Adaptive Strategy used by Jaranan Art to Accommodate Local Tourism Development Program (Barthesian Semiotic Review on Jaranan Art "Sela Kencana" in Kediri City)

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ABSTRACT---- Jaranan Art is a dance art that has lived and developed throughout generations in Kediri City. It uses trance (ndadi) as its distinctive marker. Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is one of the prominent groups. In this recent local government era, traditional art is forced to follow local government policy. Research is aimed to understand adaptive strategy used by Jaranan Art Sela Kencana in effort to accommodate local tourism development program. Analytical framework is Barthesian semiotic review. Result of research indicates that the sense of existence is the final output of adaptive, conflict, and accommodative strategies used Jaranan Art Sela Kencana in attending with local tourism development program. Subsequent development, concerning with culture art co-modification, has led Jaranan Art to transform from being a tradition with high culture into that with pop culture that is easily understandable and satisfying to old persons, adults and even children. Pop culture also does not bother consumers or organizers to take a

Keywords--- adaptive strategy, Barthesian semiotic, Jaranan Art Sela Kencana, co-modification

long thinking because some circumventing rituals are no longer needed.

1. INTRODUCTION

Local empowerment has provided very huge chance for the local to explore and exploit the existing potentials to be used for optimum utilization. This potential may be developed differently because every local has different goal of utilization, although it is usually economic interest. Culture product is the most attended potential in this matter. Therefore, Jaranan Art Sela Kencana in Kediri City is taken as example.

Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is merely a group of 125 groups of Jaranan Art existing in Kediri City or at least that is considered by communities as actually existing (Source: Primary Data of Art in Kediri City on Period 2014-2015). Great interest among tourists on culture product has led the owner of culture product to develop and maintain it not only for culture interest, but also for economic interest. Indeed, economic interest a the emergence of various packaging programs to transform the product into the saleable commodity.

In relative with the position of dance art in tourism development, Soedarsono (1998) in his book *Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia di Era Globalisasi* has asserted that tourism performance art may be a traditional package but abandoning sacred values. Tourism art concept is usually (1) the imitation of the original; (2) brief or compact; (3) with varieties; (4) the abandoning of sacred values; and (5) cheaper price. Tourism art concept may produce performance art package which still represents the original form although it has been wrapped with new presentation that is possibly more dynamic and variance.

Theoretically, this research concerns more with *cultural studies*. The approach is assumption that culture is defined as politic rather than understood as esthetic. In other words, culture is not anymore defined with narrow understanding as esthetic magnificence object (highly valued art), or not recognized as the process of esthetical, intellectual and spiritual development. Culture is only considered as text and daily-life practice (Storey, 2010:3).

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Therefore, *cultural studies* model has followed Barthesian semiotic thinking pattern that aimed to express the implicit content of text and practice of pop culture. Main tenet is interrogating something that went wrong (Barthes, 2006:ix-xi). Barthes has extended structural explanation of culture by including pop culture and naturalized meaning.

Therefore, adaptive strategy, tourism development, art culture, and accommodative effort are things to be analyzed in this matter by Barthesian semiotic approach.

2. RESEARCH FRAME OF THOUGHT

Semiotic approach is used, precisely Barthesian semiotic. Point of attention is given to two orders of signification. In the era of local government empowerment, programs are built to improve Local Genuine Income (PAD). Tourism sector is a local potential that must be exposed greatly to attract tourist interest. In recent Work Program of The Local Government of Kediri City, there is an effort to develop local tourism, which it may include natural tourism, culinary tourism and culture tourism. Performance art is usually an old legacy inherited through generations, but it begun to change because it must follow the program from the local government. Therefore, the artists must accommodate the change to avoid the friction and also in favor of the stability of the relation between government and communities.

It is consistent to the presumption that human, culture and socio-culture environment are unity and interdependent to each other. Human is a biological creature with the ability of self-adjustment to the environment change, either physical or socio-cultural changes. Self-adjustment to this environment is called "adaptation" (Haviland, 1993:42; Nurjaya, 2001:193-216; Soekanto, 2002:219).

