



Campursari Koplo Cultural Practices: Sinden's Body and the Arena of Audience Power

Vici Duta F; Sri Kusuma Habasari; Eva Farhah

Universitas Sebelas Maret, Indonesia

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Abstract

Campursari is a traditional music phenomenon which has become the most popular entertainment industry in Indonesia, especially Central Java. Its existence has now become widespread and is very well known by the wider community, especially the people in Sragen, Central Java. In campursari music, women have a very big influence in the entertainment industry. The women who are the object of attraction for campursari entertainment industry enthusiasts are often called Sinden. Campursari performances have cultural practices of *nyawer* and *jumeneng*, as long as the cultural practices of such campursari performances can add further complexity about their bodies which harbor sexuality. The *jumeneng* and *nyawer* meeting involves the relationship between the body of the sinden, the leader of the entertainment industry stage and the entertainment industry audience who are also called *Penyawer* who dance on the stage. This article wants to look at the phenomenon of the bodies of women who work as campursari singers, interpreting *Jumeneng* and *Nyawer* cultural practices in the Campursari Koplo Entertainment Industry and negotiating their bodies, when sinden are made slaves by relations/power. With a more nuanced perspective by showing the creative space built during the *nyawer* and *Jumeneng* cultural practices meeting on this topic.

Keywords: *Campursari; Jumeneng; Nyawer; Tubuh; Arena Kekuasaan; Sinden*

Introduction

Campursari is a traditional music phenomenon which has become the most popular entertainment industry in Indonesia, especially Central Java. Its existence has now become widespread and is very well known by the wider community, especially people in Sragen, Central Java. According to Widyo (2008) In general, the public views the entertainment industry, if a performing art piece has been heard on the radio, shown on a television station and disseminated in print and electronic media, both traditional and non-traditional, then the work of art is considered to belong to the wider community and is not included in certain social groups in society (Widyo, 2008: 93). However, each group can choose whatever type of entertainment they want to enjoy. The entertainment industry is a social expression that is shared by each social group in different ways. In Campursari music there are women who work in traditional performing arts who have a very big influence on performances, especially in Sragen, Central Java. The women who are the object of attraction for entertainment industry enthusiasts in campursari are often called Sinden.

Sinden comes from the word "pasindhian" meaning rich in songs or melagukan (singing songs). Sinden is also known by the name "waranggana", "wara" means woman and "angana" means alone. The term sinden is also used in several areas such as Surakarta, Sunda, Yogyakarta, East Java and other areas which are always associated with traditional performing arts performances (Raharjo, 1997: 24). In the era of Patriaki Culture, Sinden was not only needed as an expert in presenting Javanese songs but also had to maintain his appearance by dressing neatly and swaying like a dangdut singer. In the campursari entertainment industry there is a language term jumeneng (standing) which is a cultural practice that shows what the body and face of the sinden look like. Another language term is Nyawer, which is a cultural practice in Java that has long accompanied wedding and circumcision celebrations, and is currently displayed in various traditional entertainment industry events such as Campursari and spectacular performances. The jumeneng and nyawer meeting involves the relationship between the body of the sinden, the leader of the entertainment industry stage and the entertainment industry audience who are also called Penyawer who dance on the stage. In many cases of these two cultural practices, there is often a direct transfer of money to the head of the campursari entertainment industry with the audience and meetings between female artists and singers. In this case, Sinden's body can have sexual and power connotations. Most of the existing academic literature on the female female singer and sinden entertainment industry is insufficient to discuss the interpersonal space created between sinden, power and female singers, as well as the values and principles that are continuously renegotiated during their encounters (Sandra Barder and M. Max Richter, 2014).

Campursari koplo singers experience excessive oppression within their bodies, the norms and rules of power in the entertainment industry allow them to act on the orders of the singer, in this case the audience of the entertainment industry. In the dominant view in the media and in academic discourse regarding these acts, sinden tend to be positioned as deviant and immoral people or as people who are liberated and empowered. In the body of living creatures, there is no body that can trigger endless debates and polemics, like the female body. The woman's body becomes politically charged because it becomes a symbol of morality for society (Yuliani, 2010). The phenomenon of the campursari sinden themselves in interpreting their bodies is less evident from various previous research and studies. In this case, women who work as campursari sinden have themes around feminism, sexuality, morality and religion, sinden-sinden show off their movements to dominate the campursari performance arena, in campursari performances, there are nyawer and jumeneng cultural practices, pratik campurari culture is often subject to heated debates around sexuality, during such campursari performances add further complexity about the bodies of those who harbor sexuality.

