

## AUTONOMY AND POWER OF WOMEN BODIES FOR WARANGGANA IN NGANJUK REGENCY

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### ABSTRACT

Culture is never separated from the practice of power relations as well as *Tayub* performances. This article attempts to analyze the autonomy of *Waranggana Tayub's* body both in the private and public spheres, and to describe how *Waranggana Tayub* exercises power over his body. This research has used phenomenological qualitative methods. Data has been obtained from observations, interviews, and documentation. The results of the study were analyzed using the theory of power relations put forward by Michael Foucault. The results of the study showed that *Waranggana* is able to determine his body autonomy both privately and publicly as evidenced by *Waranggana* determining the boundaries of his body that can be seen and not seen by the audience. In the *Tayub* performance, there is a game of tug-of-war between *Waranggana* and *Penghibing* which places *Waranggana* as both object and subject.

**Keywords:** *body autonomy, power relation, public, Waranggana, women*

### ABSTRAK

Kebudayaan tidak pernah terlepas dari praktik kuasa, begitu pula dengan pertunjukan *Tayub*. Berdasarkan permasalahan tersebut, artikel ini berusaha menganalisis otonomi tubuh *Waranggana Tayub* dalam ranah privat dan publik serta menjabarkan bagaimana *Waranggana Tayub* menggunakan kuasa atas tubuhnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif fenomenologi. Data diperoleh dari hasil observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian dianalisis menggunakan teori relasi kuasa yang dikemukakan oleh Michael Foucault. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *Waranggana* mampu menentukan otonomi tubuhnya secara privat dan publik yang dibuktikan dengan *Waranggana* menentukan batasan tubuhnya yang boleh dilihat dan tidak boleh dilihat oleh penonton. Dalam pertunjukan *Tayub* terjadi permainan kuasa yang tarik menarik antara *Waranggana* dan *Penghibing* yang menempatkan *Waranggan* sebagai objek sekaligus subjek

**Kata kunci:** *otonomi tubuh, relasi kuasa, publik, Waranggana, perempuan*

### INTRODUCTION

Traditional art is always displayed in events both on a local and international scale such as the Asian Games, the world cup, the G20 Summit and other events. Art has a role as a national identity, tourist resource and tourist attraction (Aldianto, et al, 2020). In fact, traditional art is still an icon of welcoming guests in various countries, such as Brazil with the Samba dance, the Bhangra dance from India, to the typical Middle Eastern dance performed by Qatar at the 2022

world cup. Indonesia, which is known for its cultural diversity, has more than 3000 traditional arts spread across 38 provinces (Wedhatami & Santoso, 2014).

In traditional art, the role of women as performers is no longer in doubt. Women are still the main focus of the audience in various shows. Women arts workers face various obstacles such as traditional art which is now at the crossroads of the era. Art performances are also starting to become less popular (Heriyanto, 2015; Setiawan, 2018; Laura, 2016). Society's negative labeling of female arts workers and the vulnerability to acts of harassment on stage are still a real scourge (Sukari, 2009; Darmawanti & Yanuartuti, 2019; Cahyani & Sudrajat, 2021). Studies that have been conducted (Defi, et al, 2022) found that society's antithetical assessment of women's body art still looks down on their profession. Various negative discourses on female performers seem to have been normalized by society. Female performers perceive negative accusations as a risk from their job. Although it is undeniable that changes in traditional art norms that put aside the ritual side to the commercial side have made female artists dare to display a sensual side (Handayani, et al, 2018; Novitasari, et al, 2019).

One of the traditional arts that still exists today in the East Java region is Langen Beksan or commonly known to the public as Seni Tayub. This art is a cultural product of an agrarian society which is interpreted as a fertility ritual (Juwariyah, et al, 2023). Tayub art is usually performed by the people of East Java for various community activities such as village cleaning ceremonies, baby markets (baby births), weddings, stakes, *merti bumi* (earth alms), building houses, harvesting, *wiwit* (planting) and *boyongan* (moving house). (Purwadi, 2017). This art presents the figure of a dancer who is the main attraction in the show called *Waranggana* or "Ledhek" or "Tledhek". *Waranggana* in *Tayub* is a symbol of Dewi Sri who rejects disaster, brings happiness, fertility, a harmonious and balanced life (Prakosa & Siahaan, 2020). Therefore the practice of *Tayub* Art is carried out based on customs that are recognized by the local community (Purwadi, 2017).