Barthesian semiotic is used to express the presence of Jaranan Art amidst the era of local tourism development and to unpack the hidden texts in Jaranan Dance. Symbolism through physical properties, offering completeness, magic spells, and groups of Jaranan Art, is remained at the area of signification (or understanding of meaning). The output is the question whether adaptation and accommodation is mal-adaptation and existence.

3. METHOD OF RESEARCH

Basically, this research has attempted to observe, to describe and to understand the phenomenon of adaptive strategy used by Jaranan Art to accommodate local tourism development program based on perspective of taken-for-granted (naturally). Adaptive strategy phenomenon and accommodative effort by Jaranan Art are then acknowledged by understanding context, entity and naturalness. Based on this consideration, this research can be classified into qualitative research (Sumarsono, 2003).

In analyzing the data, the author uses semiotic method. Semiotic is a science or an analytical method to review the data (Sobur, 2004:15). By using semiotic method, the author attempts to explore realities by interpreting symbols and signs, and this interpretation is the corpus of this research. Specifically, the author uses semiotic analysis suggested by Barthes.

Semiotic analysis approach is characterized by qualitative interpretation. Data analysis technique has used the usual path of qualitative research, precisely by identifying research objects to expose, analyze and interpret the meanings. Due to the nature of qualitative, research data are collected directly and indirectly as long as it has relevancy with research.

4. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE

A. Interview

Informants are selected through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling technique is used by a consideration that the author has ever once researched the location and subject of research. Therefore, criteria and informant model that deemed necessary are already available. One difference is the theme to discuss. The exploitation of theme and theory may force the author to search for readers of the art work. Such readers may be difficult to find, but one way to find them is obtaining remarks from key informants who are considered as having more understanding on theme and also who can recognize the participants in Jaranan Art. The number of the informant could continue to grow based on recommendations from main informants and informants additional beforehand already appointed by key informants .

B. Observation

During observation, the author plays a role as the participant observer. The author produces a social interaction with environmental members based on research interest. The author does not want to expose the complete identity to

environmental members, and the author only explains research objectives to environmental members (Wuisman, 1991:79). Observation is only made during the performance of Jaranan Art.

C. Literature Study

Literature study is performed by reviewing written documents such as books, articles, and newspapers containing problems and issues relevant to research discussion. The discussed context is adaptive strategy used by Jaranan Art.

D. Documentation

Documents involve past or historical records. It can be written materials, drawings, or monumental works by someone (Sugiono, 2009:45). Data collection technique of documentation is done by analyzing documents, and this analytical process is usually called as documentation study. In this matter, documentation study is meant as reviewing documents obtained from The Official of Culture, Tourism, Youth and Sport (Disbudparpora), Art Board of Kediri City (DK3), and The Association of Jaranan Art in Kediri City. These existing documents are supplemented by artists.

5. DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE

Data analysis is the most important process in research besides data collection. It is said so because analysis process will simplify data into the readable and interpretable forms. Data analysis technique used in this research is Barthes semiotic model, precisely a systematic model to analyze meanings and signs. Point of attention is focused upon two orders of signification.

Barthes explains that first-order signification is a relationship between signifier and signified at certain sign transmitted to external reality. Barthes calls it as denotation. Connotation is a term used by Barthes for second-order signification. There is an interaction when sign meets with feeling or emotion of readers and their culture values. At second-order signification, which concern the content, sign diffuses through myth.

Barthes says that the most important way to work on the myth is through history naturalization. The actual myth is the product of a social class that has achieved certain dominance in certain moment of history. Meaning diffused through the myth is surely loaded with the history of the class, but the class always tries to deny it as myth and replaces it with consideration that the meaning is natural rather than historical or social.

