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Udeng Banyuwangi: Culture, Symbolic Meaning and Preservation of Local Cultural Identity

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Abstract

The territory of Indonesia that stretches from Sabang to Merauke makes Indonesia famous for its natural wealth and cultural diversity. One of the cultures it has is traditional clothing with its characteristics and distinctiveness. The Osing tribe is a tribe that inhabits part of the Banyuwangi area, where one of the cultures owned is contained in its traditional clothing, namely Banyuwangi udeng. However, many people do not know the meaning contained in Banyuwangi udeng. In addition, the existence of Banyuwangi udeng has not been known by the outside world as a local cultural identity. The results of the discussion showed that the Osing people tend to use practical Banyuwangi udeng. This is the influence of the development of science and technology. The use of Banyuwangi udeng gives symbolic meaning through its shape. Among them are man's life to God, others and nature; gender equality, and strong relationships between people. The existence of udeng Banyuwangi is the result of the hard work of the Osing tribe itself, the people of Banyuwangi, and the government through the culture of wearing udeng in the government, schools, and other activities.

Keywords: *Udeng*; *Osing*; *Banyuwangi*

Introduction

Indonesia's geographical condition stretching from Sabang to Merauke makes Indonesia a country famous for the wealth and beauty of natural resources and their diversity. The diversity can be viewed in terms of religion, race and ethnicity consisting of customs, arts and culture. Speaking of culture, according to Herbig in (Liliweri, 2019, p. 11) understands diversity as a concept that covers all aspects of life views, including actions that are considered reasonable, beliefs, principles, language, and ways of living together carried out by individuals in society. There is also an opinion that states that culture reflects the personality of a society. In other words, people's identities are reflected in the viewpoints and value systems they share, in their ability to understand and respond to global views, in the patterns and attitudes of life seen in daily actions, and in the lifestyles that give color to their lives (Kasiyan, 2015).

In general, culture can be reviewed through language, clothing, and community habits (Jember et al., 2020). In practice, various elements of culture such as: economic systems in terms of livelihood, systems of living equipment and technology, religious systems and so on are interrelated and interact. So

that these elements are expected to be able to give birth to the embodiment of new cultures in the form of ideas, for example: traditions and artifacts. One of them is handicrafts that manifest in traditional traditional clothing. Traditional traditional clothing is clothing that has been passed down from generation to generation, besides that it is also an identity that can be appreciated by the majority of cultural adherents. (Dharmika, 1988, p. 16). In addition, traditional traditional clothing has the ability to convey one or more messages about cultural values that can be understood and applied through symbols depicted in a variety of traditional traditional clothing from various regions or tribes.

In the use of traditional traditional clothing, each region or tribe has its own rules and regulations. This is in line with other opinions that traditional clothing is also able to represent the characteristics of a community reflected through its identity, which is formed by unique patterns and understandings that are in accordance with the characteristics of the community (Sangma Mhonyani, 2018). Of course this is a uniqueness and diversity in the variety of traditional traditional clothing ornaments spread in various parts of Indonesia, including in Banyuwangi Regency, the Osing tribe is one of the ethnic groups living in the region.

The origin of the term "Osing" comes from the word "sing" which means "no" and in conversation is often referred to as "osing" by the people. Historically, the Osing people or residents of Banyuwangi were those who did not (sing) evacuate during the Puputan Bayu war in 1771-1772 in Blambangan in this case Banyuwangi (Taufik Firmanto, et al, 2019). In line with this opinion that the Osing tribe is an indigenous ethnic group of Banyuwangi originating from the Blambangan community, with its language, beliefs, and traditions, similar to other tribes. (Mabruri &; Prabawati, 2019). Therefore, the existence of the Osing tribe in Banyuwangi itself is believed to be able to become the heir of Blambangan culture in the past which is related as an important role in shaping the regional identity of Banyuwangi Regency in the current era. The strengthening of Osing's cultural identity also takes place in other cultural spaces, such as art, traditional rituals, traditions and traditional clothing.

