodog ludiro*" for blood fever, and the use of song "*Sinom Gondo Husada*" he has created himself is an example of creative communication to achieve better understanding on information. Non-verbal communication is also used and equally important. Dr. Djoko Santoso usually made *wayang* wearing physician or nurse costume to deliver the message more in-depth (Putra, Prasetyo, and Nasution 2018).

(Sulaksono and Saddhono 2018) explain that wayang is a culture affecting Javanese very significantly. It affects various aspects of life including ecological concept that can be found in puppetry stories often used as term or *motto* closely related to environmental conservation. These terms can be found in the narration of wayang story and the dialog of its characters. Motto on environmental conservation values can also be found. Thus, it can be said that *wayang* plays important function and role in environmental conservation (Sulaksono and Saddhono 2018). Sunarto (2013) states this wayang kulit culture has been internalized into Javanese heart. The change of time into modern one makes wayang formerly existing only in the form of direct or straight performance that can be watched by the people now change into audiovisual performance shown on television. It indicates that elaboration occurs between new media involving modern communication tools with *wayang* being the traditional communication media. The use of modern media in showing *wayang* provides a new opportunity to maintain the existence of *wayang*; as such *wayang* can be enjoyed by more people regardless temporal and spatial borders.

Through collaboration between modern and traditional communication media, *wayang kulit* is getting more well-known nowadays. This *wayang* performance is very meaningful to Javanese, as *wayang* is perceived to represent feeling, belief, and philosophy. Particularly *wayang* performed in religious rite contains noble values that can be good model. It makes *wayang* a social identity for Javanese who represent at least 41.7% of Indonesian populations. *Wayang* also has an impact on ecological field, in which people often hold wayang performance on important days like harvest time and during *bersih desa* events (Hum 2013). *Wayang* performance also contains supporting elements such as *dalang*

(puppeteer), *wayang kulit* doll, music player, *sinden* (singer) and Javanese traditional music instruments like *gamelan* (Javanese multi-timbre ensemble), *blencong* (a kind of lamp, the fuel of which is coconut oil), *kelir* (screen), *gendang* (drum), etc. These supporting elements are important to maintain the sacredness of *wayang* that has been validated by Javanese to be a local communication media to deliver information and entertainment (Candra 2017).

Departing from this, the elaboration of *wayang* as environmental movement is an important work, as we can identify the role of culture in bringing out a more appropriate environmental movement model in the future that in turn will have a direct impact on environment conservation. So far, environmental conservations tend to be conventional, ineffective, and jargonistic. In fact, the social reality shows that the movement is so dynamic. Considering this, the author poses a question about the contribution of *wayang* to the environmental conservation movement. This study will be an important part in environment conservation based on cultural values. The exploration of cultural values will enrich a right-on-target and sustainable conservation model especially for Javanese that facing environmental crisis. The reform offered by this journal is a research on conservation movement using cultural values in the form of *wayang kulit* performance, one of Javanese typical culture that remains to be preserved until today and is one of local communication media not eroded with the time.

METHOD

Research Location and Period

This research took place in three different areas: Bulukerto, Bumiaji, and Sidomulyo Villages, located in Batu City, East Java. The three villages are the areas of people using Gemulo water source. This research constitutes empirical findings of researches conducted from 2011 to 2018. During the research process, 4 (four) *wayang* performances were held in some villages. The first performance was held in Bumiaji Village on May 18, 2012, the second one in Bulukerto Village on December 2, 2013, the third in Pendopo (large open structure in front of Java mansion) of Cangar Hamlet on November 7, 2014, and the fourth in Pendopo of Cangar Hamlet on November 8, 2015. The observation on *wayang* performance in Batu City has been developed by the author until 2018.

Method of Collecting Data

This research employed ethnographic qualitative approach. It aims to explore knowledge with cultural setting. It describes and interprets the same cultural group. The part described and interpreted is value (Cresswel 2014). Ethnography is a study on people in environment or "field" occurring naturally through a method capturing social meaning and activity usually involving the author participating directly in the organization to collect data systematically (Brewer 2000). Techniques of collecting data used in this study were in-depth interview, observation, and document/archive study. (1) Structured and Unstructured interview. Interview is conducted to dig perspective, opinion, and motivation on environmental conservation movement. Therefore, interview techniques selected were structured and unstructured interviews. Structured interview explores the description of community activity and actor institution, while unstructured interview explores data about specific experiences of actor. (2) Observation, in this research, observation was used to see the following objects; (a) Space intended is the place involving actor activists in their activities. This space will influence the actor's local knowledge on conservation and culture movement. (b) Actor, the participation of actors in tourism development and environmental conservation activity is observed. The author serves as participatory and non-participatory observer. (c) Objects consists of the sites often used by the subject to explain environmental issue such as critical condition in Brantas River, Gemulo water source crisis, and the change of forest function. Included into the object of research is poster of activities published either online or offline. (d) Action and event observed in this research include how the actors work in preparing the activities aimed at conservation. They likely work individually (single) or in group (team work) that will be important data to explain the contribution of actors to social movement. (e) Emotion, the object observed by the author is routine daily activities done by actors observed in detail; emotion expressed by the actors when doing daily activity or when interviewed will be important data that help analyze the local knowledge. (f) Document/archive study, it is used to explore data explaining literature about wayang in Javanese. For this purpose, data to be analyzed include; personal document, document to be studied includes actors' writing, written in personal agenda (diary), personal notes, and

comments on social media like WhatsApp (WA) and Facebook, including the comments of actors on the social media. Official Document that includes proposal and report on conservation activity prepared by actors and group with which the actors affiliate. For example, proposal and report on *wayang* performance activity prepared by the actors.