One area in East Java that still preserves this art is Nganjuk Regency. Every year a *Gembyangan Waranggana* event is held which coincides with the Clean Village event in Sambirejo Village, Tanjunganom District. Like a graduation ceremony, a *Waranggana* who has taken training in Javanese *gendhing* dance and singing for about 6 months gets permission to perform at the *Tayub* art event (Wakidjan in Nugroho, 2018). This proves that being a *Waranggana* is not an easy profession.

In her performance, a female *Waranggana* uses her body to attract the attention of the audience, especially the male audience. This is evidenced by the sexual impression that is

displayed on stage starting from the bright clothes, highlighting the sexy body such as the buttocks, chest, hips, and glances in the eyes that increase the audience's desire (Surur and Anoeграjekti, 2004: 26). The Tayub performance is still synonymous with erotic impressions where the escort often touches Waranggana's body parts or inserts sawer money in inappropriate ways, such as inserting sawer money into Waranggana's chest. This problem blurs the boundaries of autonomy and body control privately and publicly from the figure of "Waranggana". As a result, society labels Waranggana negatively because the dance is considered sensual and labeled as inappropriate to be in the upper class or marginalized. Without Waranggana in Tayub art, an event is considered not a blessing or loses its sacredness (Caturwati, 2004: 50).

Based on some of the comparisons above, this article corroborates previous studies related to women's bodies but has a different focus and has never been studied before. The article aims to describe how body autonomy is in the private and public domains for a Waranggana and how they practice power over their bodies as a Waranggana. Michael Foucault's power relations theory approach is used to analyze this phenomenon. Apart from being different in terms of the focus of the study and the theory used, previous studies have interpreted women's bodies as mere objects or commodities. While this article analyzes women's bodies in the private and public domains and bodies as objects as well as subjects of power. Another difference is in the research method used. This article has used a qualitative method with the type of phenomenological research and data obtained based on the results of interviews and participatory observations so that the problem is studied based on Waranggana's experience in more depth.

## **METHODS**

This study has used a qualitative phenomenological method with a power relations theory approach proposed by Michael Foucault. According to Creswell (2014: 4-5) qualitative research is research that seeks to explore the in-depth meaning of a social phenomenon that will be presented from an individual or group perspective. Meanwhile, according to Husserl, the phenomenological method studies the subjective experience of informants (Sugiyono, 2013). In line with this definition, this study seeks to examine in depth how Waranggana interprets the autonomy of women's bodies both in the private and public spheres based on Waranggana's perspective and how a Waranggana uses the power of her body.

The sampling technique of this research is classified as purposive sampling where the informants are determined based on the interests of the research objectives. Informants were taken from Waranggana with experience of more than 10 years with a total of 5 people.

Supporting informants were taken from the Head of the Waranggana Community of Nganjuk Regency and the musicians, 2 assistants, 5 *Pengibing*, and the manager of the Tayub Nganjuk Padepokan. The informants were chosen because they knew Waranggana's track record and history. Informants were obtained by snowball sampling on the basis of recommendations from Waranggana who were met by informants when the observations were made. This research was conducted in Nganjuk Regency which is located in 3 villages namely Sambirejo Village, Selorejo Village, and Talun Rejoso Village. The choice of location was based on the observations of researchers because in that village many women work as Waranggana. Secondary data sources were obtained through the Education, Sports, Culture and Tourism Office in the form of archives of Tayub Nganjuk regulations and data from Waranggana Nganjuk.