In its implementation, the traditional clothing of the Osing tribe has udeng as a headband worn by the adam or men. Local people often call it Banyuwangi udeng. Unlike Balinese udeng or headbands from other regions, Banyuwangi udeng has its own uniqueness in terms of aesthetic shape. Udeng Banyuwangi is generally made of a piece of batik cloth that is shaped in such a way by folding it and wearing it by tying the cloth to the head of a man, from children to the elderly. However, along with the development of technology, udeng Banyuwangi is designed and produced by sewing in such a way that its use is more practical but does not leave the rules of form and meaning

As an artifact and cultural product, udeng Banyuwangi is unique in terms of shape and symbolic value. Symbol study is an approach that serves to understand human behavior, and interpret the symbols used by humans in their lives (Hendro, 2020). Likewise with udeng Banyuwangi which stores the meaning contained in each symbol from the visual or shape. People in Banyuwangi, especially the Osing tribe, often wear udeng at traditional rituals, festival activities, government activities. Although udeng Banyuwangi is increasingly popularly introduced to various local communities to foreign communities, people still lack literacy about the symbolic meaning contained in it.

In the previous section, it was mentioned that the existence of Banyuwangi udeng is able to provide positive things for the community, especially the Osing tribe community. Apparently local people even outside the Banyuwangi Regency area have given a label that Banyuwangi udeng is one form of Banyuwangi cultural identity. Of course, this cannot be separated from various aspects in it related to the preservation of local culture.

Based on the description above, it can be seen that Banyuwangi udeng is a handicraft that has aesthetic value in which there is a symbolic meaning related to the cultural context of the Banyuwangi people, especially the Osing Tribe community in the preservation of Banyuwangi udeng. Therefore, the question arises how the culture and development of Banyuwangi udeng and what is the symbolic meaning

contained in Banyuwangi udeng. On the other hand, questions also arise about how to preserve Banyuwangi udeng as a local cultural identity for Banyuwangi. Therefore, a study is needed to explore to answer these questions

Methods

The writing of this article focuses on the dissemination of cultural knowledge through an ethnographic study of the udeng Banyuwangi, using a qualitative method. This means that the collected information is qualitative, derived from interviews, observations, and documentation. The primary objective of this qualitative article is to explain the empirical reality behind the phenomenon in a profound, detailed, and comprehensive manner, in accordance with the conceptual framework.

The sample selection process for this research consists of three stages. Firstly, the initial sample selection involves identifying both the interviewees and the social contexts relevant to the research focus. Subsequently, additional sample selection aims to enhance information description and monitor potential variations in the available data. Finally, further sample selection ceases when it is determined that no additional variations in information can be identified. Data collection methods involve interviews, observation, and documentation. The collected data is streamlined and presented systematically to reach accurate conclusions.

Results and Discussion

A. Osing Tribe: Culture and Development of Udeng

Talking about the Osing tribe that inhabits part of the Banyuwangi area apparently cannot be separated from the history of the Blambangan Kingdom. Blambangan Kingdom is a Hindu-style kingdom where this kingdom is located in the eastern tip of the island of Java. In 1771 to 1772 there was a Jagapati resistance or commonly known as the Puputan Bayu war. At that time the kingdom of Blambangan experienced significant depopulation until the end of 1772. At that time the population in the entire Blambangan region was less than 3000 people or about 8.3% of the population before the Dutch occupied the area (Firmanto, 2019, p. 12). The term Osing comes from the word 'sing' which means 'no', where in its implementation the word 'sing' is often pronounced to be 'osing' or 'hing'. Back to the historical aspect, the people of Blambangan did not (sing) take refuge when the Puputan Bayu war occurred. They chose to settle on the eastern tip of the island of Java. In addition, the term Osing reflects cultural resistance which implies that the Osing people are reluctant to follow in the footsteps of Bali or surrender to the domination of the Balinese kingdom, besides that they are also reluctant to become Javanese which does not want to accept the dominance of Islamic culture that entered through the kingdom of Mataram. Correspondingly, the Osing tribe wanted to maintain the confidence of those days. (Wijaya &; Purwanto, 2017). In simple terms, it can be explained that the Osing tribe community at that time was the Blambangan community who was left behind by the Puputan Bayu war.

This tribe with descendants from the Hindu-Blambangan kingdom is different from other communities, such as Javanese, Balinese and Madurese. In its development, Osing society tends to be colored by a closed nature as a cultural group whose existence is reluctant to be interfered with other cultures. So that the outside community also stigmatizes the Osing tribe community that their culture is not well known. There is also a stigma that the Osing tribe has always been associated with occult science because of its closed attitude.

