

Arena and (Re)Stabilization of Reog Bulkiyo Dance Cultural Production

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ABSTRACT Contestation among traditional art performances, in the technology and information era, creates complex and diverse challenge to the dance of Reog Bulkiyo. In 1999, the dance had to be stopped following the regeneration and economical problem. Although Reog Bulkiyo has been performed again since 2009, the conditions which makes this dance can be produced is still inexplicable. This article attempts to explain why dance experiencing production and activity stagnation. Pierre Bourdieu's cultural production theory is used to analyze this problem, while ethnographic qualitative is used as the method. This study found that Reog Bulkiyo dance is in the arena of traditional dance art which has a double-tiered structure. The first structure leads to popular culture, while the second structure leads to art culture. In the first structure, Reog Bulkiyo dance group uses relational capital with relatives, social and Islamic groups to survive in the midst of competition with other popular arts. The dance then gains a relationship with the academy and the state which provides relational, cultural, and symbolic capital in the form of granting intangible cultural heritage status. These two relations give Reog Bulkiyo dance group the opportunity to maintain its cultural production.

KEYWORDS *Arena; Cultural Production; Reog Bulkiyo Dance.*

INTRODUCTION

Competition between traditional dance performances has made the Reog Bulkiyo dance, a traditional dance from Kemloko Village, Nglegok District, Blitar Regency, threatened. This art experienced a decline starting in 1970. One of the main factors was the entry of art performances based on sound system technology such as dangdut music concerts into Kemloko Village. This technology was then used by the Jaranan dance performance by adding campursari music to change the scary impression into an exciting entertainment. On the other hand, the Reog Bulkiyo dance art has its own standards, both in terms of musical instruments, costumes and movements, so it

is being unable to follow the changes made by dangdut music and Jaranan dance. This made the Reog Bulkiyo dance less popular in Blitar community; Making the production stagnated in 1999. As a result, the Reog Bulkiyo dance group at that time also had difficulty finding the next generation. Only in 2009, the Reog Bulkiyo dance was successfully staged again (Rofiqoh & Rohmah, 2022, p. 141).

The existence of the Reog Bulkiyo dance should continue to be maintained. Historically, the Reog Bulkiyo dance is a legacy of Prince Dipenegoro's warriors which can be used as a reminder of the impact of colonialism on Java (Alfaqi & Azizah, 2022). Meanwhile, socially, this dance is an early

culture that forms and unites the Kemloko Village community. The Reog Bulkiyo dance was originally created as a means to practice fighting movements. In addition, there is a narrative that warriors who are on the path of virtue will ultimately win. Through this dance, there is hope that the people of Kemloko Village can prepare to fight against the colonial both physically and mentally. This dance also has a spiritual dimension through the production of Islamic narratives related to the importance of controlling lust, courage to seek the truth, and toughness when dealing with opponents (Rofiqoh & Rohmah, 2022).

How the Reog Bulkiyo dance can be reproduced after experiencing stagnation is still inexplicable. According to Rofiqoh and Rohmah (2022, p. 141), internal factors of kinship are key to the production of this art. Through kinship, the Reog Bulkiyo dance is passed down from one generation to the next. Apart from that, the leaders of each generation have strong relationships with the surrounding community so they are able to invite them to become Reog Bulkiyo dancers. Meanwhile, according to Mujiono (2020, pp. 74–76), there were four changes made by the dance group since 2015 so that the performance can entertain the community. First, the duration is reduced from two hours to less than one hour. Second, there are female dancers. Third, the presence of facial make-up to create aesthetics aspect of the show. Fourth, the usage of modern lighting technology. Both studies look at internal factors as a strategy to stabilize production, namely through social relations and changes in dance aesthetics. Unfortunately,

the external factors that support dance production have not yet been discussed. Research that discusses external factors is found in the writings of Irfan Santoso (2016, p. 25) which states that the audience, local government and arts reviewers are three social groups that externally support the existence of the Reog Bulkiyo dance. Unfortunately, this research focuses more on the history of the Reog Bulkiyo dance, while these external factors are only discussed briefly.