A. Denotation

Denotation is early meaning of sign, text and others. In this stage (first-order), there is a relationship between signifier and signified in certain sign, and also between the represented object (the referent) and external realities. Barthes describes this relationship as denotation. It refers to what has been believed by healthy mindset or common-sense as the meaning of a sign.

B. Connotation

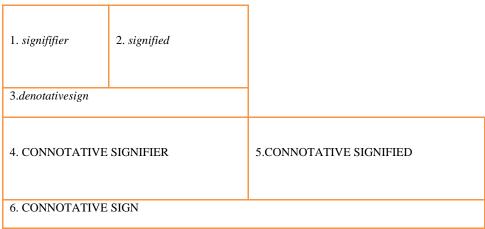
Connotation is a term used by Barthes to explain one of three ways to work on the sign at second-order signification. Connotation explains the interaction occurring when sign met with feeling or emotion of readers and their culture values. As understood by Barthes, the main factor of connotation is the signifier of connotation. In photograph, at least, difference between connotation and denotation is very clear. Denotation is anything that is taken as picture, whereas connotation is about how to take the picture.

C. Myth

Barthes asserts the after that second way of the way the sign worked at second-order signification is through the myth. The usual way of work is using words to express the incredulity of myth user. Barthes considers myth as the belief to the actual definition. Myth is a story of when a culture can explain or understand some aspects of reality or nature.

Connotation and myth are main keys to understand how the sign works at certain signification, especially when there is interaction of sign with users or their most active culture. One important area that is given great attention in Barthes study of sign is the role of readers. Connotation, though it is the original nature of sign, is a proof of the activeness or the functionality of readers. Myth is called by Barthes as a kind of speech. Myth represented a communication system or also a message. It is also possible to presume that myth can not change into object, concept or idea. Myth is only how to give

sign (*signification*) into certain form. Anything can become myth when it is able to be presented by a discourse. In myth, there is three-dimension pattern which Barthes says as comprising of signifier, signified, and sign. Barthesian map is made based on the quote from a book titled *Semiotika Komunikasi* written by Sobur (2004), and it can be described as following:



Scheme of Roland Barthes' Sign Map

6. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Overview of Jaranan Art

Traditional performance art that successfully survived until now is a proof that there is effort to maintain the integration of norms, ethics, laws and customs into ritual activities. Kediri City respects such integration. One traditional performance art that is prominently conserved is Jaranan Art. As noted in Groenendael (2008:15), Jaranan Art is called *jathilan* in Central Java, or called *kuda ebeg* by Banyumas people, or called *prajuritan* in Semarang, and also *turangga* in Trenggalek, East Java (Kartomi in Groenendael 2008:15). Jaranan Art may be possibly similar to Pigeaud's description of Kuda Dance. Pigeaud (Sugito 205:132) asserted that Kuda Dance is a performance art that used item made of plaited bamboos and leather to facilitate the imitation of horse movement. It is also recognized as the undercover dance by introducing it as rural performance art because it is usually presented during rural event in the autonomous region.

Knowledge of Jaranan Art has been uncovered in Java Literature, precisely in Serat Centhini (in Kamajaya, 1988:161) at Canto 291 Paragraph 37 about mythological creatures (*gandarwo*) with kuda kepang. The paragraph was:

"ngikal lameng gandarwo amolak-malik/ kang anumpak kepang/ pindah kuda (m) bekos (n) jondhil / mbengingeh alunjak-lunjak".

(the ghosts fought/ they rode kepang/ they whizzed and kicked backward like horse/ they even screamed and jumped like horse)

The performance of Jaranan Art is identified with trance (ndadi) and it is a style of being possessed that even becomes a distinctive marker of Jaranan Art itself. It can be inferred that Jaranan Art will not leave behind the element of ndadi because it is considered as the collaboration of human and spirit when the spirit possessed dancer body. According to Soedarsono (1998:10), the moment of possessed in Jaranan Dance is a legacy in Jaranan Art since the age of Pre-Hinduism or possibly pre-history. Besides Jaranan Dance, there is Sanghyang Dance which meant to be kerawuhan or welcoming the spirit to enter the dancer who is willing to be possessed.