Until around 1995, the existence of the Osing tribe represented by the Kemiren community began to open up to the "outside world" during the leadership of Basofi Sudirman as the Governor of East Java Province which established Kemiren village as an Osing Traditional Tourism Village. The idea of a

tourism village is an implementation of sustainable village development efforts in the tourism sector. Development in rural areas involves transforming villages into tourist destinations, based on the unique potential and characteristics possessed by each village, such as diversity of flora and fauna, traditional architecture, natural beauty, climate, traditional culinary, and other elements (Mabruri &; Prabawati, 2019). The coronation as an Osing Traditional Tourism Village village has certainly experienced a long discussion and research on the ins and outs of the culture owned by the Osing Tribe. The main potential in this tourism village is the cultural wealth and traditions of the Osing tribe, which are still maintained strongly and continue to be carried out in various aspects of daily life by its residents (Mabruri &; Prabawati, 2019).

The term "culture" comes from the Sanskrit "buddhayah" which is the plural form of "buddhi" which means "mind" or "reason." (Bahtiar &; Soetopo, 2018). It interprets the term culture as "mind" which includes aspects of creation, ideas, and feelings, while culture is the result of the process of creation, ideas, and feelings. According to KBBI, culture is the result of actions and the formation of human minds, such as religious norms, art, and customs. Another opinion of Koenjtaraningrat in the field of anthropology states that culture includes the entire system of human actions, views, and creativity in an effort to be part of group life while learning. Another perspective states that culture or civilization is a complexity that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morality, law, tradition, and various skills and habits acquired by humans as part of society said Tylor (in Kistanto, 2017). Universally, the term culture involves a variety of components or systems, including language, knowledge, living equipment and technology, livelihood, religion, and art.

Speaking of culture, the Osing tribe still holds fast and preserves its culture, such as customs, irrigation systems, traditional houses, art, to traditional clothing. Traditional clothing or better known as traditional traditional clothing is a representation of the life of certain people who wear it. Traditional traditional clothing is an element of culture that grows and develops in line with the development of an ethnic group (Sangma Mhonyani, 2018). The Osing tribe itself has a peculiarity in traditional dress, one of which stands out is located on the headband worn by men both from a young age to the elderly. This headband is often pronounced by the people of Banyuwangi, especially the Osing tribe as "udeng".

Unlike the headbands from other regions such as those owned by the Tengger tribe, or the Balinese tribe better known as Balinese udeng or even blangkon as a head covering worn by Javanese men, Banyuwangi udeng has its own characteristics in its visuals. Generally, this Banyuwangi udeng is made of batik cloth with different batik motifs. Among them are batik motifs of elephant oling, kangkong setingkes, gedhegan, jalaran, sembuk worm and others. The use of this batik motif does not reduce the philosophical value contained in it.

In its development, in the past, people did not know songkok. As a completeness in traditional clothing, people at that time were more familiar with blangkon or udeng. Looking back into the historical aspect that the Osing people were reluctant to be part of the dominance of Balinese and Javanese culture, they created headbands into different visuals. There are several types of udeng typical of Banyuwangi including udeng tongkosan, udeng sampadan, and udeng creation. Udeng kreasi is a form of creativity of the Osing tribe community in folding and wearing udeng as a headband. Udeng this creation is often used by gamers or drummers of traditional music of the Osing community when doing art activities. In its visualization, this creation is more flexible because it depends on the level of creativity that wears it.

Not spared from the discussion of udeng Banyuwangi, one type is udeng tongkosan and sampadan. In the visualization, udeng tongkosan and udeng sampatan there are differences. When worn, udeng tongkosan will cover the top of the head, while udeng sampadan only ties the head and does not cover the top of the head. This difference then makes it clear that married men tend to wear udeng tongkosan and unmarried men will wear udeng sampadan. But in today's era, people both young and old tend to prefer to wear tongkosan type udeng.