From previous research, relational factors are an important in the process of reproducing the Reog Bulkiyo dance. It is known that there are at least three parties who are interrelated in this process, i.e. the Reog Bulkiyo dance group, the local government, and arts reviewers. Meanwhile, there are at least two groups that trigger competition and thus interfere the cultural production, i.e. dangdut art and jaranan dance. The audience becomes a social group with a dual role, both as supporters and obstacles. So that the audience can support the Reog Bulkiyo dance production as explained by Mujiono (2020). However, what the role of each group is, what the influence of relations between groups is, and how the Reog Bulkiyo dance group obtains relations that benefit its cultural production is still inexplicable.

According to Bourdieu (1993, pp. 30–32) cultural production cannot be separated from the relationship between the internal efforts of an arts group and the social structure that allows this cultural production to occur. Arts groups try to construct society so that they have a place in the cultural production

process. Meanwhile, social structure, through society, plays a role in the acceptance of art. Thus, the power of the social structure needs to be discussed.

This research attempts to examine this gap to formulate strategies adopted by the Reog Bulkiyo dance group. It is hoped that the results of this research will be able to explain the efforts and conditions that allow the production of art to occur after experiencing stagnation. Formally, this research formulates the problem into three research problem units, namely 1) the problem of the Reog Bulkiyo's stagnation, 2) the problem of the structure of modals in arenas where Reog Bulkiyo is produced.

To answer these problems, this research uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of arena cultural production as a theoretical basis. This theory was chosen because it not only analyzes the role of art actors in cultural production, but also takes into account the influence of social structures and social groups in the society where the art is produced. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of arena cultural production was built based on the dialectic between structuralism and constructivism (Bourdieu, 1972, p. 28). The structuralism see humans are subjects who are regulated and must follow social structures, while the constructivism view believes that humans are free subjects who are able to give meaning to themselves and their own lives (Almeida, 2015; Golinski, 2005). Bourdieu sees these two views as intertwined. On the one hand, social structures have the power to structure individual lives (what Bourdieu calls agent). On the other hand, individuals also have the power to try to structure structures (Bourdieu, 1972, p.

28). However, agents are not just following structure through habitus. They can also carry out practices that structuring the structure. To do this, an agent needs capital. Capital in Bourdieu's understanding includes at least four types: 1) economic capital, i.e. ownership of the means of production, 2) cultural capital, i.e. understanding of culture in an arena, 3) symbolic capital, i.e. symbols that give legitimacy to the power of an agent, and 4) relational capital, i.e. capital based on relationships with parties outside the agent (Bourdieu, 1972, pp. 171–182).

There are two structure that operate in the production of arts i.e. the structure of mass production and the structure of pure production (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 125). Structure of mass production is the structure of production which the arts is produced for economic profits. Hesmondhalgh (2006, p. 215), in his criticism of Bourdieu, adds that this principle also used to gain popularity in society. In such a structure, the relation between agents and consumers is the main factor, thus strategies used in this structure related to consumer behavior (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 215). The structure of pure production focus on the internal characteristics of the arts i.e. the aesthetic value of the arts. Agents in such a structure have little economic capital, but can generate large symbolic capital. This symbolic capital can later be exchanged for economic capital or social capital (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 125). Structures and agents are in the arena, which is a space that is formed relationally between structures and agents who produce, distribute and consume an object.

This conceptual framework is used as the methodological basis for this research. The primary data source was obtained from an interview with Mr Marjadi as head of the fifth generation Reog Bulkiyo dance group. Meanwhile secondary data sources were obtained from various writings related to the Reog Bulkiyo dance and traditional dance arts. The data in this research are sentences and statements related to the cultural production of the Reog Bulkiyo dance. These data were then collected and analyzed using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural production. Analyzing data is intended to find relationships between data and between groups of data. In the first problem, it is to see relation between Reog Bulkiyo's modals and the structure of performing arts arena in Kemloko. In the second problem, it used to determine the capital ownership of the Reog Bulkiyo dance group and its relation with other performing art groups in the arenas.