The formal approach was taken by the researcher by speaking in the *Krama Inggil* language to informants so that they were free and could obtain detailed explanations. Furthermore, an informal approach followed by conversations on WhatsApp to facilitate coordination with informants. Data collection was obtained from participatory observation results by participating in Waranggana activities starting from before the Tayub performance until it was finished. Researchers made observations on Tayub Clean Village and celebrations to find out the differences. Semi-structured interviews were conducted by visiting the informant's residence and conducting questions and answers based on interview guidelines and other questions that were felt to be able to explore new findings. Documentation has been done in the form of photos, writings, sound recordings, and videos. Data analysis uses the Miles and Huberman model (Sugiyono, 2016) which consists of collecting data obtained from interviews with Waranggana, Pengrawit, Assistants, Guides, and Managers of the Tayub Nganjuk Padepokan which is reinforced by observations of Tayub performances both held at village clean events and weddings. Documentation in the form of written regulations regarding the Tayub Nganjuk order was obtained from the Ngajuk Disporabudpar. The data reduction stage involved sorting and summarizing important data related to the focus of the problem, namely the autonomy and power of women's bodies for Waranggana in Nganjuk Regency, as well as drawing conclusions. Meanwhile, source triangulation was carried out by examining all data sources from key informants, supporting informants, observations, and documentation in order to obtain valid and credible data.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Tayub Art at Nganjuk District

In the tayub performance, there is one person who is in charge of controlling the progress of the event and determining the rounds of the guest of honor who will dance with Waranggana (Ratih, et al, 2005). Meanwhile, Pengibing is a person who is given the opportunity by the flight attendant to dance with Waranggana whose rotation is based on social benchmarks in the form of social status or certain positions such as village heads, village officials, police, soldiers, businessmen, villagers (Ratih, et al, 2005).

At the beginning, the Tayub art functioned as a fertility ritual. Then this art is transformed into performing arts or folk entertainment. This dance is still sustainable, especially in the northern coastal areas of Java (Hidajat, 2014). Currently, the songs sung by Waranggana are not only sacred to Javanese songs, but are collaborated with dangdut songs to attract more audience intensity. In the 1970s the Tayub organization in Malang city changed the names Tandhak, Ledhek, Tledhek to Waranggana to elevate the image of the Tayub dancer, representing Javanese royalty (Hidajat, 2014).

All Tayub artists are members of Hiprawarpala (Assistant Association, Waranggana, Pengrawit Langen Beksa) which has been established since 1985 in Nganjuk district. Every year Gembyangan Waranggana is held, especially in the Big Month (Javanese calendar) on Friday Pahing. Next, the junior Waranggana will receive an identification number for the artist's identity. However, because now there are no Waranggana successors, the senior Waranggana is included again. Currently, the number of Waranggana in Nganjuk Regency is approximately 43 people spread across 22 villages (data from the Tourism Culture Office 2022).

Table 1. The Difference *Tayub Nganjuk* past and now

Criteria	Past	Current
<b>System</b>	Ubyug	Padhang bulan
<b>Wardrobe</b>	The kemben is covered with sampur	The kemben is covered with sampur
<b>Tips (Getting Money from Audience)</b>	Inserted into Waranggana's chest	Money is placed on a tray, given in a handshake

Since 2006, Tayub Padhang Bulan was formed so that the condition of Tayub art is more orderly and accepted by the community. Previously, Tayub was carried out in the "Ubyug" system, where caregivers who had a lot of money competed with each other to give tips to

Gendhing. Conflicts and commotion often occur. Since the existence of the Tayub Padhang Bulan community, only those who get sampur can change songs, so Pengibing can enjoy songs and dance with Waranggana and then change to another Pengibing after 2 songs are played (Head of Hiprawarpala, Nganjuk Regency, October 27, 2022).

Another distinctive feature of Tayub in Nganjuk Regency can be seen from his clothing, which is a tank top and is covered with a sampur that is wrapped around the back to the front of the chest to make it neater (Chairman of Hiprawarpala, Nganjuk Regency, October 27, 2022). Waranggana, Pengrawit, and Assistants receive wages from the owner of the hajatan. However, Waranggana also earns income from saweran or tips. The striking difference appears in the sawer system or giving tips. Prior to Tayub Padhang Bulan, Pengibing gave a saweran impolitely by inserting money into Waranggana's chest. But now the sawer system has changed by giving money through a handshake and placing a tray, although in practice there are still supervisors who put sawer money into Waranggana's chest. In other areas, the saweran money received by all Waranggana will be collected together and then divided equally in equal portions. In Tayub Nganjuk, the sawer money given by Pengibing absolutely belongs to Waranggana personally (PW, Waranggana, 24 October 2022). Pengrawit also obtained a sawer from Pengibing to replace pieces with a range of 5-20 thousand. Usually, it is placed on a plate or cardboard which will be shared among all Pengrawit. Apart from receiving wages from the owner of the hajatan, Waranggana also gives money as a "thank you" to the Assistant in the range of 10-25 thousand.