As time passes, advances in science and technology become one of the elements of influence that have an impact on why udeng tongkosan is more commonly found during traditional activities in villages where the majority of people are Osing tribes and other activities in Banyuwangi. At present, the development of science and technology is experiencing rapid growth, having a significant impact on the lives of each individual. It can be said that nowadays, every aspect and stage of a person's life is indirectly affected by the development of science and technology. Science and technology are not just simple entities, but are related to the essential drive and creative instinct possessed by each individual (Habibah, 2017). In line with this opinion, the creative process in packaging Banyuwangi udeng is now produced in a practical form, so that its use does not require a long time, especially in folding cloth as udeng or headband. In this sophisticated era, not a few Banyuwangi udeng are packaged practically. This packaging has gone through a sewing process using a machine so that in its use a person only needs to wear or attach udeng to his head without having to go through the process of folding it.

B. Form and Symbolic Meaning of Udeng Banyuwangi

Udeng comes from the term "*mudeng*" which means to understand or understand. Meanwhile, the word "*destar*" according to the Big Dictionary Indonesian refers to the headband revealed by Laksana Dalam (Rachmawati et al., 2021). The word "mudeng" which means "understand" means that as mankind understand the values and norms that exist in society, understand how good and right and wrong behavior and ethics are. Those who are expected to be able to have a polite personality and have good *uploads*.

In the discussion of the previous sub-chapter, it has been explained that there are three kinds or types of Banyuwangi udeng. Udeng Banyuwangi is a tradition that has been passed down by the community, of course, it contains certain values or messages that are desired, especially by individuals who wear it. The values or symbolic meanings contained in such traditional clothing have generally been widely believed and accepted by members of the community who support them. (US, 2020). Symbols are capable of carrying meaning and serve as complex means of communication, often having varying levels of meaning. Humans use symbols in their culture to communicate ideologies, social structures, or represent specific aspects of culture. In simple terms, symbols carry meanings derived from an individual's cultural context. The meaning of symbols is not inherent in the symbols themselves, but rather is understood through the process of cultural learning. Symbols help us understand the world around us and become the basis for making judgments. The use of symbols is not only to understand the environment, but also serves to recognize and communicate within society through constitutive rhetoric. Therefore, when it comes to symbols, there is a hidden meaning in the message that these symbols represent. All cultural meanings are formed through the use of symbols, because meaning can only be conveyed through symbols. In his work "Cultural and Cognition", James Spradley explains that symbols are part of a sign, consisting of: icons (formal associations), indices (natural associations), and symbols (arbitrary associations) (Hendro, 2020)

Speaking of symbolic meaning, this discussion cannot be separated from a scientific field, namely semiotics. In a semiotic perspective, culture is considered as an arrangement of signs in which these elements are interconnected through understanding the meaning contained in them (Wirawan &; Sutami, 2022). Etymologically, semiotics comes from the Greek "semeion" which refers to "sign" or "seme" meaning "interpreter of signs". The term "semeion" seems to derive from the context of hypocratic or aclepiadic medicine that focuses on symptomatology and inferential diagnosis, referred to as "semiotics" in English. The definition of sign itself includes something that, based on pre-existing social conventions, is considered to represent something else (Suherdiana, 2015). Along the way, the concept of this scientific field is divided into five, one of which is the concept of semiotics according to Charles Sanders Pierce. Pierce divided his concept into three elements commonly known as 'trichotomy,' namely representation, interpretation, and object. (Siregar &; Wulandari, 2020). Basically, the relationship between the three elements must be known for the discussion of the concept and the meaning conveyed is easy to understand as a complete meaning of an object or work.



Figure 1. Udeng Banyuwangi Shape Front View



Figure 2. Udeng Banyuwangi Shape Side View

Udeng Banyuwangi holds so much meaning or philosophy of life. First, udeng Banyuwangi is made of a piece of cloth which generally measures 1 m² square or rectangular. The shape of this piece of batik cloth covers the four cardinal directions (north, south, east and west). These four cardinal directions imply that a human being must know the direction. Know the direction here is meant the direction in which it will take the future. It is closely related to life goals, dreams, or ideals. In addition, there is another meaning that the true direction of life is only directed at God Almighty. This implies that people should still have faith and devotion only to God Almighty.

Second, the first step that must be done in folding the udeng Banyuwangi is to fold it into two equal parts to form an isosceles triangle. The shape of this isosceles triangle is closely related that in life there are three important elements, namely the relationship between humans and God Almighty, the interaction between individuals, the interaction between humans, and the relationship between humans and the surrounding natural environment. In line with this, in Hinduism there is a concept of Tri Hita Karana. Tri Hita Karana means three factors that cause harmony, namely harmony in the relationship between humans and Hyang Widi Wasa (God Almighty), harmony in relations between fellow human beings, and harmony in the relationship between mankind and the natural environment (Budiadnya, 2019).