DISCUSSION

Reog Bulkiyo's Production and Stagnation: The Disruption between Two Structures

Based on the theory, there are two structures where the Reog Bulkiyo dance takes place, i.e. the structure of mass production and the structure of pure quality. In the structure of mass production, Reog Bulkiyo come as a performance product. As a product, it needs consumers in order to sustain the production process e.g. the salary of performer, performer's consumption, equipment maintenance, etc. Moreover, this principle not only focuses on sales for high economic profits, but is also used to gain

popularity in society (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p. 215). This popularity enlarges the market needs for Reog Bulkiyo, thus strengthening its economic capital. Thus, Reog Bulkiyo dance group needs social capital to get economic capital for maintain the dance production. However, social capital is not always come from social condition e.g. kinship, close relationship between neighbors, or social needs. It also can come from the consumer preference i.e. a performance that give social or symbolic recognition for the hiring party, popularity among society, or personal preference (Marjadi, 2023).

In the structure of pure quality, Reog Bulkiyo is a traditional art performance, thus creating the condition of "art for art". By having a rigid art performance structure, Reog Bulkiyo is a product that does not related directly with market economic system nor it created the condition for market needs. For a pure art, cultural and symbolic capital are important to gain the status of art performance rather than social and/or economic capital (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 125).

The tendency to choose cultural and symbolic capital over the social and economic can be seen in Reog Bulkiyo dance group's payment system; The sum of performance's payment based on the concept of ikhlas i.e. it will different for each person who nanggap (hire) the group depending on the condition of the person, social condition, or kinship (Marjadi, 2023). These conditions make Reog Bulkiyo close to the structure of pure quality rather than the structure of mass production. However, the group still need some number of consumers for market and economic

necessity. This is a challenge for the Reog Bulkiyo dance group to gain power in the arena considering that the two structures require different capital ownership.

Before the Reog Bulkiyo's declining in 1970s, the group could maintain the dance production. It means the group can gain economic capital despite the payment system by having enough social, symbolic, and cultural capital. In the social capital, the group have social connection in the Kemloko society especially among the Islamic party. Reog Bulkiyo also has a direct connection with Serat Ambiya, a religious story which come from Al-Quran. Reog Bulkiyo dance tells the story of heroism in Serat Ambiya. The story centers on the search for the Prophet Muhammad and the Islamic values obtained by the main character, Bulkiyo (Rofiqoh & Rohmah, 2022, p. 175). According to Marjadi (2023), Serat Ambiya and Reog Bulkiyo dance are two interconnected cultural products. Through Serat Ambiya, listeners can understand Bulkiyo's story. Meanwhile, through the Reog Bulkiyo dance, the audience can watch the story of Al-Anbiya.

Culturally, Serat Ambiya is a verse that is recited when the baby born in Kemloko Village, while Rog Bulkiyo dance is performed during marriage and circumcision party (Marjadi, 2023). As an intertwined cultural product with Serat Ambiya, Reog Bulkiyo give symbolic status to the hiring party i.e. recognition from society as Islamic and cultural family in the Kemloko, agent of Islamic education through telling the Serat Ambiya's narrative in the form of hiring the dance group, and family with stable or higher

economic condition. Thus, Reog Bulkiyo dance group naturally need to maintain 1) the cultural capital i.e. the quality of the dance and 2) the symbolic capital i.e. the belief of having symbolic status for the hiring party. It is the condition when modals from structure of pure quality have a cooperative relation with modals of structure of mass production by having a particular connection with Islamic party.

Other than Reog Bulkiyo, Jaranan dance also populer among the society in the kemloko for entertainment in wedding ceremony and circumcision party. Different with Reog Bulkiyo dance, Jaranan dance has more agile and fast movement. However, it does not have Islamic relation and thus unable to give Islamic symbolic status like Reog Bulkiyo dance. Moreover, there was tendency among people to connect Jaranan dance with black magic due to the extreme movement and the state of kesurupan (trance) among the dancer. As the result, Jaranan dance unable to get the cultural and symbolic capital in order to gain the social capital (Rofiqoh & Rohmah, 2022, p. 141). It makes the Jaranan dance, while still existed in the Kemloko, unable to shift the dominance of Reog Bulkiyo.

