

CULTURAL HEGEMONY IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF DOLALAK DANCE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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Abstract

This study examines the transformation of musical accompaniment in Dolalak dance within the Budi Santoso Group in Kaliharjo Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java, Indonesia, through Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony. Using a qualitative case study design, data were collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis. The findings show that musical transformation occurs through selective adaptation rather than radical change. Traditional instruments such as jidur, kendang, terbang, and traditional vocals remain the core musical structure, while nontraditional elements such as keyboards, kendang jaipong, multi pads, hand clapping, and nontraditional vocals function as supporting components that enrich performance without replacing traditional identity. Their acceptance depends on cultural legitimacy, performance context, and collective evaluation. From a Gramscian perspective, this process reflects cultural hegemony, where senior custodians, younger generations, audiences, and institutions negotiate acceptable boundaries of change through moral authority, shared consent, and institutional support. This study highlights selective adaptation as a strategy for sustaining Kaligesingan identity and preserving Dolalak as a living performance tradition.

Keywords: *cultural hegemony, dolalak dance, musical transformation, selective adaptation*

INTRODUCTION

Societal development marked by social change, technological advancement, and increasingly intensive intercultural encounters has led to shifts in everyday perspectives, practices, and value systems. Such conditions generate processes of transformation when new elements interact with longstanding cultural patterns (Ramdhani, 2021, p. 12). In the Indonesian context, long-standing openness to diverse social and cultural influences has produced similar dynamics, requiring traditions to continually adapt in order to retain their meaning and function amid changing times (Zafi, 2018, p. 107). This condition suggests that the continuity of tradition depends not only on intergenerational transmission but also on the capacity of communities to respond reflectively to change without losing their fundamental value foundations.

Dolalak dance, as a form of folk performance originating from Purworejo Regency, emerged through a long historical trajectory shaped by the social experiences of its supporting community (Setyawan, 2016, p. 204). The dance began to develop in 1915 in Trirejo Village with relatively simple forms of musical accompaniment, rooted in the introduction of the solfège syllables "do" and "la," which later became the basis for the name Dolalak (Yulianti et al., 2024, p. 123; Amelia & Pramutomo, 2021, p. 942). Over time, this accompaniment system underwent enrichment in response to shifts in performance contexts and social environments, giving rise to increasingly complex musical structures (Putri et al., 2024, p. 2). This historical background provides an important point of departure for understanding the ongoing transformations affecting both the musical elements and the performative form of Dolalak.

Contemporary developments have also influenced the composition of Dolalak's musical accompaniment. Traditional instruments such as the terbang, kendang, jidur, and traditional vocals no longer function independently but are increasingly combined with nontraditional instruments, including keyboard, electric bass, and drums (Purwaningtyas et al., 2024, p. 76; Budiman et al., 2020, p. 229). Such additions represent adaptive strategies that respond to contemporary aesthetic preferences without eliminating the defining characteristics of the tradition (Marsiana et al., 2022, p. 2). These developments indicate that musical change in Dolalak functions as an effort to maintain continuity while simultaneously creating space for innovation.

Transformative processes of this kind have generated diverse responses among artists and audiences. Some view innovation as essential for ensuring that Dolalak remains engaging and capable of communicating with modern audiences (Oktaviasary & Sutini, 2024, p. 4333). Other scholars adopt a more cautious stance, expressing concern that excessive innovation may obscure the spiritual meanings and cultural identity transmitted across generations (Amalia & Agustin, 2022, p. 34). These differing perspectives reveal that the transformation of musical accompaniment involves not only artistic preference but also deeper questions of value and cultural legitimacy (Li, 2025, p. 286).

Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony provides an analytical framework for examining the negotiation of values and the formation of consensus accompanying transformations in Dolalak's musical accompaniment. Gramsci emphasizes that cultural leadership operates through consent and moral authority, allowing change to emerge not through coercion but through processes of consensus-building (Gramsci, 1971, p. 34). Based on this perspective, the present study investigates the transformation of Dolalak dance accompaniment within the Budi Santoso group in Kaliharjo while examining how power relations, value negotiation, and social agreement shape the direction of change. This study seeks to demonstrate that the transformation of musical accompaniment not only generates artistic renewal but also plays a crucial role in sustaining the cultural identity and legitimacy of Dolalak within the currents of modernity.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative case study design to examine the transformation of musical accompaniment in the Dolalak dance within the Budi Santoso group, informed by Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony (Ilhami et al., 2024, p. 464). Fieldwork was conducted between August and October 2025 in Kaliharjo Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java Province, Indonesia, focusing on rehearsals and performance settings. The researcher served as the primary instrument, supported by participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis (Chand, 2025, p. 303). Data were obtained from the group leader, coordinator, senior custodian, dancers, traditional and nontraditional musicians, intergenerational audience members, strategic partners, and representatives of the Department of Education and Culture of Purworejo Regency. Trustworthiness was established through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability strategies, implemented through prolonged engagement, triangulation, member checking, and systematic audit documentation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 43; Ahmed, 2024, p. 1). Data analysis followed the interactive model of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification, implemented through iterative thematic coding and constant comparison, with emergent categories interpreted through a Gramscian lens to explain how cultural leadership, negotiation, and collective consent structured the selective adaptation of musical innovation within the Dolalak tradition (Miles et al., 2014, p. 31).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RESULT

The transformation of musical accompaniment in Dolalak dance within the Budi Santoso Group demonstrates a gradual process of continuity and adaptation shaped by collective memory, performance conventions, socio-cultural expectations, and institutional support. Musical change does not occur through radical replacement but through selective innovation in which traditional instruments remain the structural foundation while nontraditional elements are integrated as complementary components. These findings indicate that transformation functions as a cultural strategy to maintain the continuity of the Kaligesingan style while responding to contemporary performance demands.

Description of Budi Santoso Group

The Budi Santoso Group is a Dolalak dance ensemble rooted in Kaliharjo Village, Kaligesing District, Purworejo Regency, Central Java Province, Indonesia. The group is widely recognized as one of the main references for preserving Dolalak because of its long historical continuity and its close connection with early generations of practitioners (interview with a coordinator, August 18, 2025). The roots of Dolalak in Purworejo are closely associated with Sejiwan Hamlet, Tirejo Village, which became an early center for learning dance movements, musical accompaniment, and lyrical forms. From this place, several young people from Kaliharjo studied directly with early practitioners such as Rejo Taruno, Dulyat, and Ronodimedjo before returning to Kaliharjo and establishing the Budi Santoso Group in 1936 (interview with a group leader, August 16, 2025).

The name "Budi Santoso" reflects the community's aspiration to preserve traditional arts, where "budi" refers to cultivation and the effort to maintain local culture, while "santoso" symbolizes strength and resilience in sustaining

cultural heritage (interview with the group leader, August 16, 2025). Since its establishment, the group has consistently prioritized traditional musical structures, movement patterns, and performance conventions while allowing selective adaptation to contemporary performance needs. This commitment positions the group as one of the main preservers of the Kaligesingan style and as a community that strongly upholds the traditional values of original Dolalak performance. Today, Budi Santoso functions not only as a performance group, but also as a cultural institution that preserves local identity, supports regeneration, and sustains Dolalak as a living tradition in Purworejo.



Image 1. Dolalak Dance Performance by the Budi Santoso Group
Source: Author, 2025

Forms of Transformation in Musical Accompaniment

The transformation of musical accompaniment in the Budi Santoso Group follows a process of selective adaptation in which traditional instruments remain dominant, while nontraditional elements function only as supporting components. Traditional instruments such as jidur, kendang, terbang, and traditional vocals continue to form the principal musical structure and preserve the stylistic identity of Kaligesingan Dolalak. Their continuity reflects intergenerational transmission, repeated communal practice, and shared musical understanding among performers and audiences. This stable structure becomes the foundation that allows innovation to be accepted without weakening traditional identity.

Jidur functions as the primary rhythmic foundation, stabilizing the basic pulse of performance and symbolically representing protection and structural balance within the ensemble through its low resonant sound (Hapsari & Darmantho, 2024, p. 155). Kendang regulates tempo and dynamic intensity, and the group leader explained that it was formerly played with a single membrane and simple two-handed techniques before developing into a more complex instrument that strengthened rhythmic control and allowed it to replace the whistle as the main coordinative device (interview with a group leader, August 16, 2025). Terbang, also known as kemprang or rebana, reinforces rhythmic layers through interlocking patterns that create the distinctive pulse and energetic texture of Kaligesingan accompaniment (Hapsari & Naam, 2023, p. 251). Complementing this rhythmic structure, traditional vocals function as the main melodic element, in which the accompanist performs *bawan* and the dancers respond through *sauran*, preserving lyrical narratives, moral values, and cultural continuity across generations (Rachmawati & Prihatini, 2019, p. 315; interview with a traditional musician, August 19, 2025).