Soedarsono conducts the research in Bali and has found that dancers, including male or female, are only the medium for the entry of totem animal spirit, that usually considered by Balinese as their protector animal spirit. Sanghyang Dance is a ritual dance to invite the entry of totem animal spirit, which as noted by Soedarsono, the spirit is named after totem animal presented in the dance. Totem animal frequently presented in Sanghyang Dance is Sanghyang Jaran Dance. Therefore, Sanghyang Jaran Dance is easily recognized among Javanese with the name *jaranan*. Sanghyang Jaran Dance is then performed by adult male who brought with him the imitated horse. During the dance, the dance shaman conducts a ritual for the entry of spirit into the dancer, and facilitates the trance when the rider of imitated horse

is possessed by the spirit of horse totem. Therefore, dance movement will not differ from horse, including jump, wildly move, and *nyombor* (eating with mouth, without hand).

Jaranan Art in Kediri City is not only familiar with Sanghyang Jaran Dance, but also presenting Sanghyang Celeng Dance, Sanghyang Jobog Dance and Sanghyang Lelipi Dance. It is reasonable because Jaranan Art in Kediri City is not dominantly presenting dancer with kuda kepang but also dancer with celengan, barongan and kucingan. Dancers with jaranan, barongan and celengan become the main characters in the performance of Jaranan Art, while kucingan is only additional and rarely presented in the performance. Sanghyang Celeng (wild boar spirit) is considered as already possessing the body of celengan dancer when the dancer suddenly moved resembling wild boar (celeng). The moves included *nyruduk* (horning), *nyrempet* (crashing over), and *jingkrak-jingkrak* (less ordered feet moves). The character of barongan who is possessed with Sanghyang Lelipi will be dressed like a snake, walk wriggly and then open or shut the long snout against the other dancer.

B. Result and Discussion

Adaptive strategy is a self-adjustment done by Jaranan Art Sela Kencana to express its flexible response to environmental change. This change is closely related to local tourism development program organized by The Official of Culture, Tourism, Youth and

Sport (Disbudparpora) in Kediri City.

As for local tourism development program involving Jaranan Art in it has two kinds of other activities, namely internally and externally. (Ulum, 2012) Internally work program done are. Do the jaranan festival in the area of the Selomangleng Cave Tourist City of Kediri each Sunday, b). Kediri City Anniversary Testimony which includes activities: 1). Jaranan Nusantara Festival, 2). Nusantara Culture Parade, 3). Brantas River *Larung* the Offerings, and 4). Manusuk Sima Ceremony, c). Grebeg Suro Celebration, d). Producting The Main Number of Art, e). Filler regional occasions, f). The establishment of the Paguyuban Jaranan Kediri City, g). Pakemisasi of Jaranan Art Kedhiren. While external work programs came in the form of "delivery tourism ambassador". Important things that done so that the Jaranan Art Kedhiren this could known by the community outside the district is by sending tourism ambassador to appear in the cities of all nusantara. Specifically for the City of Kediri always show tourism ambassador jaranan as a form of local art. Among cities in which often hold a delivery tourism ambassador is TMII (Taman Mini Indonesia Indah), Probolinggo, and Jember. One group or combined of the player of several group collected into one form Jaranan Kedhiren to participate in the shipment of tourism ambassador.

Jaranan Art Sela Kencana has undergone various adaptive strategies explained as following. Religious magic adaptation involves the singing of tembang shalawat and the playing of Gending Jawa Islami. All of these are the result of adopting the tradition of the majority community (Moslem) where Jaranan Art is preserved. The presentation of *ndadi is* performed by people who genuinely have expertise in body immunity. It must be noted that the element of *ndadi* has various meanings. It can be for the entertainment on the stage and the re-sensing of spiritual values with the sound of gamelan music. *Ndadi is* also accompanied with several processions. Magic spell is pronounced through the combination of Javanese and Moslem prayers. Complete offering is given as the formality to enforce the procession of *nguri-nguri* (preservation) for ancestral culture. Incense and myrrh are used to provide good scent the environment of performance. The performance is adjusted with prayer schedule for Moslem, such as before maghrib or after isya, and also by avoiding the presentation during Ramadhan. Philosophical signification can be learnt from the characters of Dance Jaranan. All these manners in religious magic adaptation conducted had representation that shall be understandable to the majority community where Jaranan Art is preserved. It may help the acceptance of Jaranan Art as the part of daily-life practice of the community.