In previous research and theoretical concepts used to analyze body politics and self-negotiation of women who work as singers in the Laras Hapsari Karawitan Art group. The object of this research is relatively new so there is literature related to the conception of the female body, namely Sinden. This research discusses "Dynamics of Women's Body Autonomy: Between Power and Negotiation over the Body" with the object of the sexy dancer, highlighting the other side of the female body: the sexy dancer as an actor who sees and interpret his own body. According to Benedicta (2011), control over the bodies of sexy female dancers is dynamic because their bargaining position can change, depending on who the women build relationships with. Therefore, women can not only be seen as objects, but can also be seen as subjects. On the one hand, sexy dancing women in the entertainment industry are positioned to be objects and economic vehicles for various other interests outside their bodies, but on the other hand they have the potential to become subjects who can determine the autonomy of direction and control of their bodies. Meanwhile, research on relations/power at work is in research by Sandra Barder and Max M. Richter (2014) on "Dangdut Beyond the Sex: Creating Intercorporeal Space through Nyawer Encounters in West Java, Indonesia". The nyawer encounter involves a dialectical relationship between culturally embedded understandings of appropriate behavior, subject to the particular cultural milieu of dangdut performance in local villages on the north coast of West Java, and the more fluid and dynamic values that develop in the interstitial space. body that is created between the performer and the audience. This

research seeks to show that entertainment industry performances also need to be seen seriously as a creation of an interpersonal space in which ethics are negotiated.

The body of a woman who works as a campursari sinden is not only about art for art's sake, but on the other hand there are those in power. This sinden's body was manipulated by the authorities for the reason of preserving Javanese culture. This article wants to look at the phenomenon of women's bodies who work as campursari singers in interpreting sexuality in Jumeneng and Nyawer cultural practices in the Campursari Koplo Entertainment Industry. What is the view of sinden when it is used as an ornament and as an object of sexuality by relations/power? With a more nuanced perspective, by showing the creative space that was built during the meeting of Jumeneng and Nyawer cultural practices. This shows that female artists can create sexual connotations in their bodies, which on stage become individuals who store, manipulate, and process oppression or liberation which tends to dominate discussions on this topic.

Method

This research is research in the field of cultural studies. Stuart Hall in Ida (2014: 3) states that basically cultural studies tries to shake up the establishment in thinking about "reality" or "real" (the real thing) in everyday cultural life. Then, the aim of this approach is in accordance with what is intended in Geertz (1973), namely about 'in-depth description' of 'a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures', including various assumptions that are stated and accepted as they are about cultural life. So in the context of media-oriented cultural studies, ethnography has become code for a series of qualitative methods, including involved observation, 'focus group discussions'. This method will be used to show and reveal the data and information that will be used. to show and reveal data (Geertz, Clifford, 1973). The data information that this article will provide was obtained from informants in the Campursari KMB group which is popular in the city of Saragen, Central Java. This article will be carried out using a scientific and comprehensive interview method in focusing the study, so that the data that will be obtained will be in accordance with existing phenomena and backgrounds and will not be engineering or manipulation.

Discussion

Jumeneng as a Cultural Practice

According to Bartky, Lee, and Foucault (2003 in Ida 2005), the female body is considered ornamental, so the use of make-up and choice of clothing are all involved in the meaning of the female body. In the campursari entertainment industry, the jumeneng (founding) cultural practice is a culture that shows off the sinden's body, their bodies are made into ornaments by displaying the face, voice and beauty of the body. In jumeneng cultural practices, sinden are required to stand up to show off their bodies, beautiful faces and melodious voices. Sometimes the campursari music players give him accompaniment so that he sways before performing Jumeneng. He is required to display the beauty of his body even though he is wearing traditional Javanese clothing, namely the kebaya. Jumeneng cultural practices exist in parts of the Javanese performing entertainment industry, aimed at making sinden exist among the campursari performing arts community.