Image 2. Traditional Musical Accompaniment Instruments in the Budi Santoso Group
Source: Author, 2025

Pakik Nanti		Dolalak Budi Santoso Transcript by Peter Petra Pradipta	
Pakik nanti kalau bilang bilang melathi Banyu wulu munggah langgar sholat sembahyang	2x	} Sauran	
Pakik kareset mudhun Jemuah mbopong Alqur'an Pakik arloji mudun Jemuah mbopong berjanji	2x		
Kembang mlati pantes den agem pra putri Ayo ngudi kagunan kita pribadi	2x	} Bawan	
Kembang menur megar anjrah kadya sawur Muji syukur mrih rukuning pra sedulur	2x		
Pakik nanti kalau bilang bilang melathi Banyu wulu munggah langgar sholat sembahyang	2x	} Sauran	
Pakik kareset mudhun Jemuah mbopong Alqur'an Pakik arloji mudun Jemuah mbopong berjanji	2x		
Kembang mawar megar gandane angambar Samya sabar anggugah kawruh kang anyar	2x	} Bawan	
Kembang suruh mbalasa saengga uwuh Kudu teguh ngadepi baya pakewuh	2x		
Pakik nanti kalau bilang bilang melathi Banyu wulu munggah langgar sholat sembahyang	2x	} Sauran	
Pakik kareset mudun Jemuah mbopong Alqur'an Pakik arloji mudun Jemuah mbopong berjanji	2x		

Image 3. *Bawan* and *Sauran* Sections in the Dolalak Song “Pakik Nanti”

Source: Author, 2025

Nontraditional instruments such as keyboard, hand clapping, kendang jaipong, multi pad, and nontraditional vocals are incorporated to enrich sonic texture and strengthen audience engagement, particularly in entertainment performances. The keyboard functions as harmonic support and melodic filler, while its sound settings are adjusted to imitate traditional timbres so that it does not dominate the traditional ensemble (interview with a nontraditional musician, August 20, 2025). Kendang jaipong and multi pad are used situationally to increase rhythmic variation, while nontraditional vocals influenced by dangdut, campursari, and pop broaden audience appeal without changing the traditional structure (Nurbaidhah et al., 2020, p. 44). This pattern demonstrates that legitimacy in musical transformation is determined by functional compatibility rather than technological novelty.



Image 4. Nontraditional Musical Accompaniment Instruments in the Budi Santoso Group

Source: Author, 2025

Several instruments, such as the whistle, kentongan, and electric bass, are no longer used in the Budi Santoso Group. The whistle previously marked the beginning and end of performances before this role was assumed by the kendang, while the electric bass was discontinued after the keyboard proved more effective as harmonic support (interview with the group leader, August 16, 2025). Their disappearance reflects selective cultural filtering based on functional relevance, symbolic necessity, and performance efficiency rather than simple modernization. This process confirms that transformation proceeds through refinement and evaluation rather than unrestricted change.

Performance context strongly influences the acceptance of musical innovation. Formal performances prioritize the complete traditional ensemble to preserve solemnity, ritual value, and cultural legitimacy, while entertainment performances allow selective additions such as keyboard, kendang jaipong, and nontraditional vocals (FGD statement by the nontraditional musician, August 30, 2025). Stage arrangement also follows a traditional hierarchy, with jidur positioned at the front and kendang placed centrally as the principal rhythmic regulator (interview with

the group leader, August 16, 2025). This contextual differentiation shows that musical transformation remains regulated by culturally accepted boundaries and collective recognition.