Waranggana in Nganjuk Regency are divided into two categories, namely senior and junior Waranggana. Waranggana seniors have experience in the world of Tayub for more than 30 years and already have students (Junior Waranggana). Junior Waranggana will get a job based on recommendations from senior Waranggana because in Nganjuk usually senior Waranggana who are well-known and already "have a name" will get more job offers. Apart from training junior Waranggana, senior Waranggana also formed karawitan and jaranan groups such as Wanichang Grub, Rogo Wijaya, and Laras Sekar Melati (TN and SD, Waranggana, 27 October 2022).

### **Waranggana Bodies Both on Private and Public Area**

The body is an element that is always in turmoil, both natural and cultural upheavals; private and public; between the self and the other (the other), individual and social. The body becomes a personal right when it is in the private sphere, whereas it becomes a social right when it is in the public domain. The independence of the body will be relative (relative) when it is in the private space. On the other hand, the body does not have absolute independence when it is in

a public space because it must comply with social values and norms. In this definition, the role of the body is divided into personal and social roles (Piliang in Raditya, 2014).

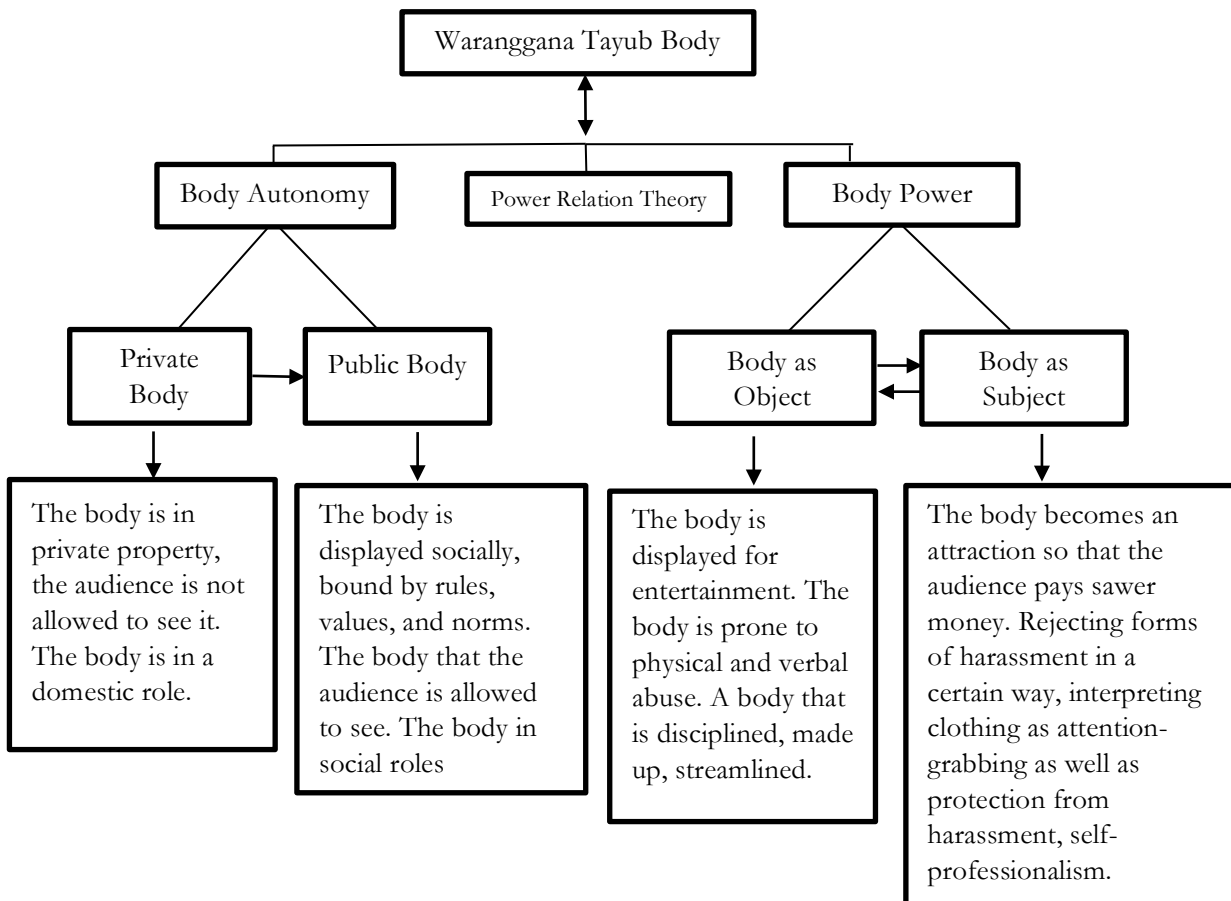


Figure 1. Waranggana and Their Body in Foucault Perspective  
*Source: Processed from Research Result*

In this case, the female body of art, especially as Waranggana, is always in a cultural crisis that requires her body to be in two dimensions, the body in the private realm and the public realm. Waranggana's body in the private sphere belongs to him completely, only he himself can control and see his body. In the private realm, Waranggana requires physical and mental readiness first. Physical preparation of Waranggana through vocal and dance training for senior Waranggana. Waranggana's inner preparation occurs during the Gembyangan Waranggana event where during one of the processions the Waranggana are given sprinkling and drinking water from the Mbah Ageng well and the Sedudo waterfall which are believed to make melodious voices and keep them young. They went through the "Ngamen" procession, in which Waranggana had to sing and dance from house to house so that they would be mentally prepared and appear confident during the Tayub Show. Waranggana has the skill to make herself up with