Even though it is often considered ornamental, seeing women cannot be separated from the context of the body being positioned to exist, as is the body of a sinden in a performance stage arena. Through this performance, the sinden's body does not stand alone, but rather someone moves it, through its movements the sinden's body builds new meaning and its own power. Through power over existing meanings, namely the meaning and power presented in a view that considers the norm of being a man to be the center of existing social relations (Ida, 2005). Relations that position women's bodies as a vehicle for a process of experiencing various positions of inequality, subordination, marginalization and victimism in gender relations (Piliang 2003 in Benedicta 2011).

Looking at a woman's body cannot be separated from the cultural context and body definition. One of the cultures adhered to by the majority of Indonesian people is patriarchal culture. This culture is based on a view that assumes that male norms are the center of existing social relations (Ida, 2005). In this case, Sinden in the Campursari entertainment industry often becomes a "pepasren" (decorator) of a performing arts stage with the aim of the industry to gain maximum existence and profit. With the aim of gaining as much profit as possible, the campursari entertainment industry presents women with beautiful faces and voices. This causes disturbances in individual space, especially the body. The bodies of the singers are shaped, polished, and controlled to be presented to male consumers in the perfect form that suits their characteristics.



Figure 1 A campursari sinden following Jumeneng cultural practices in Sragen, Central Java, 2023
Sumber : Picture oleh Vici Duta F.

So in this case it is clear that the practice of jumeneng culture does not aim to show how sinden contributes to the entertainment industry. Because body culture has authority including; beautiful bodies and bodies that are not beautiful, normal and abnormal, ideal and not ideal, and so on (Prabasmoro, 2006). In this case, it can be understood that women's bodies are in the context of masculinity. Men are positioned as dominant subjects in determining who and what is displayed. Sinden in Campursari must be willing to stand up, if they see something from the rules of art. In campursari born outside the palace, there are no rules to allow these singers to jumeneng (establish themselves). However, all this was distorted by the authorities to attract enthusiastic audiences and responders to the entertainment industry in Java, sinden was shown like a market product.

Pratik Budaya Jumeneng on Sinden's Body

The female body, like the sinden's body, holds a duality, namely evil and power. Beauvoir in Tong (2004) believes that everything starts from the body. The assessment and meaning of the quality of a woman's body as expressed within herself is currently dominated by the male assessment and meaning system. The body of a sinden contains attractions including body, sexuality and morality through Jumeneng cultural practices. When sinden jumeneng (stands) in front of the peonoton, he displays his body and cannot even control his own body and will be controlled by power relations over the body which leads to economic monopoly. On the other hand, women's bodies also harbor evil for the family and society which makes women's bodies only a symbol of the dignity and self-respect of men and society. In the continuity of a traditional music performance in the city of Sragen, Central Java, the role of sinden in the entertainment industry is very large, sometimes the actions of the powerful who manipulate sinden often occur. This is proven by sinden who follow jumeneng cultural practices.

“wah, It's like this, bro.. Sinden campursari nowadays, if you don't dare, Jumeneng won't sell.. Now that's the era when Sinden dares to take risks, bro.. If you just Jumeneng (stand up) and go to the audience, you don't want to.. how can he be famous... the boss will also see it, bro. The Campursari boss will definitely just say "the audience will just stand next to you, just dance and just obey".. actually I'm scared bro... but if I don't obey, I won't be given another job... he said golek jeneng sek engko lak entuk jenang. (look for existence first after that get a material) ([interview with Icic, one of Sinden Campursari's informants KMB].18 November 2023).

According to the explanation of informant Icic (stage name), sinden are manipulated by the power of the entertainment industry by giving advice, like parents giving obedience to their children. This Sinden campursari seemed to be hypnotized by the words of the ruler by labeling him as doing art for art's sake. According to Bartky (1990) Power is able to change the thinking of someone who intends to fight against it. Therefore, the sanctions are public and not individual. When traditional society changes to modern society and because women themselves reject patriarchy, the old forms (patriarchy) are eroded, but the system does not disappear (Bartky, 1990: 78).