Image 5. Performance Contexts of Musical Accompaniment in the Budi Santoso Group
Source: Author, 2025

Table 1. Transformation Pattern of Musical Accompaniment in the Budi Santoso Group			
Musical Element	Traditional Role	Current Adaptation	Main Reason
Jidur, Kendang, Terbang, and Traditional Vocals	Core structure of accompaniment	Maintained as the principal ensemble	Rhythmic stability and cultural identity
Keyboard, Kendang Jaipong, and Multi Pad	Not originally used	Added as supporting instruments	Audience engagement and sonic enrichment
Hand Clapping and Nontraditional Vocals	Supporting performance expression	Expanded in entertainment performances	Performative energy and flexibility
Whistle, Kentongan, and Electric Bass	Earlier supporting instruments	No longer used	Limited functional relevance and efficiency
Performance Context	Traditional hierarchy	Differentiation between formal and entertainment performances	Cultural legitimacy and contextual needs

Table 1 shows that transformation in Dolalak accompaniment follows a structured process rather than spontaneous change. Traditional instruments remain the structural foundation, while nontraditional elements are accepted only when they strengthen rather than replace the inherited musical framework. Performance context becomes the main factor in determining the legitimacy of musical innovation, particularly in distinguishing between formal and entertainment performances. This pattern confirms that continuity and change coexist within the same musical system.

Dynamics of Cultural Hegemony in the Transformation of Musical Accompaniment

The transformation of Dolalak musical accompaniment in the Budi Santoso Group develops through continuous negotiation between preservation and adaptation. Senior custodians maintain traditional values and define the acceptable boundaries of musical change, while younger generations introduce new elements to sustain performance relevance in contemporary society. Decisions regarding innovation are made through collective consideration involving performers, musicians, and community members rather than through individual preference. This process shows that musical change develops through shared agreement and cultural responsibility.

Senior custodians hold the strongest authority in maintaining the continuity of Kaligesingan identity. They preserve traditional instruments, protect ritual values, and evaluate whether additional musical elements remain compatible with established performance conventions (interview with a senior custodian, August 12, 2025). Younger generations contribute through keyboards, kendang jaipong, multi pads, and more flexible performance formats, yet acceptance depends on rehearsal processes and approval from senior members (interview with a dancer, August 13, 2025). As a result, innovation functions as a complementary effort that strengthens continuity rather than replacing traditional forms.

Differences in perspective emerge when certain innovations are considered excessive, especially in formal and ceremonial performances. Senior custodians emphasize symbolic meaning and ritual values, while younger performers seek adaptive strategies that remain relevant to contemporary audiences. These differences are usually

resolved through gradual adjustment, repeated discussion, and shared evaluation rather than direct confrontation. Consequently, preservation and adaptation operate as mutually supportive processes within the same cultural framework.

Rehearsals, performances, and post-performance evaluations serve as the main spaces where these negotiations take place. Movement, music, stage atmosphere, and audience response are continuously assessed until collective agreement is reached (FGD statement by the coordinator, August 30, 2025). Audience responses also shape artistic decisions, as some appreciate modern musical elements, while others worry that excessive innovation may reduce the sacredness of Dolalak (interviews with intergenerational audience members, August 17, 2025). This condition positions performance as both an artistic event and a space for cultural evaluation.

Socio-cultural factors such as economic conditions, organizer expectations, regeneration, and spiritual values also shape musical decisions. Financial demands and public entertainment needs encourage performance adjustments, while younger audiences create pressure for more engaging presentations (interviews with the coordinator, August 18, 2025). At the same time, spiritual beliefs regarding the symbolic role of the *jidur* establish ethical boundaries that prevent excessive modification of traditional structures (interviews with the traditional musician, August 19, 2025). These conditions ensure that transformation remains grounded in collective cultural awareness rather than market demand alone.

Institutional support further strengthens the legitimacy of preservation. Local government reinforces Dolalak through cultural festivals and public performances, while the FKBM program in 2016 and 2019 provided musical instruments, costumes, and traditional festivals requiring the use of traditional accompaniment (interview with a government representative, August 22, 2025; interview with a senior custodian, August 12, 2025). Strategic collaboration with Sanggar Tari Prigel since 1992 has also supported artistic training, technical exchange, and performance adaptation without weakening traditional characteristics (interview with a strategic partner, September 1, 2025). This support shows that cultural sustainability depends on both internal commitment and broader institutional legitimacy.