Method of Analyzing Data

This study employed qualitative research method constituting the method of processing in-depth the data of research resulting from interview, observation, and document study conducted by the author. This research is also descriptive in nature, in which the author describes actual data resulting from field research. The author organizes the qualitative data obtained, encodes data and connects one concept to other concepts that are interdependent. The data presented in this research come from the result of interview using natural language of informants (Javanese) coming from some villages that can be classified into several research location scopes (Brewer 2000).

Technique of analyzing used was descriptive qualitative one with the following procedure; (1) Collecting data related to the author's constructed knowledge on *wayang*. Data obtained also come from the author's participation in recording or making notes during field research, becoming the part of field note (Given 2008). (2) Classifying local knowledge related to environmental conservation into some categories. (3) Concluding the dimension of *wayang* related to environmental conservation..

RESULTS AND DISCUSSSION

This article constitutes empirical findings of studies using ethnographic approach concerning Gemulo water source conservation movement in Batu City, East Java occurring from 2011 to 2017. Currently, Gemulo water source user community located in Bulukerto, Bumiaji, and Sidomulyo Villages is faced with hotel development located close to water source (its distance is less than 200 meter). Batu City Government has issued development permit and hotel is ready to be constructed, while this user community worries the emergency of negative effect of development on water source condition.

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Out of the three villages, a group of actors appears to be affiliated with Community Forum Caring about Water Source (Forum Masyarakat Peduli Mata Air [FMPMA]) protesting this construction by initiating actions aiming to cease the hotel construction. Their targets are policy makers or those giving permit for hotel construction therefore their targets are local government, sub district government, City government, Local Legislative Assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah [DPRD], the National Commission on Human Rights (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia [Komnas HAM]) and Ombudsman Republic of Indonesia (Ombudsman Republik Indonesia [ORI]).

To achieve the objective, they take litigation and non-litigation strategies. Litigation strategy taken is to criticize legislations used by government to give construction permit and non-litigation strategy is the one emphasizing on policy makers such as meeting, demonstration, stance, providing subpoena, reporting case to state institution and reinforcing institutions in internal community through cultural strategy. Non-litigation strategy is the priority because facilitators of movement realize that this strategy is ineffective. Nevertheless, this movement should face legal domain because of hotel owner's suit. The two strategies are executed by building alliance with competent NGOs. Responding to this, both hotel and government insist on continuing the construction of hotel, and eventually conflict occurs between actors and hotel and local government.

In fact the actors' initiations provide the following gains; (1) The movement's demand is voiced loudly, (2) Sustainable movement, (3) Movement or action serves as social learning media for the movement activists (Susilo 2019).

Until this article is written, this water conservation issue has not been solved completely. The parties entering into conflict leave the case. Hotel is not constructed and hotel construction license has not been revoked by the Mayor. Viewed from case resolution aspect, the status of hotel "is floating". Nevertheless, it can be said that this environmental movement is successful, at least viewed from the two gains: hotel construction is ceased and it inspires environmental actions in Batu City sponsored by either local community or Batu City government until today.

This success is due to massive and sustainable movements, because, among others, the actors of movement have cultural resources to utilize social institutions like *jagongan* (assembling in the house of an individual holding an event), *tahlil* (rite held by some Muslims), *pengajian* (learning Islam religion), *istighosah* (collective prayer), *slametan* (ritual tradition held by Javanese), *bantengan* (a performing art in Javanese culture combining dance-drama, martial art, music, and spell), and *wayangan* (puppet performance). The contributions of individual institutions are different from each other but complementary. The utilization of social institutions (e.g. *wayangan*) serves as local communication media with distinctive appeal. *Wayang* holds some communication functions, according to Ngalimun (2016): expressing certain thinking and feeling, making people neither alienated nor isolated from outside environment, teaching or informing something, giving entertainment and amusing others, reducing situation-related stress, spending leisure time, giving additional knowledge and changing community attitude and behavior (habit) (Veronica and Azeharie 2019).

The explanation about the contribution of individual social institutions is interesting, but for this writing to be focused, the topic of study is limited to one *wayang* institution by posing the following question: how do actors utilize *wayang* to reinforce and to promote environmental movement and how is *wayang* used as movement institution?

Wayang in Social System of Javanese

In this conservation movement, four *wayang* performances were organized; (1) *Wayang Kulit* performance in Bumiaji Village, May 18, 2012, with story of *Pendowo Tani*. (2) *Wayang Kulit* performance in Bulukerto Village, December 2, 2013, with story of *Wahyu Tirtomoyo*. (3) *Wayang* performance in Pendopo of Cangar Hamlet, November 7, 2014, with story of *Pandowo Babat Alas Amerta*. (4) *Wayang* performance in Pendopo of Cangar Hamlet, November 8, 2015, with story of *Wisanggeni Duta*.