This condition changed in the 1970s following the growth of sound system technology and dangdut culture in Kemloko. As Kemloko society gain access to cheaper rent of sound system, the dangdut song become popular entertainment in marriage and circumcision party. Thus, it created competition with Reog Bulkiyo. While dangdut unable to gain Islamic symbolic recognition like Reog Bulkiyo, it is popular and familiar among the society. For some

people, dangdut is a media to express happiness e.g. happiness among the family member and society for married couple (Rofiqoh & Rohmah, 2022, p. 141). The trend to use dangdut music then applied by Jaranan dance group which creating more exciting vibes for society. Again, it is different from the traditional music appear in Reog Bulkiyo. Overall, sound system technology created a choice to get a new form of entertainment (Rofiqoh & Rohmah, 2022, p. 141).

While there were still families who hire Reog Bulkiyo, the number was decreased (Marjadi, 2023). Theoretically, performance product based on the sound system have more social capital. In dangdut case, it become popular and familiar through radio culture came in Blitar around 1950s (Marjadi, 2023). It's popularity and familiarity among Kemloko society and the new form of interacting with performance art was attracted more consumer. On the contrary, it decreased the consumer for Reog Bulkiyo. As Reog Bulkiyo lose the social capital i.e. their relation with Islamic hiring parties, the unique relation between structure of mass production and structure of pure quality was disrupted.

The social capital is not only about the consumer, but also the future generations of dancer. While dangdut popularity shift Reog Bulkiyo from the market, the internal group member in that era also did not use their capital to gain new member. For example, the older member did not use their influence as dancer of Islamic based art (symbolic capital) to convince younger generation. They also did not cultivate his cultural capital in the form of knowledge about the dance to create

more compelling and convenient mode of practice. Marjadi (2023) said that his ucle, the former leader of Reog Bulkiyo dance group, using a hard and rigorous training for the younger dancer. Without some degree of interest about the dance and the popularity of dangdut, it is hard for younger generation to maintain being a dancer member. As a result, It make the group consist of older member who, due to age, cannot continue their role as dancer (Marjadi, 2023). The lack of dancer also lowers the group's social capital with possible consumer, thus lead to the stagnation at 1999.

Structure of Capitals, Arenas, and Competition among Performing Arts Groups

While the decline of the Reog Bulkiyo has been explained in the previous sub-chapter, the rise of the dance still inexplicable. The "rise" itself refers to the reproduction of the performance after the stagnation era post-1999. As production (and reproduction) process, Reog Bulkiyo also needs producer, distributor, and consumer. As an implication, Reog Bulkiyo dance group success to 1) gain successor as it cannot produce without enough dancer, thus they gain social, symbolic, and cultural capital to produce the dance, 2) have some systems to distribute the dance, and 3) be able to locating themselves in the market i.e. the arena where groups of performance art fight for the opportunity to show their art. As the arena of performing art is limited, while the all performance artist willing to perform it, thus every group including Reog Bulkiyo dance group need to process their capital for gaining access to the arena. This sub-chapter discuss the Reog

Bulkiyo dance group's strategy to locating themselves in the arena after the period of stagnation.

While there are some arenas of performing arts, it is necessary for discussing the arena of local neighborhood first. It has been stated that the group lost symbolic, cultural, dan social capital, especially among the neighbor. Their only strength is their economic capital which is closely related to cultural capital i.e. knowledge of Reog Bulkiyo dance culture. The dance production tools are owned based on ownership of the cultural capital of Reog Bulkiyo dance group. In this case, the equipment is stored at the residence of Mr. Marjadi's family as the head and teacher of the dance group. The tools which are used to produce the Reog Bulkiyo dance include bende, pecer, srompet, jur, gong, tambourine, costume, and iron sword. Among these instruments, the gong musical instrument was completely damaged and had to be replaced with a new one. According to Mr. Marjadi, his group had a little difficulty of getting a replacement for the broken one because there was no suitable gong sound for Reog Bulkiyo (Marjadi, 2023). The jur musical instruments and swords are also slightly damaged, but still can be repaired. Even though, several instruments are defective, the Reog Bulkiyo dance group had no financial difficulties, because he and other members had permanent jobs as farmers. However, the lack of economic income from dance performances have made several members leave the group due to economic needs (Marjadi, 2023).