The sinden's body experiences a lot of emphasis in the entertainment industry. The body of the campursari sinden also tends to be used as a medium for symbols of moral and religious identity through the regulation of how one dresses and the markings on the body (Yuliani 2010). Therefore, there are many interests at play in the body of a Sinden. Family and society feel they have authority or have the right to control their bodies, even the entertainment industry also feels obliged to control how Sinden should treat her body. This is proven by Sinden gaining existence through the practice of jumeneng culture.

“Ya being famous is very important bro, now it's like this, if campursari doesn't have any famous sinden... if any famous campursari will definitely not sell... that's why a lot of girls in Sragen are made into sinden by their parents, especially if the campursari is famous locally. Sragen Wow, I was immediately asked to join in... even though I don't know anything about this entertainment industry... the main thing is that I dare to jumeneng (stand up) and sing Tembang Kangen (one of the famous songs in this industry). I'm still beautiful and have a hot sway. I'm sure I'll immediately be asked about my job on this date. Is it empty this month? like that" ([interview with N.A, one of Sinden Campursari's informants KMB].18 November 2023).

In the words of informant N.A. Sinden's body in the campursari entertainment industry has been attached to social and economic symbols that are implanted in the minds of the people through the culture and beliefs he adheres to. Synott (1993) says that, the body can be caressed or killed, it can also be loved and hated, it can be considered beautiful and also ugly, it can be considered sacred but also dirty. Ideas about the body are born through norms derived from society's beliefs about what is good and bad. Talking about the body cannot be separated from discussing the discourse of sexuality, women and sexuality are often interpreted as two combinations that bring disaster in a society with a patriarchal government system (Synott, 1993). In discussing the political discourse on women's bodies formed by Patriarchal Culture, two characteristics of the body are identified, namely good women and bad women. First, a good woman is a woman who carries out her fundamental role as a mother whose responsibility is to educate her children both in terms of knowledge and morality. The second characteristic is that a bad woman is defined as a woman who is a disobedient, destroyer of norms, a prostitute, who is not responsible for her role in building the morals of the new generation. (Diah, 2016). In this case, it is proven by Sinden's exposure.

“So the singer has to wear heavy make-up, bro, just from the face you can sell it. I once gave him clothes that were slightly open at the chest and slightly open at the bottom (from the hip to the foot). Usually there are several responders... I don't want this child, he's not pretty, just his voice... and they say it openly... I don't want R, his face is ugly... I don't want E, his body is ugly, he doesn't have a butt... I don't want this... if it's a big event we usually sell movements, if the sinden has a steady sway and can't sing, that's the hundredth choice, the important thing is that the sway is steady... drunk people usually see

it too... when they listen to our voices, that's not the case... the important thing is that the sway is steady." ([interview with N.A, one of Sinden Campursari's informants KMB].18 November 2023).

In the words of Sinden N.A, they can position themselves as subjects who have full autonomy and authority over their bodies. They firmly dared to take a stand on the treatment of male responders/audiences which they considered inappropriate. In the relationship that exists with the audience, sinden is in a dynamic relationship. The male respondent has great power in determining who he likes and what his physical appearance and support standards are. These responders (especially those who have a personal closeness to the band leader) can be the ones who determine who the desired performers are. In this case, it can be understood that women's bodies are in the context of masculinity. Men are positioned as subjects who have the dominant role in determining who and what is displayed. Sinden in the Performing Arts should not sway, if they see something from the rules of art. In the performing arts that emerged from the palace and outside the palace, there are no rules to allow performers to jumeneng (stand). However, all of this was manipulated by the authorities to gain enthusiasm from the audience and responders to performing arts in Java.

Nyawer as a Cultural Practice

Women's sexuality in Barder (2014) as a "nyawer meeting" has long been a characteristic of traditional Javanese performing arts forms. This form involves what Richter (2014) calls physical movement between performers. Dance events often involve sexual expression and are very popular in Java. Most relevant to the relationship between dangdut, coin exchange and body politics, nyawer is historically a Javanese cultural practice included in life cycle events such as wedding celebrations and circumcisions, where money, rice, coins and turmeric slices are thrown to the couple. the bride or the bride's children (Sandra Barder and M. Max Richter, 2014).