It is explained in more depth. In everyday life, this concept can be implemented that it is mandatory and should as humans have to have a good relationship with the Creator (whatever religion they follow). This good horizontal relationship between God and man can be realized in an activity related to prayer or prayer. Osing people believe that the rituals carried out are a form of worship of God, ancestors and ancestors. (Firmanto, 2019, p. 36)

The second discussion about Tri Hita Karana is a balanced relationship between fellow humans. The significance of communication and harmonious relations between religious believers through Sima Krama Dharma Santhi activities or friendship. This activity is considered important and has a strategy because humans constantly coexist and cannot exist individually. Therefore, maintaining friendly and fraternal relations is considered a very crucial aspect. With this concept, the Osing tribe is able to package a harmony and community with traditional activities. Many traditional activities of the tribe are still carried out today. Some of these include Kopi Sepuluh Ewu and Mepe Kasur. The tradition of Ten Ewu Coffee comes from the habit of villagers who like to enjoy coffee in cups that have a lid. Currently, the tradition is practiced by serving coffee in front of the house by each family head, with the aim of introducing the Osing Tribe tradition to the general public (Wijaya &; Purwanto, 2017)

The last element in the concept of Tri Hita Karana is the balance and harmony of the relationship between humans and their natural environment. This principle highlights the importance of preserving the natural environment, so as to create harmony in nature and maintain the continuity of ecosystem balance.

Back to the discussion of the process of folding Banyuwangi udeng, the next stage is to cover the head according to the rules and regulations for using Banyuwangi udeng. Seen in picture 1 and figure 2 there are several parts in the udeng Banyuwangi. First, there is a triangular shape on the front side. When worn, the triangle represents that the shape leads to the user's heart which is expected to have a clear heart.

Second, there are triangles on the right and left sides. This form represents gender equality. Discrimination against women is an issue that often arises in various groups of society, even in most regions of the world. The basic reason is that society has not managed to break away from the patriarchal cultural patterns that have bound and forced women under the control of men for thousands of years (Effendy, 2014). The term "gender" was introduced to refer to the difference between women and men without containing entirely biological connotations. Therefore, the concept of "gender" in this context includes those differences between women and men that are the result of social factors, and these differences persist although they are not caused by biological differences related to sex (Introduction, 2007)

Finally, the installation process of Banyuwangi udeng ends with a tie placed on the back. This form of bond is a symbol of close friendship between each other. This form of close friendship can be implemented by becoming a society that maintains harmony between religious, national and homeland people.

C. Preservation of Banyuwangi udeng as a Local Cultural Identity

The coronation of Kemiren Village, Glagah District as a traditional tourist village during the reign of Basofi Sudirman as governor of East Java in 1996. The Banyuwangi Regency Government responded by implementing the Regional Regulation of Banyuwangi Regency Number 1 of 2017 concerning Tourism Villages. Tourism village is a concept of sustainable development in rural areas focused on the tourism sector. The transformation process into a tourism village depends on the potential and distinctive characteristics possessed by each village, such as the diversity of flora and fauna, the sustainability of traditional architecture, natural beauty, climate, traditional culinary, and other elements. In an effort to develop tourism villages, strategic, integrated, and coordinated policy planning is needed, involving the participation of all parties, including communities, organizations, government, and the private sector. This regulation is implemented to improve community welfare, increase awareness in utilizing natural potential, and preserve customs, culture, and architecture, in the hope that it will foster pride in their traditional, cultural, and village heritage (Mabruri &; Prabawati, 2019).

Culture in the context of contemporary development refers to the way the diversity of people's daily lives is considered as an identity, involving the dynamics of struggle and the origins of cultural

politics as its constituent elements (Anoegrajekti, Novi, 2018). Osing cultural conditions that reflect the customs, nature of society, beliefs, and Osing cultural values are factors that shape social identity for everyone in the Osing cultural community (Hanafi et al., 2018). The formation of social identity among the Osing community is inseparable from cultural agreements that are recognized as truth by members of the Osing community. The culture of the Osing people in this case is the use of Banyuwangi udeng in the traditional clothing of the Osing tribe. Clothing has a significant meaning for humans, not only as a means to cover the aurat, but also as a representation of identity in a community (Sugianto, 2016) Udeng Banyuwangi has become a mushrooming culture in the Osing community itself, both used at work, traditional tradition activities, performing arts activities, funerals, to both formal and informal activities.