Wayang, as local media communication of Javanese particularly in Batu City, is an appropriate instrument to express agitating feelings (emotion) triggered by hotel development policy that when continued will potentially damage Gemulo water source that has sufficed the need of community surrounding. This emotion agitation is expressed well through *wayang kulit* traditional art performance accompanied with music, traditional dance, *lakon* (story), and symbolic fine art symbolizing human freedom, apprehension, feeling, social feeling, critique, awareness, and ideology. This ritual communication through *wayangan* is mystical and less understandable to out group or the group out of their community (Candra 2017).

Lakon (story) comes from words "laku" and "siklus (cycle)" of life meaning living the life (nglakoni urip). In wayang performance, lakon is divided into three stages characterized with different gamelan music style and playing (Woodward in Endraswara 2004). Why is wayang chosen as to be the movement strategy? Because people still love it? Why do people still love wayang in Batu City? Because wayang is a hereditary inherent culture. Both Javanese and Muslims welcome the presence of culture as wayang culture. Wayang, as traditional media, contains a demand wrapped with communicative entertainment. For the wayang performance to run as expected, it should consider communicative effectiveness aspect compatible to local people and legality aspect viewed from religious tenet, particularly Islam tenet adhered to by majority of local people (Dewi et al. 2020).

Wayang is an entertainment and "*piwulang becik* (good teaching)" all at once. For example, valuable lessons can be taken from each of stories telling about how to be ideal human and to create harmonious social order. *Wayang* lovers understand protagonist and antagonist characters. It is like a guidance of good and bad behavior symbolized by the characters played by *dalang*. It is here that the people will make *lakon wayang* their life guidance. This research justifies Wookward's opinion stating that *wayang* can embody philosophical truth and ethics, and guide the people to be true Javanese ones (Wookward 329).

Javanese intended are those who are respectful and tolerant. In addition, *wayang* helps achieve the community's goals like safety and inner tranquility. It can be said that *wayang* is the reflection of Javanese culture in the sense of the reflection of life statement, value, objective, morality, expectation, and life ideals of Javanese (Haq 2011). Geertz explains the relationship between Javanese values and metaphysics through *wayang*. *Wayang* is a religious performance (Geertz 1992).

The message delivered by *wayang*, as local communication media, in communication science can be investigated through media exposure seeing the meaning of community's habit in using media. The investigation of valuable

lesson taken from this *wayang* is indicated with selective exposure, an individual's predisposition to capture and to pay attention to the messages implied in the *wayang* compatible to their need, attitude, and belief, so that the messages incompatible to themselves will be left just the way they are. *Selective perception* is also used to comprehend the lesson taken from *wayang*, in which individuals tend to interpret communicative messages based on attitude, belief, knowledge, experience, and predisposition existing in corresponding individuals (Walujo 2007).

The protection from surrounding environment's hazard is an important need to the community. Therefore, *wayang* is used to solve the problems within society, when people initiate *wayang* performance as a means of social movement because they know that they are the resources for resistance movement. Three informants state that watching *wayang* amounts to getting lesson from their *kyai* or *ustadz* (teacher).

Building Water Source Conservation Movement

Wayang can be explained in three definitions: 1) *wayang* as a story, 2) *wayang* as its material or doll, and 3) *wayang* as performance (Wahyudi 2012). In addition, *wayang* is a means of communicating the messages of movement and of strengthening solidarity between the proponents of movement. Actually, *wayang* has similarity to environmental issues; *wayang* can be explained in the story and performance. The story emphasizes on the symbols of environment, while the performance confirms the environmental movement (environmentalism).

The representation of *wayang* has been written related to the symbols contained within it: the appearance of *gunungan* (cone-shaped work or structure) explains the nature becoming the center of *wayang* activity. The elements of *wayang* contributing to the process of creating collective identity can be explained as follows:

Selecting Lakon for the Objective of Movement

Lakon (story) comes from words "laku" and "siklus (cycle)" of life meaning living the life (anglakoni urip). It is also defined as mlaku meaning walking (Poedjawijatna 1982). In puppetry, lakon is divided into three: 1) pathet nem. This stage explains the conflict between lust and faith, from childhood through adulthood. 2) pathet songo representing emotional conflict between pursuing secular matters and pursuing spiritual enlightenment, and 3) *pathet manyura* representing the end of war intended as the end of lust (Endraswara 2015). Suseno explains *lakon* as follows: 1) myth about the beginning of cosmos, 2) Arjuna Sasra Bahu cycle, 3) Ramayana cycle, and 4) Mahabharata cycle (Suseno 1984).

The selection of *lakon* should be adjusted with the objective of *wayang* performance event. If the *lakon* chosen is not compatible to the objective of event, the event will be in danger of failure. Therefore, pros and cons will attempt to keep the story compatible to their interest. Agus told that in *wayang kulit* performance held in Cangar Hamlet, there are some parties who will change the *lakon wayang* in the last seconds.

Lakon (story of) "Wahyu Tirtomoyo" that has been approved by the organizers and will be changed with other *lakon* is "*Semar Mbangun Khayangan*". This change will be conducted by the elders of Cangar Hamlet constituting the proponents of hotel construction. The organizers were angry spontaneously and protested against this change of story. Agus considers that *wayang* is sacred art to the people.

As suggested by Agus,

Agus: "*Wayang* is sacred Sir, so *lakon* or story affects the next development." Rachmad: "Are you afraid that *wayang* performance will influence the mass?" Agus: "Yeah. The wrong performance will destroy the family who holds the performance."