Image 6. Institutional Support for the Preservation of Dolalak in the Budi Santoso Group

Source: Romansa Purworejo Indonesia, 2021; Setiawan Sugiharto, 2019; Pemkab Purworejo, 2025

Overall, the transformation of Dolalak accompaniment is shaped by the interaction of multiple actors rather than by a single decision-maker. Senior custodians remain the main reference for maintaining traditional values, while younger generations, audiences, institutions, and strategic partners contribute to defining acceptable forms of adaptation. Their continuous negotiation creates shared cultural boundaries that guide both preservation and innovation. Through this process, Kaligesingan Dolalak remains a living performance tradition that sustains cultural identity while responding to changing social contexts.

DISCUSSION

The discussion of this study focuses on two main aspects: the transformation of musical accompaniment in Dolalak dance and the dynamics of cultural hegemony that shape this transformation within the Budi Santoso Group. The first aspect examines how traditional and nontraditional musical elements interact through selective adaptation

while preserving the stylistic identity of Kaligesingan Dolalak. The second aspect explores how preservation and innovation are negotiated among senior custodians, younger generations, audiences, and institutions through collective agreement and cultural legitimacy. Together, these two perspectives explain how Dolalak continues to survive as a living tradition that balances continuity and change.

Analysis of the Transformation of Dolalak Dance Musical Accompaniment

The transformation of musical accompaniment in Dolalak dance within the Budi Santoso Group shows that the Kaligesingan tradition is maintained through selective adaptation rather than radical change. Traditional instruments such as *jidur*, *kendang*, *terbang*, and traditional vocals remain the main framework of accompaniment, while nontraditional elements are added only as supporting components. This finding indicates that continuity in traditional performance is sustained through repeated communal practice, intergenerational transmission, and shared musical understanding among performers and audiences (Yujing & Gingging, 2026, p. 638; Setiawan et al., 2025, p. 244). The persistence of these instruments confirms that Dolalak's musical identity is preserved through stable sonic structures collectively recognized by the community.

Traditional instruments also function beyond technical accompaniment because they carry symbolic and cultural meaning. *Jidur* stabilizes rhythm and is associated with protection, *kendang* regulates expressive dynamics and musical authority, while *terbang* strengthens collective cohesion through repetitive rhythmic patterns. Traditional vocals through *bawan* and *sauran* preserve historical memory and moral values that continue to be transmitted across generations. Recent ethnomusicological studies explain that musical sound carries social, symbolic, and behavioral consequences beyond its sonic function, allowing instruments to serve as cultural signs as well as musical devices (Bagaskara et al., 2024, p. 192; Huang, 2024, p. 87). This condition shows that the preservation of Dolalak depends on both structural continuity and symbolic legitimacy.

The addition of nontraditional instruments such as keyboards, *kendang jaipong*, multi pads, hand clapping, and nontraditional vocals reflects an adaptive strategy in response to changing audience expectations and contemporary performance contexts. These elements do not replace the traditional ensemble but enrich sonic texture and expand communicative flexibility, especially in entertainment performances. Studies of musical transformation explain that innovation becomes acceptable when inherited structural principles remain dominant and new elements strengthen rather than replace the traditional core (Suharta et al., 2025, p. 907; Suryati et al., 2025, pp. 286-287). Musical transformation in Dolalak therefore occurs through reinforcement rather than substitution.

The disappearance of instruments such as whistles, *kentongan*, and electric bass further demonstrates that transformation operates through selective cultural filtering. Instruments that no longer contribute to rhythmic stability, symbolic necessity, or performance coherence gradually lose legitimacy and are abandoned. Similar studies show that traditional communities preserve stylistic continuity through internal mechanisms of evaluation, selection, and the selective retention of musical elements (Setiawan et al., 2025, p. 246; Sa'adah, 2024, p. 160; Aryandari, 2025, p. 178). This process indicates that change in Dolalak accompaniment is directed toward refinement rather than unrestricted modernization.

Performance conventions and contextual differentiation also determine the acceptance of innovation. Formal performances prioritize the complete traditional ensemble to preserve solemnity and cultural legitimacy, while entertainment contexts allow measured additions of nontraditional instruments to strengthen audience engagement. Research by Giri (2022, p. 3) and Suharta et al. (2025, p. 906) shows that musical structures adapt according to social function, performance space, and audience expectations without necessarily changing traditional identity. This means that transformation in Dolalak accompaniment follows contextual needs while remaining within accepted cultural boundaries.