In the traditional entertainment industry, nyawer involves handing money to Sinden who sways like a dangdut singer. In some cases, money is given in unusual ways, for example by tucking money into Sinden's bra. According to Foley (1987), in the context of performances by female dancers, Penyawer's body meets female dancers in an unusual way (Foley 1979: 89-90). The campursari entertainment industry also involves nyawer meetings and usually takes place. When campursari is performed at a performance, the audience often comes forward from their seats to dance with family members and friends. By doing this, it is hoped that the audience will hand over money (nyawer) to Sinden Campursari during the song.



Figure 2 Several teenagers enjoying the campursari entertainment industry dancing in Sragen, Central Java, 2023

Source: Photo by Vici Duta F.

So, it is clear that people engage in nyawer meetings for various reasons. During the campursari performance, it could be said that people give money to the sinden, considering this practice as a form of respect for the campursari entertainment industry and its audience. As a return, the responder will one day also be present at another event. Bader (2014) explains that Javanese people feel obliged to the host family to dance and sing on stage if the host is a family member or close friend. However, those who are not officially invited to the celebration may feel reluctant or embarrassed to do so. However, there are also those who dance and sing without paying attention, and those who dance are usually teenagers (Barder, Sandra and Richter M. Max, 2014).

Nyawer Cultural Practices Arena of Spectator Power

Power, as Foucault (1990) argued, spreads through discourse, bodies and relationships to metaphors in a relationship to existing structures. In this case, it happens to sinden, they are not selling their voices, but the swaying that is presented gives the sinden's body a sexual connotation. According to Soedarsono in Kasiyan (2008), in the performing arts of tledak the sinden usually wear clothing that stimulates men, the sinden seem to really understand what men like and know that their body is a powerful weapon to conquer men. Sinden clothing is in the form of a long piece of cloth, tightly wrapped around the lower body. On the chest, a kemben is worn, which is a long, shrunken cloth that tightly wraps part of the chest, so that the woman's most sensitive sensitive part sticks out, and the top of the hair is in a bun decorated with flowers, a brightly colored scarf hanging from the right shoulder. When walking, the folds of cloth in front of the body are occasionally lifted, so that the sinden's calves are slightly visible (Kasiyan, 2008: 117). The campursari entertainment industry deliberately uses the sinden's body to create an expression. Apart from its body as an expression, sinden through its swaying also creates language. Because there is something you want to communicate through your body or its movements. Sutrisno (1993:3) has an explanation regarding body movements or gestures as a communication medium. The human body with hand movements, facial expressions, etc., is a medium for expressing something (Sutrisno 1993:5). For Kaeppler, sway is a form of communication, which holds its own grammar. Grammar in a language is like grammar which includes structure and meaning. One must learn the movements and grammar: In order to communicate, dance must be grammatical. Dance grammar, like the grammar of any language, includes both structure and meaning, and one must learn the movements and syntax. (To communicate, dance must be grammatical. The grammar of dance, like the grammar of any language, includes structure and meaning, and one must learn the movements and syntax) Language is a source of ongoing circulation as well as a place of establishing power (Kaeppler 1992:199). The allure of sexual seduction or the appearance and face of a singer on stage is part of the attraction of an arts performance

"Usually, when the siden shakes, the audience knows what the meaning of the song from the karawitan is.. if it doesn't, the song doesn't appear.. there are lots of song spots that are initiated by jaipong players.. if the sinden doesn't shake, the meaning of the song doesn't matter either. "There is.. there's no taste.. yes, that also causes a lot of saweran there.. it's mutually beneficial.. the market depends on the place too, right... if somewhere you want a lilting song but you're still told to rock, just follow along" (interview with one lecturer in Solo, Bambang Sasodoro 15 October 2023).

The ruler of the market or performing arts stage is basically the same as the ruler of the body he owns. In a performing arts stage, the sinden must be able to maintain and negotiate her body, so that power/knowledge relations are formed. Through another body. Sinden, with his swaying, tries to control the audience's body with the power over his body. We can see this mastery of the body from the saweran phenomenon in performing arts. By shaking his body, Sinden will get tips or extra money from someone who is satisfied with his swaying, so he will get more tips. A sinden swaying very excitedly on stage will get more cheers than a singer who is older or is shy about swaying.