While Reog Bulkiyo production and inheritance is based on kinship, it still

need support from society both as dancer, distributor, or consumer. In order to stabilize the group, Marjadi uses his social capital in the form of his relation with 1) his uncle to gain the access of cultural capital i.e. the knowledge about the dance, and 2) friends and neighbor to gather the prospective dancers. Using the social capital, Marjadi success to form the group which lead to the production of the dance on 2009. He also gets support from his daughter who form the women dancers within the Reog Bulkiyo's formation (Marjadi, 2023). To avoid the stagnation between generation, he uses his social capital with his grand daughter in order to bring him into the group. It is not only to get future generation of dancer, but also to gain another social capital i.e. relation with his grand daughter's friends. As a result, Marjadi got another generation of prospective dancers which trained with him every Sunday and Wednesday. To strengthen the social relation, Marjadi uses cultural capital in the form of distributing the knowledge and value of dancing Reog Bulkiyo, thus creating pride among the members (Marjadi, 2023).

As a result of forming the group, Reog Bulkiyo be able to perform at arena of wedding entertainment performance art. In this arena, Reog Bulkiyo dance group uses social capital by reestablish the relation with Islamic community (Marjadi, 2023). While the dance is not dominating the arena, the relation enables the group to produce the dance. The group also gain social capital from the relation with the family of younger dancer member that wanted to see their family member dances in the marriage party (Marjadi, 2023). In other world, Majardi's

strategy to connect with young people also produce relation with potential consumer. The social capital and the cultural capital are exchanged with economic capital (i.e. the payment of the performance) and the symbolic capital. The symbolic capital itself differ for each family. Some parties got title of Islamic family by using Reog Bulkiyo performance and Serat Ambiya reading performance in respective occasion. Other parties got cultural recognition and pride for hiring the dance group, especially from the family which its member is Reog Bulkiyo dancer (Marjadi, 2023).

From observation and interview with Reog Bulkiyo dance group, there are three other arenas where the group can produce their dance that is 1) the arena of wedding ceremony, 2) the arena of circumcision party, and 3) the arena of Blitar performing art. In the arena of wedding ceremony, performing artists are not always got the access to produce the arts due to two reasons. The first reason is the structure of marriage culture. In Kemloko, wedding ceremony is hosted by the bride's family. It means, families who only have boys does not be able to hosted the ceremony; Making them unable to be consumer of Reog Bulkiyo. The second reason is the economic conditions of the families. While it rarely happening, there are some families who unable to hire performing artist due to economic conditions (Marjadi, 2023).

Apart from those two reasons, arena of wedding ceremony still be a competitive arena for performing artists. There are three groups who want to produce their arts in the arena i.e. Reog Bulkiyo dance

group, Jaranan dance group, and Dangdut group. Reog Bulkiyo dance group exchange their symbolic capital and cultural capital to economic capital i.e. the symbol of Islamic dance and the narration of Islamic hero for getting the payments. If the family who host the wedding come from neighborhood, the group can use their social capital to gain the access to the arena. Getting opportunity to produce the dance in the arena also give them social capital i.e. the recognition from society. By having audiences, the group rise their opportunity to get other consumers and distribute their group by social bound among the society. It has been explained that Reog Bulkiyo dance is related to the Serat Ambiya recitaion culture. In the Kemloko Village community, reading Serat Ambiya is carried out at a ceremony after a baby was born. As the "partner" of Serat Ambiya recitation, Reog Bulkiyo dance can be performed at weddings but not at the birth of a baby (Marjadi, 2023). This understanding gives Reog Bulkiyo dance group opportunity to compete with other dances in the arena of wedding ceremony.