Rachmad: "So, what is the effect of story "*semar membangun kayangan* (semar constructs heaven"?

Agus: "It means, according to elders, that the struggle stops. Being submitted to the fate."

If there is *lakon pakem*, the story should be chosen according to the *pakem*, but if there is no *pakem*, *lakon carangan* can be chosen. In *wayang*, there are two types of *lakon: lakon pakem* (classical/traditional) and *lakon carangan*. *Lakon carangan* is new created story that is composed due to new influence or incidence inspiring the story of *wayang* (Poedjawijatna 1982).

Carangan is appearing and chosen in conservation movement because it functions to strengthen the mentality of movement actors. For conservation

purpose, there is a story (*lakon*) about Bima suci (holy Bima) representing forest and sea. Additionally, there is a story of *Wahyu Hidayat* explaining about Abimanyu who have to live as an ascetic in the forest. Meanwhile, *babad alas wanamarta* tells about the forest (Endraswara 2016).

Field studies found that the selection of *lakon* is the actors' attempt of interpreting the movement. *Wayang* performance in Bumiaji Village and Cangar Hamlet of Bulukerto Village featured *lakon pendowo tani*, *Wahyu Tirtomoyo* and *Wisanggeni Gugat*, respectively. *Pendowo tani* told about Pendowo (Pandawa)'s attempt of cultivating the dry land, *alas amarta*. Why? Pendowo's struggle is represented in this *lakon* to be farmers who were working hard to cultivate the land. In addition, the principal need that should be available is water. The message of *wayang* in turn requires the policy makers to prioritize the need for water source. This condition is in contrast to tourism development policy prioritizing capital accumulation by paying less attention to conservation interest.

Furthermore, *lakon Wahyu Tirtomoyo* explains Bima's journey to learn science as told in *lakon dewaruci*. Tirta explains that *wahyu* (revelation) intended is related to water. The message delivered is that water plays an important role in life. Then, the water intended is holy water and to gain it, hard struggle is needed, and Bima could do it. From this, the important lesson can be learnt is that water is important to be a medium to reach life perfection.

Meanwhile, *Wisanggeni Gugat* tells about Arjuna's son who retook their legitimate right to kingdom. They take some attempts: prosecuting *Khayangan* (heaven) as the residence of gods. Wisanggeni's action successfully made *Khayangan* chaotic. This *lakon* explains the actors of movement who always appear as the victim of conflict. Prosecuting is a terminology labeled to the resistance against oppression received by certain groups so far. They do not receive silently the attacks coming repeatedly, but they take revenge against it.

The mapping of Actors in the conflict

Conservation movement should pass through conflicts between parties with different values, perceptions, and interest. In Gemulo Water Source case, conflict occurs because the actors were divided into two groups: the one supporting and the one declining the construction of hotel. The proponents of hotel construction include Head of Cangar hamlet and "subordinates" of Bulukerto Village Head. It means that people of Cangar Hamlet have no single perception on the construction. Uniquely, just like most village in Indonesia, both proponents and opponents of the movement have kinship relation.

How to explain the relationship between the figures in conflict? Conflict between figures is characterized with the very close brotherhood and kinship relations. Originally they are close relatives but they should enter into a conflict due to different stances and interests. Therefore, it can be interpreted as Bratayudha war (*Perang Bratayudha*).

Explanation of Movement Stage

The actors of movement interpret the procedure taken by this water source rescuing movement with the *lakon* (story) chosen in *wayang* performance (*nanggap wayang*). In addition to be the objective of event intended, the selection of *lakon* (story) explains how the actors describe and interpret the stages of movement. The stages of movement indicated by *wayang* can be explained as follows:

Stage I. Pendowo Tani

This *lakon* tells Pandawas alienated to the forest (*Alas Amarta*). At that time, Amarta was in drought condition. Therefore, Pandawa should farm and get water for that purpose. This *lakon*, according to the members of organizing committees (organizers), tells Pandawa's attempt of sufficing the water need for farming purpose. This *lakon* teaches that water is a vital need. Without water, Pandawa could not farm. It also teaches us how to utilize water source in integrated way to maintain the water source sustainability. The integrated water resource management approach based on environment protection and community empowerment is considered as important to apply (Sudarmadji et al. 2017). In the beginning of movement, actors chose *lakon Pendowo Tani* intended to make the policy makers in Batu City aware of paying more attention to the need for water than to other interests. It is here that the activists of movement interpret this beginning stage of movement, campaigning for the importance of water to farming.

Stage II. Wahyu Tirtomoyo

The character played by Bima looking for holy water (*perwitosari*). Actors of movement define this *lakon* as the instruction to save water source. There are two messages delivered: firstly, firmness as played by Bima and secondly, therefore the activists of movement should have firm and uncompromising character, and tend to deliver message to the point.

Secondly, struggle needs hard work and patience. To obtain *tirto perwitosari*, Bima should pass through some difficulties. He should face many challenges and barriers, but finally he could be successful. Therefore, this *lakon* teaches that to achieve success, hard work and patience are required. In the context of saving water source, work ethos like Bima's should be owned.

Stage III. Pendowo opens Alas Amerta

This story represents Pandawa's struggle to build residence by clearing off *alas Amarta*. Pandawa chose this option actually because they "gave in" the deceit of Kurawa who mastered the kingdom. Why did they clear off the forest? However, Pandawa families gave in and kept working vigorously to clear off *alas Amarta* (Amarta Jungle). Learning from this, *ngalah* (giving in) and enthusiasm become the spirit in fighting for the water source.