These findings indicate that the transformation of Dolalak accompaniment follows a structured process rather than spontaneous change. Traditional instruments remain the core structure, while nontraditional instruments are positioned as supporting elements whose acceptance depends on contextual suitability and collective evaluation. Performance context, especially the distinction between formal and entertainment settings, becomes an important factor in determining which musical elements are considered legitimate (Bagaskara et al., 2024, p. 188). This pattern can be understood more clearly through the following conceptual model of selective adaptation.

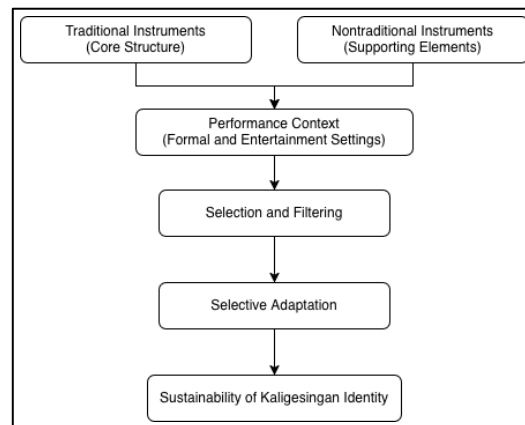


Image 7. Conceptual Model of Selective Adaptation in Dolalak Musical Transformation

Source: Author, 2026

Image 7 illustrates that transformation in Dolalak musical accompaniment is not directed toward replacement, but toward selective adaptation. Traditional instruments remain the core structure that preserves rhythmic stability and the stylistic identity of Kaligesingan Dolalak, while nontraditional instruments function only as supporting elements that enrich sonic texture and performance flexibility. Their acceptance depends on performance context, particularly the distinction between formal and entertainment settings, where different levels of musical variation are considered appropriate. Through selection and filtering based on cultural legitimacy, the transformation process ultimately sustains the continuity of Kaligesingan identity.

Overall, the transformation of Dolalak musical accompaniment reflects a pattern of selective adaptation in which continuity and change operate simultaneously. Rhythmic patterns and the sonic identity of Kaligesingan remain the main reference points for evaluating new musical elements, ensuring that innovation remains culturally legitimate. Sustainable musical change depends on alignment with the social values that support cultural practice and collective recognition within the community (Obolenska et al., 2026, p. 936; Suryati et al., 2025, p. 277). Through this mechanism, Dolalak continues to survive as a living tradition that balances preservation and transformation.

Analysis of the Dynamics of Cultural Hegemony in the Transformation of Dolalak Dance Musical Accompaniment from Antonio Gramsci's Perspective

The transformation of Dolalak musical accompaniment also reflects the operation of cultural hegemony through negotiation between preservation and innovation. Senior custodians maintain the moral authority of tradition, while younger musicians introduce controlled innovation to sustain relevance in contemporary society. This process aligns with Gramsci's concept of hegemony as leadership built through consent rather than coercion, where legitimacy emerges through shared belief rather than institutional force (Crehan, 2022, p. 508). Musical change therefore develops through collective agreement regarding the acceptable limits of transformation.

Rehearsal spaces, performances, and post-performance evaluations function as arenas where aesthetic legitimacy is continuously negotiated. The inclusion of keyboards, kendang jaipong, and nontraditional vocals is accepted only when these elements remain compatible with Kaligesingan identity and do not threaten the authority of traditional instruments. Recent studies emphasize that cultural continuity depends on negotiated participation between senior and younger generations, supported by moral leadership and shared common sense (Sau, 2025, p. 109; Ruddin et al., 2025, p. 30). Innovation in Dolalak is therefore not only a technical adjustment but also part of a broader ideological process of cultural negotiation.

Counter-hegemony appears through the resistance of senior members who seek to preserve the purity of traditional forms, especially in formal and ceremonial performances. Their concern about excessive modernization reflects moral resistance against values perceived as weakening cultural authenticity. Priyanto et al. (2026, p. 437) explain that counter-hegemony often emerges as symbolic resistance within communities experiencing cultural transformation and may strengthen rather than weaken collective identity. This coexistence of preservation and innovation confirms that Dolalak functions as an ideological arena where meaning is continuously contested and reformulated.