Technology adaptation includes several accommodations. It can take benefits from the popularity of campursari-dangdut music. Performance stage is designed with gapura in green color and Ganesha picture. It is possibly aimed to preserve the popularity of "Orkes Melayu" (OM) and to avoid the negative impact on dancers and audiences (who usually engaged in fight). There is a collaborative arrangement between Javanese gamelan and modern music instrument to keep intact the spiritualism among dancers and audiences until the performance is over. Technology adaptation is done to deliver the feeling of secure and comfort among dancers and audiences to minimize negative direct contact among them. Myth in this applies when there is meaning implied that Jaranan Art want not marginaled which means that its existence want to compared with popular people form the majority.

Choreographic adaptation comprises of several attributes. The bearers of group banner may be inserted into the dance performance to express the feeling that Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is alive, enthusiastic, creative and courageous to deal with the age. The dancers of Dance Dewi Sanggalangit are arranged into the performance to convince that Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is the genuine art product from Kediri. Ghost characters can be added but it is merely illusive because it

may be a trick to attract attention of the crowd. Fire blasting from barongan dancers is signifying a group of rebels destroying the colonial force. This fire attraction is quite effective to persuade peoples to come into performance location. Finally, there is attraction of the burning of life-human (although it is also a trick) which is signifying the misery suffered by the death peoples when they are burn in the hell. All of these choreographic adaptive measures are the distinctive marker of Jaranan Art Sela Kencana. The myth looks when Jaranan Art want to change the appearance malignant and frightening into a that can be entertained the public .

Economic adaptation is closely related with global pressure. Globalization has penetrated new values from outside through information, communication, and technology (ICT). The development of ICT has facilitated Jaranan Art groups to record or to video tape their activities, and this video is sold as funding source of the internal group.

Many adaptive strategies used by Jaranan Art Sela Kencana are surely supporting the fact that the preservers of Jaranan Art have attempted to avoid the sense of alienation against the community where Jaranan Art is preserved. They only look for a vacant space to develop their professed values and also create a negotiation room for their existence in local tourism development program.

In to face the change of rapidly in the dynamics of art, it was expected the community who rode beneath it will having the manner or strategy in respond to the changes that took place, both technically and socially culture. Coping behavior or adjustment in responding to culture change in some cases brought conflict or disputes. External conflict felt by Jaranan Art Sela Kencana when the city government made policies that are less beneficial to the existence of Jaranan Art. The most frequent problem is the limited budget while the urge to satisfy the demand is too high. Conflict also occurs when a policy has disregarded local genuine performance art but invited the other performance art from other region. While internal conflict that occurs at Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is the little friction between individuals in one group. The problems about the recruitment of members, internal financing sources group, and a system of management group that often times overlap between members of one with members of another.

To minimize negative impact from intensive conflict, accommodating both sides' interests is needed. Jaranan Art Sela Kencana has built social interaction, and the nature of this interaction is associative. In supporting the implementation of local tourism development program, various accommodative models are used by Jaranan Art Sela Kencana. External accommodation included *tolerance*, *compromise* and *conciliation*, while internal accommodation involved *tolerance* and *arbitrage*.

As a result from the support to local tourism development program, there is co-modification mode of culture art. It talks about how commodity products are sold, bought, distributed and consumed (Fairclough, 1995). Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is engaged into culture art co-modification when its performance package and artistic product are begun to be sold and developed, and also when they start to manage financial capital, sponsorship, social capital, and its relation with political master (government).