"These performers are like performing arts centers... where they are always the first to be sought after by Javanese performing arts fans... many regional arts groups have died because they have not

regenerated their performers... because they are like performers of performing arts. So if it doesn't match what the market wants, it will definitely lose out to competitors. (interview with lecturer in Solo, Nil Ikwan 15 October 2023)

In a performing arts stage, the sinden must be able to maintain her body, on the other hand she must also negotiate her body so that power/knowledge relations are formed. Through the beauty of the body, the movements of the hips, the movements of the hands, the curves of the body, the gaze of the eyes, Sinden wants to build efforts to dominate other bodies. Sinden with his body and his swaying wants to try to control the body of the audience, namely the giver of the sawer with power over the body he has. We can see another form of body control in the sawer phenomenon with tips or extra money given by spectators who are satisfied with their body and sway. If the singers can make the audience satisfied, laugh and be amazed, then the more tips they will get. Usually a singer who is very excited on stage will get more cheers than a singer who is still shy.

"Yes, bro, it was the first time I sang nyinden..I was still embarrassed, bro..but in the past I saw my senior sisters who danced excitedly and weren't afraid of the audience..I immediately became happy when I saw the saweran..you can get 500 thousand from the saweran in a day..not yet. stage fees.. starting from that I am brave, bro.. thank God, I now get a big stage.. the job is never empty.. lots of experience too.. the point is, I'm not ashamed or have the courage to accept the consequences, bro.. if the presenter's wishes are strange. The important thing is to entertain them.. ([interview with Icis, one of the Sinden Campursari KMB Informants]. 18 November 2023).

Based on the explanation above, when you see the Sinden campursari swaying, you are not merely seeing a portrait of the beauty of body shape, taste, emotions and sensuality but a discourse of power over one's own body or that of others to gain economic power. Power, as Foucault (1990) argued, spreads through discourse, bodies and relationships in the things spoken by someone intended to describe other things in a relationship to existing structures. This is also demonstrated through pictures.



Figure 3 A campursari sinden swaying with Penyawers in Sragen, Central Java, 2023
Source: Photo by Vici Duta F.

The woman's body is used as a locus for the struggle for power. In this process, women become subjects of hegemony and control of patriarchal and capitalist ideology. However, this does not mean that Sinden cannot position themselves as subjects who have their own individuality (Benedicta, 2011). A civilized society is a society that can regulate women's (bodies) as a source of sexual temptation. For this reason, all forms of manifestation of the beauty of a woman's body must be controlled so as not to provoke sexual desire which is contrary to societal rules (Piliang 2003 in Benedicta 2011). Female dancers and singers (sinden or dangdut) seem to really understand what men like and know that their bodies are a powerful weapon to conquer men.

By swaying, Sinden provides entertainment to consumers to gain personal and entertainment industry profits. By swaying like a dangdut singer, Sinden boldly approaches the audience to get money. In this case, it is very natural for sinden to seek material benefits in the form of money, sexual satisfaction

and stage names. Sinden do not have many forms of body movement, they move spontaneously, matching the movements through the sound of drums, sinden always improvise and match body movements with the beat of ketipung drums. This was proven when Sinden faced an audience who was already drunk.

"If I'm teasing, I usually don't say much.. I usually talk about it in front of you.. If it's not okay, they look at me and then I say rude things in front of me.. Then I keep quiet and don't want to shake it anymore.. As for me personally, that's how it is, if they're already teasing, I said harsh words. But the problem is that if something like that happens, people will definitely make fun of it... usually it's just a warning from the MC... then the show continues... that's what makes me annoyed... personally, I'm usually like that, but then backstage I'm confused and I feel like I'm feeling it. being harassed, but yes, it's a job risk, bro" ([interview with N.A, one of the Sinden Campursari KMB Informants]. 18 November 2023).

According to N.A's explanation, in this case the singers do not have complete free will, they have several unique requirements such as being directed by the Kendhang ketipung (stage commander) and player (keyboard repairman) so that the ruler (responder) can benefit from the audience and entertainment enthusiasts . The audience also has the power to direct the campursari performance and order the sinden to sway with Nyawer. The audience also has the power to raise the singer's stage name through print or electronic media. Sinden uses her beauty to gain appreciation for her master instead of doing good art. He doesn't care about the rules in the entertainment industry. However, he is more concerned with the rewards at the sawer than paying attention to the rules in the performing arts, singers who don't care about this are more concerned about entertaining the audience than thinking about themselves.