Jaranan dance group and dangdut group also use their cultural capital to gain the economic and social capital. However, these group unable to make Islamic culture and symbol. Dangdut operate around the culture of "joyfull party". It does not mean the Reog Bulkiyo dance unable to give joyfulness, but it tends to be religious and heroic rather than the joyful atmosphere. This cultural capital in the form of "joyfulness" give Dangdut the access to the arena. In Jaranan dance group, the cultural capital comes in the form of heroic action and joyful

atmosphere. Different with Reog Bulkiyo, both Dangdut and Jaranan does not have the Islamic culture and symbol. Thus, the access of the arena is depending to the customers preference i.e. the preference to gain Islamic theme and symbol or having a more joyful

atmosphere. Another difference is the social capital. Jaranan and Dangdut are not local arts and thus having less social capital than Reog Bulkiyo dance group. The structure of capitals in the arena of wedding ceremony can be seen in the table 1:

Table 1 Structure of Capitals in the Arena of Wedding Ceremony

AGENTS		CAPITAL								
		Dominant Capital				Capital Exchange				
		Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	
Reog Bulkiyo	External	-	-	-	-	Relation with Islamic Group	Payment	-	-	Recognition in Kemloko
	Internal	-	Islam Culture	Symbol of Islam Hero	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jaranan	External	-	-	-	-	-	Payment	-	-	Recognition in Kemloko
	Internal	-	Heroism and Joyful Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dangdut	External	-	-	-	-	-	Payment	-	-	Recognition in Kemloko
	Internal	-	Joyful Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

From the discussion about arena of wedding party, there are structure of modal exchange that relatively stable i.e. the cultural capital for economic and social capital. This structure also exists in the arena of circumcision party. In that arena, the consumer still in power to determine the performing arts they want to hire. However, contrast with consumer in arena of wedding ceremony, the consumer in this arena are families who have boys. For many families, it is important to teaches heroism for their

boys. Thus, it makes performing arts with heroic theme more popular (Marjadi, 2023). As the effect, hiring Reog Bulkiyo or Jaranan are more compelling than Dangdut. While Jaranan still have popularity in the Kemloko, Reog Bulkiyo still have access to the arena by gaining social relation with Islamic family. This relation is better with families who hosted Serat Ambiya recitation or the neighbor of Reog Bulkiyo dancer (Marjadi, 2023). While the structure of capitals in this arena similar to the arena of wedding ceremony, Dangdut

group have less power rather than in the previous arena. The structure of capitals in this arena can be seen in the table 2:

While the first and second arena are enclosed in Kemloko, the third arena come in the level of regency i.e. the arena of Blitar’s performing arts. In this arena, the performing artist produce their art in several events, time, and place which is held by the Blitar government. Different with previous arenas, the relation between performing arts group with the government is establish by the cultural project such as the project of Intangible cultural heritage (Warisan Budaya Tak Benda). This project initiated by UNESCO and willing to give support for art that:

“part of their cultural heritage ... transmitted from generation to

generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity...” (UNESCO, 2003).

For performing art group seen as the cultural heritage, the government is not only giving economic capital to the performing arts, but also a symbolic capital in the form of the status of Intangible cultural heritage. Through Presidential Regulation number 78 of 2007 concerning the ratification of the 2003 UNESCO convention, and Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 5 of 2017 concerning the promotion of culture, the state can record cultures as intangible cultural heritage (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2007, 2017).

Table 2 Structure of Capitals in the Arena of Circumcision Party

AGENTS		CAPITAL								
		Dominant Capital				Capital Exchange				
		Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	
Reog Bulkiyo	External	-	-	-	-	Relation with Islamic Group	Payment	-	-	Recognition in Kemloko
	Internal	-	-	Islam Culture	Symbol of Islam Hero	-	-	-	-	-
Jaranan	External	-	-	-	-	-	Payment	-	-	Recognition in Kemloko
	Internal	-	-	Heroism and Joyful Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dangdut	External	-	-	-	-	-	Payment	-	-	Recognition in Kemloko
	Internal	-	-	Joyful Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-

However, the government need to register the culture before granting the status which needs some document including academic research. Thus, research about Reog Bulkiyo, especially about the relation between the arts, culture, and heritage is important. Thus, researcher is not only being a social capital but also agents who give symbolic capital i.e. the text of Reog Bulkiyo as Blitar culture. The Reog Bulkiyo dance group's which encounter with the academy can be seen in research from the Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI) student named Neny Agung Wibowo (2011). In 2012, there was research from Novia Dewi (2012) which examined the symbolic meaning in these dance movements. The researchers' which encounter Reog Bulkiyo dance group apparently has attracted various attentions from nother researcheres. Saraswati & Narawati (2017) and Kutikasari (2018) stated that the Reog Bulkiyo dance has aesthetic, cultural and spiritual values derived from the Islamic movement. It has been rooted in the Kemloko culture, hence has cultural and historical relation with Blitar. From ISI, there is Mujino (2020) which examines changes in Reog Bulkiyo dance movements over five years. Academic writing about this movement has been written since 2015 to 2023.