Stages IV. Wisanggeni Duta

Wisanggeni is Arjuna and Dewi Palupi or Dewi Dersanala's son. Dersanala is Bethara Guru's daughter; it can be said that *Wisanggeni* is a semigod child (Haq 2011). This *lakon* represents *Wisanggeni's* courage in destroying *Khayangan* (heaven), because of his prosecution against his grandfather who did not recognized him in *Khayangan*. Additionally, the gods attempt to prevent Wisanggeni from defending his father in Bratayudha, so that eventually Wisanggeni prosecuted the gods twice.

The story of Wisanggeni represents the actors of movement's action in the movement stage. So far, their intention to conserve water source is not responded to well, but instead receives counterattack from government and hotel management. Information about them was always searched for and they were called repeatedly by the police of Batu City. Nevertheless, the actors of movement never take revenge against them. They restrained from doing counterproductive actions. When they are prosecuted in Malang District Court, they reply it. Similarly, when the actors of movement were called by police due to the transfer of stones to the hotel location, they come to fulfill the call. Even they always comply with and utilize governmental regulation. Therefore, there is a time for them not to give in, but to file lawsuit against government and hotel management.

Identification of Wayang Characters

The power of *wayang* in the movement lies not only in the story played but also the characters featured by *dalang*, in which the spectators expect to be like the characters. Therefore, the characters are selected to give good and bad lesson. In this case, the factors of communication behavior depend on the *dalang* as an individual who delivers messages through *wayang* channel to the spectators serving as receiver.

Dalang as a communicator is highly influenced by general knowledge in puppetry field, experience with being puppeteer and dissemination of information to the public (ideas). Communication abilities through *wayang* can contribute to the success of communication process, through which *dalang* can know the prevailing values and have influential puppeteer association (Walujo 2007).

The activists of movement identified Pandawa to represent good group, and those supporting the construction of hotel to represent Kurawa. Meanwhile, Bima and Wisanggeni are perceived as a good, firm, and uncompromising character. Both of them have similar character, incapable of speaking high-level Javanese language (*kromo inggil*). However, the two are well-known for their courage and firmness. The actors identify Bima character to represent these characteristics. As suggested by Supardi, the selection of Bima character has been appropriate, because Bima has firm trait.

"If the character is Werkudoro (Bima), he becomes what we calls... The character in the struggle, because he is well-known for firm, just and wise characteristics, as he is not fickle and he just walks on the track. Struggle should be fought for indeed, shouldn't it? Yes it should be" (interview with Supardi, September 9, 2015 in his house).

In Bratayudha war, Bima successfully killed Dursasana and other Kurawa members, while Wisanggeni prosecuted the *Khayangan* bravely. Actually, what the characters of puppetry do is how the people become "Javanese". It is not easy

to be Javanese because they are required to deal with barriers and challenges. Here they personify Wisanggeni, the figure prosecuting the gods in *Khayangan* bravely.

Holding Wayang Performance as Collective Identity

In addition to being viewed from the philosophy of *wayang*, *nanggap wayang* is an important part of *wayang* as the institution of conservation. Here *nanggap wayang* is a show (performance) in which a group of people called mass assembles. Mass is a means of creating collective identity. The measures taken are to appreciate the existence of water source and to reinforce the discourse of resistance against hotel construction. Spirit and narration chosen is the part of uncompleted struggle to save water source. This resistance is not vulgar but symbolic, applies inside and outside the movement. Symbols are typical character of Javanese utilizes communication media like *wayang* for symbolic resistance they do. Symbolic resistance applying inside is the reinforcement of community, while that applying to outside is the resistance against all non environment-friendly policies.

The creation of identity occurs in the encounter in *wayang* performance. Attending *wayang* performance activity can be interpreted as an encounter to discuss many problems. Even most of people's motivations to attend *wayang* performance are not to enjoy *wayang* story but to visit each other or their relatives. While watching *wayang*, they discuss daily problems with each other. Although not understanding completely the content of story delivered by *dalang*, they are satisfied with seeing their friends.

Wayang performance itself indicates the spirit to maintain and to save water source. In their conception, main characters of movement have been identified by policy makers; as such their number will always be calculated. Here the *wayang* performance serves as a means of demonstrating the consistency of movement actors' attitude to the opponents. In this context, social identity is challenged, and therefore collective identity becomes stronger.

Collective identity intended is an interactive shared definition produced by some individuals as a process constructed and negotiated repeatedly by connecting individuals to group (Jacquelien and Klandersmans 2007). Collective identity is constructed continuously by the actors of movement, one of which is when "*nanggap wayang*". Collective identity can be the shared understanding on the cause of this natural resource conflict and the map of actors in conflict, and shared spirit to save water source.

So far, the conservation movement tends to be conventional, ineffective, and too jargonistic; thereby the success of movement is immeasurable. Environmental movement is dynamic, so that it always looks for appropriate form for the conservation. Departing from this, environmental movement begins to use culture as an instrument to voice its demand. In Javanese, culture governs the relationship between human and environment; for that reason, conservation is a part inherent to cultural interest.