The existence of Banyuwangi udeng is also inseparable from the role of the Banyuwangi Regency government since the reign of Abdullah Anzwar Anas. His love for Banyuwangi culture is able to bring Banyuwangi udeng to appear in front of local and international communities. Mr. Anas in his nickname often introduces Banyuwangi udeng in his official trips, both in the Banyuwangi area, in the scope of East Java, the scope of the central government, to his activities abroad.



Figure 3. Use of Udeng Banyuwangi in Official Activities

The Regional Government of Banyuwangi Regency holds an annual event with the aim of expanding the scope of development of the regional tourism sector. This event brings together various activities ranging from local to international levels, and is held annually (Fahad &; Endrayadi, 2017). In recent times, the existence of Banyuwangi udeng can be found in Banyuwangi Festival (B-Fest) activities, such as Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival, Gandrung Sewu, Banyuwangi Batik Festival, Ngopi Sepuluh Ewu, and other B-Fest activities. not only the organizers or those who were born as Osing tribes, but also the people of Banyuwangi both from Javanese, Madurese, Chinese ethnicities also wore Banyuwangi udeng. In religious activities can also be found some people proudly use it. It has become a culture for the people of Banyuwangi, especially for men to wear Banyuwangi udeng, both inside and outside the Banyuwangi Regency area.

The role of the Government of Banyuwangi is also clearly seen in the preservation of cultural heritage and customs. In Banyuwagi Regent Regulation Number 48 of 2021 concerning State Civil Apparatus Service Clothing in the Banyuwangi Regency Environment states that "Banyuwangi Traditional Daily Service Clothing is official clothing with nuances of Osing customs and culture typical of the Banyuwangi people." The use of this traditional clothing is carried out every Thursday.

Multiculturalism is basically the final concept to strengthen the unity of a country consisting of various ethnic, religious, racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, by respecting their civil rights, including the rights of minority groups. The impact of globalization in modern life creates a struggle between local and global cultural values in society. Established values are undergoing transformation, causing psychological discomfort and identity crises in various circles. In other words, the process of globalization creates broad differences, seen from the formation of people's lifestyles and identities (Suradi, 2018). Explained in the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Mendikbudristek) Number 50 of 2022 about School Uniforms for Students at the

Primary and Secondary Education Levels. In this latest regulation, it is allowed for students to wear traditional clothes on certain traditional days or events. In Banyuwangi, the implementation of the use of traditional clothing is carried out every Thursday in conjunction with the Banyuwangi Regency Government. This step was carried out to introduce Osing culture to the younger generation about the traditional clothing of the Osing tribe. Through this policy, it is hoped that students or students will be able to love and preserve Osing culture from an early age.

Conclusion

The Osing tribe is the remaining Blambangan community affected by the Puputan Bayu war. The Osing tribe has a culture, one of which is manifested in Udeng Banyuwangi. Udeng Banyuwangi is divided into three types, namely tongkosan, sampadan and creation. In its development, the Osing community in a narrow sense and the Banyuwangi community in a broader sense, more often wear a practical tongkosan form udeng. This is an influence of the development of science and technology.

Udeng Banyuwangi has its own characteristics and distinctiveness seen from the shape that is different from the types of headbands from other regions. The shape of Banyuwangi udeng also holds symbolic meaning for its users. This symbolic meaning is expected to be able to realize human harmony in a good society. It starts with man's relationship with God, his fellow man and the environment. There is also a meaning of gender equality in the social sphere. And harmony, harmony and strong friendship.

The existence of udeng Banyuwangi was started by the people of the Osing tribe while maintaining the culture of udeng Banyuwangi in community activities. In addition, the role of the government also contributes to preserving and introducing Banyuwangi udeng as a local identity in the national and international arena through official travel. The emergence of new policies on the use of official uniforms and school uniforms is also the government's work in introducing, passing on and preserving Banyuwangi udeng as a local identity.

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