Co-modification engenders consumptive culture to the communities. The emergence of commodity community or consumer community has produced popular culture (Srinati, 2003: 44-45). This phenomenon means that Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is a popular culture product which its entertainment package is presented at various tourist resorts in Kediri City such as on the bank of Sungai Brantas, on the yard of The Government Office of Kediri City, on the environment of Selomangleng Cave, and other entertainment sites. Entertainment is presented with different themes and is also designed to comply with market taste. Therefore, the diversity of presentation (ism) is quite evident.

Culture art activities can be organized anytime and anywhere due to sponsorship. Indeed, these activities may not separate from enlivening the event organized by the government (with government as political master and fund provider) or cheering up the event of the private (with private as capital owner and economic master), either individual or group. In such activities, there is a relationship across power holders and institutions. Several organizations played significant role in co-modification process through their dominancy in economic, politic and technology aspects although the nature of their dominancy is merely in ideology. This phenomenon supports the fact that entrepreneurs, sponsors, and capital owners can be more dominant in organizing culture art ceremonial events, while the government is only a partner or a powerful entity to legitimate activities and to produce mutualism. In the organizational structure of Jaranan Art in Kediri City, there is registration number and performance advice. Therefore, any presentation shall have a formal consent from Disbudparpora and the related law authorities.

Previously, Jaranan Art is only a ritual medium for sacred and magical procession which may be confusing. Only certain peoples with certain capacities can organize such sacred event. On subsequent days, Jaranan Art is consumed by many peoples. They feel being brought into certain condition without being seen or sensed by them with Jaranan Art as the symbol. It gives a proof that Jaranan Art has incarnated from being a tradition with high culture into that with pop culture

which is then easily understandable and satisfying to old persons, adults and children. Pop culture also does not bother consumers or organizers with a long procession because some complex rituals are no longer needed.

During the process to adopt popular culture into Jaranan Art, then mechanical reproduction through global media industry is a very significant factor. Mass media is the element supporting the creation *mass culture* and also helping the diffusion of such culture to afford more extensive regions. As aligning with the age development, Jaranan Art has affiliated with campursari-dangdut music and it becomes the latest trend and even stands for quite popular culture in Kediri City. Referring to mass culture suggested by Storey (2010), it can be said that Jaranan Art Sela Kencana has developed what so called "Kreasi Baru" which involves popular culture of campursari-dangdut music.

Jaranan Art is also used as a culture reflection of *abangan community*. This community is established within ambivalent existence that put them into culture paradoxical values (resistance values) that contradict with the habits of modern youth and aform of social protest to local policies that is often disadvantage. Abangan community perceives that various artistic attractions (eat *beling* (*glass pieces*), being possessed, immune body), and the combination between traditional art and modern art (Jaranan Art with Campursari-Dangdut Music), are the efforts to win cultural room against the modern culture professed by modern community and also against dominant culture operated by general community. Until now, Jaranan Art Sela Kencana with Campursari-Dangdut Music is a form of match culture art that shall be brought to play.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Adaptation is a self-adjustment done by living creatures to express their flexible response to environment change. Adjustment is also done by human to facilitate their live by changing their immediate environment. The conflict of Jaranan Art Sela Kencana is emerging when the policy of city government does not benefit the group or other groups of Jaranan Art. Dealing with this problem, Jaranan Art Sela Kencana undergoes several adaptive measures such as religious magic adaptation, technology adaptation, choreographic adaptation, and economic adaptation. To minimize the friction, accommodative measures are used. External accommodation included *tolerance*, *compromise* and *conciliation*, while internal accommodation involved *tolerance* and *arbitrage*. In the age of culture art co-modification, Jaranan Art Sela Kencana has transformed itself from being a tradition with high culture into that with pop culture that is easily understandable and satisfying to old persons, adults and even children. Pop culture also does not bother consumers or organizers with a long procession because circumventing rituals are no longer needed.

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