Actually, our ancestors have bequeathed diverse local wisdoms used as the guideline of attitude and behavior in interacting with nature and environment. Empirically, local wisdom has successfully prevent the damage of environmental function, either soil/land, forest, and water (Siswadi, Taruna, and Purnaweni 2012).

The people who still inherit and uphold traditional values bequeathed by their ancestor in their life will attempt to keep the tradition from disappearing along with the time. In this case, the art in *wayang kulit* performance is not merely the power of an individual as art lover but it also functions and serves to establish relationship with the surrounding nature (Mulasno 2013).

In the same vein, Geertz states that until today *wayang* performance is still considered as an event and sacred and ceremonial rite, the story always reminding human beings to maintain their existence with their natural environment. They believe that recalling this existence of environment, the ancestral spirits (*sing bahureksa*) will bless the people's life; it is one of reasons why *wayang* performance is still preserved (Mulasno 2013). *Wayang*, according to Geertz, also binds the society's social solidarity indirectly; therefore a variety of problems related to public interest is usually solved by means of mutual cooperation (*gotong royong* or *sambatan, sambat-sinambat*). It can also be bound more strongly with social order, social feeling, and responsibility to achieve the society concord.

Geertz explains that this society concord is a social mechanism to integrate individuals' interests for the sake of group's wellbeing. This principle of concord can enable the Javanese to demonstrate a social attitude and to sacrifice their personal interests all at once in order to achieve the collective objective (Mulasno 2013). It is this that makes actors of FMPMA and other members of society participating in the movement for maintaining Gemulo water source have strong or close and good relation in its social interaction. They sacrifice personal interest in order to achieve mutual interest for the sake of group's wellbeing and conserving the environment that has "supported" their life for many years. In the presence of FMPMA organization along with, the real movement of those consistently declining the policy of hotel construction potentially damages water source, the relationship between villagers becomes stronger based on the principles of mutual cooperation, solidarity, kinship, togetherness and cooperation in living within society.

Wayang as the binder of social solidarity is also mentioned by Geertz in his book entitled *The Religion of Java* in which he divides Javanese into 3 typologies: *abangan, santri* and *priayi. Wayang* also featured in *Slametan* event constitutes commitment and religious expression of *abangan* class and the most principal rite of Javanese. Diversity living within Javanese can be united in the *slametan* rite, in which as if there is no longer distance or space between the rich and the poor, between normative and Javanese Islam adherents (Geertz's version of *abangan*), and animism dynamism, mysticism and Hinduism adherents are present without bringing attributes and symbols with them that can distinguish one from another. They, coming from different elements, backgrounds and ideological orientations, are integrated strongly into one though various rites. Watching their favorite characters in the *wayang* together regardless the existing difference is an equally sacred moment; through interacting with each other and getting the same doctrine, the social solidarity of society can be established (Sumbulah 2012).

Geertz also sees that this *wayang* is not only something that is sociopolitical in nature, but also a story of metaphysical doctrine, particularly concerning psychological behavior. There are 3 (three) human characters represented in Pandawa characters: Yudhistira always emphasizing on his feeling of pity to his action is often dry, Bima who is always cool and slightly emotional so that he seems to be immature, but when seeing injustice, he will take action directly. Meanwhile, Arjuna as the reflection of a man enforcing the moral law firmly (Suprivanto 1970). Considering this, the representation of *pandawa* figures can be seen in the actors and people participating in FMPMA who will take action directly when they see injustice and the threat against Gemulo water source environment.

This appearance of local wisdom, according to Mawardi (2001: 2006), departs from people's dependence on water source also leading to their respect to water source as the source of life. Setyowati (2012) mentions that this local wisdom can be a community's activity, knowledge, and belief in managing nature with environmental conservation orientation. Local wisdom existing in value, norm, belief, ethic, custom, special rule, proverb, folklore and *wayang* culture has encountered a long hereditary internalization process as a result of interaction between human and environment (Setyowati, Juhadi, and Kiptida'iyah 2019).

Wayang kulit as one of Indonesian ancient heritage cultures still surviving has distinctive place in Javanese heart, *wayang kulit* performance as an art living, of course, may change as the result of social change (Sulanjari 2017), from being used as entertaining and proselytizing (*dakwah*) media originally to delivering or socializing the conservation of natural environment.

Wayang art functions not only as entertaining media but also educating media. Many lessons and life values can be learnt from a *wayang* performance, one of which is that wayang can be a means of teaching character values to the people (e.g. love to environment). Love-to-environment character can be found in some stories (*lakon*) of *wayang kulit purwa*, either Ramayana or Mahabharata. The form of love-to-environment character can be seen from the moral values contained in *wayang* story and the characteristics of puppetry characters representing the attitude of love to environment (Setyawan 2020).

In the community supporting *wayang* art, *wayang* performance is considered as having conceptions that can be used as the guideline for the attitude and action of certain society group. Those conceptions are created in a cultural value order implied in *wayang* performance including essence, origin, and life objective of human beings, relation between human and God or his Creator, relation between human and his natural environment, and relation between fellows human beings (Mulasno 2013).