"The conditions for getting a big saweran bro... the important thing is if it's above 100 thousand... you're told to do a hot dance on the lap of the singer, yes you still want to bro... It's called free money... if the audience laughs I'm happy... but yeah, keep watching - Look at how much they are asking... if it's only under 100 thousand, I don't want it... it's better if I step aside little by little... hahaha It's called big money, so I don't want it" ([interview with Icis, one of the Sinden Campursari KMB Informants]. 18 November 2023).

In the presentation, Icis Sinden realized that understanding their bodies is a commodity that can be used to fulfill their various interests. Their beauty, elegance and body movements are used to attract the attention of the audience. Shaking, as body control carried out by sinden, ultimately has a bargaining position that can change depending on how much they build a relationship. We can see this from the cultural phenomenon of Pratik nyawer, as objects, these female singers experience objectification of their bodies, but as subjects, they can commodify their bodies to gain benefits for themselves. In this position, the sindens dominate everything and control everything, no matter who they are, whether they are officials, people or community leaders.

Sinden is aware that understanding their bodies is a commodity that can be used to fulfill their various interests. Their beauty, elegance and body movements are used to attract the attention of the audience. Shaking, as body control carried out by sinden, ultimately has a bargaining position that can change depending on how much they build a relationship. We can see this from the nyawer phenomenon. As objects, these female sindents experience objectification of their bodies, but as subjects, they can commodify their bodies to gain benefits for themselves. In this position, the sindens dominate everything and control everything, no matter who they are, whether they are officials, people or community leaders.

According to researchers, Sinden has a double minority in this case. There are social classes and economic classes. In cultural practice, these sinden have a certain class, the power to manipulate the sinden's thoughts through their words, if they do not work as existing sinden, these women cannot work outside the performing arts industry, with women only being in a different position. According to Taylor (2003) that women must represent themselves based on their own desires. Women displaying their femininity does not mean accepting the patriarchal system, but rather a form of expression of themselves that they want to display in the public sphere. In this way, a feminist can be said to be someone who fights

gender inequality but does not reject femininity (Taylor, 2003: 182-198). First, social class is the desire for self-existence. Social class: If Sinden did not have the desire not to exist in the world of entertainment, Sinden would be in a class that could be said to be low. Because social class or what could be called existence is a benchmark for how sinden have class in the performing arts. The second is the Economics class where sinden are required to obey the rules of the Campursari and Penyawer entertainment industry authorities. By swaying, the sinden is required to obey the sexual desires of the singer. By gaining material benefits, the campursari leaders let the sinden sway like a dangdut singer in order to get as much profit as possible.

Conclusion

The campursari entertainment industry cannot be separated from the presence of sinden figures in the eyes of Javanese society, in the patriarchal culture of society, women are still placed in a subordinate position with a feminine role to take care of the needs of men's sexual sphere. Men have a superior position that can perpetuate their power over women's bodies. With the cultural practice of Jumeng (standing) and Nyawer in the campursari entertainment industry, it involves bodily relations between the sinden and entertainment industry fans who dance on stage, in this case it has a sexual connotation.

Control over the body is very important for sinden, considering that the sinden's body is a social body that is not only owned and interpreted by the sinden themselves. On the contrary, it belongs to other relations that are related to the campursari performance. Through control over her body on stage, Sinden experiences a struggle for power between the body and power relations. swaying becomes a bodily practice, the relationship that is built between the audience, power relations and those closest to them is a relationship that is built in an effort to gain power/knowledge over another's body.

Women should be able to control their own bodies in the sense of sexuality, including their bodies. Humans, including night workers, have rights and freedom over their bodies without having to be interfered with by other power relations outside their bodies. However, these sindens still do not have their own view of their bodies. Even though the integrity of the body is formed due to the human mind, the body will still not be intact if someone is still playing around. Their individual side feels whole, but the body is not always whole, because they are only playing with their imagination. The existence of this individual space creates a body that has its own conceptual part, an imaginary side that they get from the spiritual realm of sinden, they must believe that their body feels whole again, regardless of the regulatory norms of the power relations that have been distributed, sinden can feel whole if he expresses it through symbols of religion, sexuality and morality.

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