Because of the relation with local culture, Dangdut as national popular culture unable to be given the status of Intangible Cultural Heritage by the Blitar government. On the contrary, Jaranan Tril was given the status on 2021 by Blitar government. Jaranan Tril, according to Putri (2015), has been Blitar performative art since 1971. This dance is variation from the other Jaranan that have rough and acrobatic movement (Putri, 2015).

Thus, it encourages a relationship between Reog Bulkiyo dance group and Blitar government. This social capital allows Reog Bulkiyo dance group to gain symbolic capital in the form of Intangible Cultural Heritage designation on 2019 (Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pendidikan Indonesia, 2019). As a result, Reog Bulkiyo dance is known by various medias and being performed at district and provincial scale events (Ningsih, 2023; Oebaidillah, 2019; Riady, 2019; Rofiq, 2023; Sholeh, 2019). Thus, Reog Bulkiyo dance group gaining more economic, symbolic, and cultural capital to maintain their dance. The structure of modals in this arena can be seen in table 3:

Table 3 Structure of Capitals in the Arena of Blitar Performing Art

AGENTS		CAPITAL								
		Dominant Capital				Capital Exchange				
		Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	
Reog Bulkiyo	External	-	-	-	Text about Blitar culture by academic researcher	Relation with Blitar government	Payment	-	Intangible Cultural Heritage	Recognition in Blitar regency
	Internal	-	-	Blitar history and culture	-	-	-	-	-	-

AGENTS	CAPITAL								
	Dominant Capital				Capital Exchange				
	Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	Economic Capital	Cultural Capital	Symbolic Capital	Social Capital	
Jaranan	External	-	-	Text about Blitar culture by academic researcher	Relation with Blitar government-	Payment	-	Intangible Cultural Heritage	Recognition in Blitar regency
	Internal	-	Blitar history and culture	-	-	-	-	-	-

CONCLUSION

Reog Bulkiyo dance located in the intersection between the structure of mass production and the structure of pure production. In the structure of mass production, Reog Bulkiyo needs to maintain its popularity among the consumers. In the structure of pure production, it needs to maintain the quality of the dances.

The harmony between these structures supported by the social condition of Kemloko village i.e. the power and support of the Islamic party. Moreover, Kemloko society has another Islamic culture, Serat Ambiya recitation which is also known as the “pair” of Reog Bulkiyo dance. As a result, Reog Bulkiyo can maintain both its popularity and quality.

As a sole support of Reog Bulkiyo’s double structure condition, the shift of market needs created the disruption in the intersection between structure. Hence, it gave Reog Bulkiyo dance group less opportunity to produce their art. The condition also affected the social capital ownership of the group i.e. the relation with future dancers. Those problems created the stagnation era of Reog Bulkiyo production until the rises in the 2009.

The stagnation era can be ended by changing the strategy of capital ownership. The main strategy is to strengthen social capital i.e. having relation with 1) prospective dancers in the neighbor area, 2) younger people, and 3) Islamic families. From these relations, Reog Bulkiyo group’s internal problem can be solved. Support from Islamic families and families of dancer are important to get future consumers for Reog Bulkiyo dance group.

Moreover, there are three arenas which the Reog Bulkiyo willing to produce the arts i.e. the arena of wedding ceremony, circumcision party, and Blitar performing art. Beside Reog Bulkiyo dance group, there are Jaranan and dangdut in the arena of wedding ceremony and circumcision party. These three groups compete to produce their art in the arenas. In the arena of Blitar performing arts, the structure of the arena is arranged by the cultural preservation project especially by granting the status of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Reog Bulkiyo itself is granted the status of Intangible Cultural Heritage on 2019. The production and reproduction of Reog Bulkiyo in arena of wedding ceremony

and circumcision party, strengthening by the text of academic research and government project, created the opportunity for the dance to exist.

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