Therefore, *wayang* performance contributes to the environmental conservation activity because *wayang* fulfill successfully the functions of movement, as explained below:

1. Symbolism of Javanese, *wayang* performance is the symbolic performance of characters and *lakon* (stories) selected. The symbols contain knowledge and lesson identical with "*pitutur sing becik* (good says)". The characteristics of Javanese emphasizing on symbolism make the messages of *wayang* replete with well-institutionalized satires. In this case, the actors of movement coming from FMPMA and surrounding community emphasize on the symbolism of *wayang* story selected, either Ramayana and Mahabharata, with the character of love to environment, through taking some attempts or measures related to culture and religion to safeguard Gemulo water source from those potentially damaging it (symbolized as *Kurawa*). Departing from this, environmental conservation movement uses culture as a means of voicing the suit.

2. Morality Tenet, the similarity of *wayang* to environment rescuing lies on their focus on prioritizing morality. *Wayang* morality teaches noble character; just like *wayang*, morality of environmental movement teaches noble character concerning harmonious relation between human beings and environment, and environment conservation, sustainability, justice, and struggle values. In this case, the actors of movement have been internalized by the morality tenets packaged well in the stories of *wayang* in Java land. The presence of story about Pandawa inculcating trees for many years to maintain water source makes the actors do similarly, because maintaining the water source well is important to maintain the source of life. The delivery of moral message, norm, value, ethic, and custom concerning an imperative to maintain water source requires the actors of movement to keep fighting for conserving Gemulo water source.

3. Complexity of *Wayang* Function, *wayang* have some functions: proselytizing, educating, giving information, delivering social critique, and entertaining. Those functions are inherent to social system of Javanese ; therefore there is no space between *wayang* and community, so that community can accept the objectives of conservation easily. Discussion leads to a question "how do *wayang* media promote conservation?" *wayang* can be a medium to promote environmental conservation because the stories within it contain moral values, directly or indirectly, concerning the importance of maintaining environment to

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support the society's life, the action and the character of figures featured in the *wayang* can represent the attitudes that can be role model for the people in their relation to natural environment, moreover in the water source symbolizing the source of life and important need to human beings. In this case, water source is very important to human beings. In the beginning of civilization, people have built more residences and other facilities supporting life near the water source to facilitate human beings to suffice their life needs. Water can be said as one of most important and useful objects created by God for human beings and other living creatures. Even human beings can be in danger if there is no water, in contrast to the food, without which we can survive for several weeks.

Conservation of water source can be one of functions that when it is done, environmental conservation will be achieved. Water source conservation can function as the guard of water quantity or supply, the guarantor of water source availability to be used for domestic, irrigation, drinking water, worship, and industrial purposes, and for generating electricity-power that is renewable and environment-friendly. Textually, conservation values are contained in the *wayang*, particularly viewed from the stories representing nature, like *gunungan* (coneshaped work or structure) and the appearance of animals. The stories of *wayang* are very ecological in nature, meaning that many messages of environmental conservation are delivered in the *wayang*. Natural environment appears in the *wayang* performance through *janturan* (story or explanation narrated by *dalang* in *wayang* kit located besides a *dalang*) (p. 139).

Meanwhile, as performance, *nanggap wayang* is collective behavior, because this performance invites a large number of masses to assemble. This mass is not irregular one, but the rational on replete with similar Javanese values. They consciously come to *nanggap wayang* to get entertainment and to receive good tenet all at once. *Pitutur becik* constituting the mental power of movement will be instilled easily. For certain group, enjoying *wayang* amounts to getting advice (*wejangan*), just like when they get spiritual touches from *Kyai* (Islam teacher).

Therefore, *wayang* performance is a conscious mobilization arena (definitions). These similar values strengthen the collective identity of a group, leading to the successful environmental movement. The successful use of *wayang*

for conservation purpose in Javanese actually leads to a thesis of new social movement emphasizing on non economic determinism issues like identity, culture, and non-class issues. Is "*nanggap wayang*" the form of Indonesian version-new social movement in saving water source effectively?

Referring to new social movement, we should depart first from basic understanding on social movement, according to Anthony Giddens, constituting a collective attempt of realizing the collective interest, achieving the collective objective through collective behavior and positioning itself as the movement beyond the government. In this case, FMPMA also belongs to a social movement and an organization taking collective attempt to maintain and to conserve Gemulo water source existing in Batu City. Viewed from the division of social organization, according to Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (2006) FMPMA belongs to participative social movement organization category. Participative social movement organization is usually the part of victim community; this group has no professional element, no formal structure, and no management system. According to Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (2006) this social movement comes from feelings of belonging, collective identity and social movement can produce and encourages continous redefinitions of identity. The feelings of belonging, collective identity and social movement make it easier to face the risk of environmental crisis (Porta and Diani 2006).

Nanggap wayang (wayang performance) can be said as a new social movement because it is universal in nature, focusing on protecting and maintaining the condition of human beings and bringing it to the better one. Puppetry stories providing values, norms, moral, and positive attitude can enable people, particularly the actors of FMPMA, to have life *motto* and objective; in addition, the story of puppetry performed gives some models of love to environment they follow philosophically and make the guidelines in acting. *Wayang* performance formerly serving as entertaining and proselytizing media only, along with the time changes into a medium to express love to environment (Wahyudin 2018).

Wayang performance as local communication media supporting the achievement of conservation movement to protect Gemulo water source indicates that *wayang* relates directly to development communication, in which *wayang* is an attempt, an effort, a technique, a way, and a strategy closely related to the

delivery of message or idea to conserve Gemulo water source. Through *wayang*, surrounding people are educated, motivated, given an understanding and invited to participate directly in the movement of Gemulo water source conservation, so thereby leading to a sustainability-based development. *Wayang* is one of effective media for development communication, change, socialization, and education because it can absorb many spectators regardless age, and its existence has been inherent to Javanese since ancestral time.