At the same time, younger generations respond by introducing innovation that remains anchored in traditional principles, creating negotiation rather than direct confrontation. This condition reflects Gramsci's concept of the war

of position, where cultural struggle occurs through symbolic strategies and gradual adjustment rather than open conflict (Gramsci, 1971, p. 239). Passive revolution emerges when change is accepted without destroying the legitimacy of inherited values, allowing adaptation to proceed through compromise and shared understanding (Sau, 2025, pp. 110-111). Through deliberative dialogue, resistance becomes a productive force that strengthens collective identity while allowing controlled transformation.

Institutional support from local government, central government programs such as FKBM, and strategic partnerships with Sanggar Tari Prigel further strengthen the legitimacy of Dolalak preservation. These external actors expand cultural authority by supporting artistic infrastructure, regeneration, and public recognition of Dolalak as a regional identity. Cultural sustainability depends on the relationship between moral legitimacy and socio-economic structures, while institutional collaboration strengthens the long-term endurance of traditional performance communities (Borja, 2024, p. 82; Wadtkar & Ippalpalli, 2026, p. 235). Preservation therefore depends not only on internal consensus but also on broader structural support.

The dynamics of cultural hegemony in Dolalak can be understood as a process in which multiple actors continuously negotiate values and legitimacy. Senior custodians, younger generations, audiences, institutions, and strategic partners each contribute to defining the acceptable boundaries of transformation. Their interaction does not produce fixed dominance, but rather an ongoing process of dialogue that shapes collective agreement (Sau, 2025, p. 109). This process is summarized in the following model of cultural hegemony.

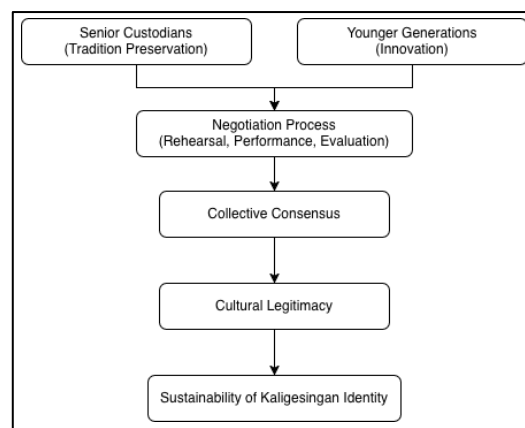


Image 8. Conceptual Model of Cultural Hegemony in Dolalak Musical Transformation

Source: Author, 2026

Image 8 shows that cultural hegemony in Dolalak is formed through negotiation rather than domination. Senior custodians preserve traditional values and maintain moral authority, while younger generations contribute innovation and adaptation to contemporary performance needs. Their interaction takes place through rehearsals, performances, and collective evaluation, where decisions regarding acceptable musical change are continuously discussed and negotiated. This process produces collective consensus and cultural legitimacy, which become the foundation for sustaining the cultural identity of Kaligesingan Dolalak as a living performance tradition.

Overall, the Budi Santoso Group demonstrates that Dolalak survives as a living cultural system because transformation is regulated through collective consent, aesthetic negotiation, and institutional legitimacy. Preservation and innovation are not opposing forces, but interconnected processes that sustain tradition under changing social conditions. This confirms Gramsci's argument that hegemony operates through everyday practice, shared common sense, and moral leadership rather than domination alone (Gramsci, 1971, p. 134). Through this process, the selective adaptation of musical accompaniment becomes both an artistic strategy and a hegemonic mechanism for reproducing cultural identity and ensuring the sustainability of Dolalak performance traditions.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the transformation of musical accompaniment in Dolalak dance within the Budi Santoso Group occurs through a process of selective adaptation rather than radical change. Traditional instruments such as jidor, kendang, terbang, and traditional vocals remain the core musical structure, while nontraditional elements are added only when they support performance needs without weakening the traditional identity of Kaligesingan Dolalak. The acceptance of musical innovation is strongly influenced by performance context, cultural legitimacy, and collective evaluation, particularly in distinguishing between formal and entertainment performances. From

Antonio Gramsci's perspective, this transformation reflects the dynamics of cultural hegemony, in which senior custodians, younger generations, audiences, and institutions continuously negotiate the acceptable boundaries of change through moral authority, shared consent, and institutional support. Therefore, the sustainability of Dolalak depends on the balance between preservation and adaptation, where tradition is maintained not by resisting change entirely, but by regulating innovation within culturally recognized limits. Future research may examine similar processes in other traditional performing arts to compare how different social, economic, and institutional contexts shape cultural negotiation and artistic transformation.

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