The use of languages and symbols understandable to the people also contributes to the development of consciousness constituting the key to a successful development communication. *Wayang* with its great adaptability can deliver moral message and environmental development that can liquidly reach the society to grass root level (Alkhajar 2011). *Wayang* is the extension of actors of FMPMA's tongue that can unite the people with positive feedback, so that people can unite to do the movement of conserving Gemulo water source, despite many Kurawas around them until today (Walujo 2007).

Wayang, as local communication media, also serve interpersonal channel because communication done aims to get feedback from the public as spectators or receivers; it is this feedback that indicates that wayang as the local communication media successfully delivers conservation and love-to-environment messages. New media era today enables new innovations to be brought to the wayang performance shown virtually using television, social media, and other video streaming application. It requires the creativity of environment observers to use *wayang* as communication media to utilize media supporting the resource owned. Creative intelligence in the process of changing an opportunity into marketable idea, of course, will help wayang as the traditional local communication media keep following the time, thereby will not disappear due to the swift stream of information and communication technology modernization. Opportunity, innovation, and creativity can be utilized well to show wayang as unique communication media that can deliver social critique finely by referring to the figure in real world represented based on traits, characters, physical characteristics and roles of wayang (Sucoko and Hikmah n.d.).

The findings of this study are the uses of *wayang* as a traditional local communication media is still relevant to the conditions of the people of Bulukerto

Village, Bumiaji Village and Sidomulyo Village amid the massive use of new media as a means of communication that currently dominates the fulfillment of information. *Nanggap wayang* still shows its existence. It can be communicated not only through traditional live performances, but also through new media and streaming media cooperation. The basis of cultural values on *wayang* perception is still conveyed to the community through FMPMA's efforts in presenting *wayang* plays that provide examples of environmental conservation attitudes, so that people from the three villages provide positive feedback by participating in the Gemulo water source conservation movement so that they are able to contribute to the sustainability of the conservation movement.

The novelty is there is a study about the uses of cultural values in the form of thinking about *wayang kulit* in increasing introspection towards the threat of environmental crisis, the use of cultural values as a means of local communication media is rarely encountered in today's invasive new media. *Wayang* is inherently able to adapt to modernity, so the actual contribution of this research is to encourage people to return to using local cultural values to build public awareness of environmental crisis. His theoretical contribution is in the form of an update on the study of *wayang* which can actually be used to build public awareness and development communication that contains local values that are in accordance with social settings in Indonesia, especially Java.

CONCLUSION

Javanese with their diverse cultures that are still maintained well until today, in fact; it can contribute to environmental conservation. The culture still maintained and utilized well by the people is leather puppet performance (*nanggap wayang kulit*). Affiliated with Community Forum Caring about Water Source (Forum Masyarakat Peduli Mata Air [FMPMA]) actors utilize leather puppet performance to encourage the successful achievement of their objective, to cease the construction of hotel, the distance of which is less than 200 meter from Gemulo water source that they utilize for daily needs.

The result of research shows that this *nanggap wayang kulit* culture can contribute to environmental conservation movement based on local cultural values; it also can enrich the conservation models existing in Indonesia recalling that the cultural value-based environment conservation movement is found very

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rarely. In Indonesia environmental conservation movement tends to be conventional, ineffective, and jargonistic, so that its successfulness is immeasurable, while conservation movement itself is very dynamic. In Javanese, culture serves to organize or to govern the relation of people (members of community) to environment, so that the environmental conservation movement based on cultural values can contribute to the successful fulfillment of the movement's functions, including symbolism of Javanese, morality tenet, and complexity of *wayang's* function. Philosophical and ecological stories of *wayang* are expected to enrich the right-on-target and sustainable conservation model.

The findings of the study show that the use of *wayang* as a traditional local media is still relevant in terms of planting environmental protection values. *Nanggap wayang* as a collaboration of modern communication media and *wayangan* as traditional communication media is considered as capable of delivering messages and moral values to the public. The use of symbols and languages understandable to the people makes *wayang* an effective communication media. In addition, *wayang* also serves as a medium for development communication, not only amusing but also contributing to the sustainability of Gemulo water source conservation movement.

As a local communication media, Wayang is creative and energetic. It can convey and spread information about environmental crises and threats through local communication symbols that are of course easier to understand by Javanese. *Wayang* supports the delivery of social criticism through *wayang* characters developed with Creative Intelligence so that environmental education can be conveyed in the character, nature to the physical character of the *wayang*. The creativity of the *dalang* in the selection of the play becomes a local communication media that is in accordance with the social settings of the Javanese people to make environmental education messages well embedded so that the community provides positive feedback in the form of their participation in the Gemulo water source conservation movement which was initiated by Community Forum Caring about Water Source (Forum Masyarakat Peduli Mata Air [FMPMA]) to deal with the threat of an environmental crisis.

The practical contribution of this research is the formation of environmental education where people return to using old cultural values in accordance with the principles of Javanese life. At the same time, theoretical contribution is an updated form of wayang research, which can actually be used to build public awareness and develop communication, change media, socialization, and effective education with local Javanese values.

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