heavy stage makeup that changes the skin color from tan to white. In the past, occult mystical preparations could not be separated from Waranggana's life. Currently, Waranggana says "basmalah" when wearing make-up and starting activities indicating the Islamization of Waranggana by praying in Islam. In addition, before appearing, Waranggana drinks traditional herbal medicine, turmeric, lime, honey and kencur spices so that his voice is clean and melodious.

On the other hand, Waranggana's body in the public domain is related to a series of rules that ensnare it. The body must comply with the rules when it comes to performing Tayub arts. The body also has to adapt itself to other people, such as how to face Pengibing, and how Waranggana positions his body when he appears in front of an audience. The body in the public space becomes the target of the order, custom, tradition that suppresses it. There is a shift between the private body to the social body which is shackled by all social rules, the body is arranged, slimmed down, made up, guarded, tattooed because of social logic so that the body can be seen socially. The social construction of the body occurs where the body is formed based on existing social constructions so that the body gains a position and continues to exist (Piliang in Raditya, 2014: xxi).

In line with this opinion, the Waranggana social body is the target of various regulations, both values, norms, customs that always govern it. Waranggana's social body is made up to fit when it is displayed socially. During the Tayub performance, Waranggana wore make-up that looked tacky, wore a large bun, decorated with flowers on the top and sides, her hands were equipped with many gold bracelets, had rings attached to her fingers and flashy nail polish, and had a strong perfume. Her ears are wearing large gold earrings, and the side is attached to a large brooch. In terms of clothing, Waranggana wears a tank top that covers the upper body to the ankles. Even so, some parts of the body are deliberately shaped to make them stand out, such as the hips, chest and buttocks. Waranggana's upper body is covered with a sampur (shawl) with striking colors such as pink or bright red that covers the back, shoulders and chest. Not only that, before wearing a tank top, Waranggana had to wear a corset to make her body look slimmer (PW, Waranggana, 24 October 2022)..

Furthermore, the female body is seen as a complex matter. In consumer culture, the female body is interpreted as a meaningful social body. As a body that is displayed in the social sphere, it is general in nature, but also exclusive and bound by the gender ideology that binds it. Without ideology, we cannot define the meaning of the body itself (Thornham, 2010). The meaning of the body changes from time to time following the mindset of society so that the meaning of the body will always change. The body is not only interpreted based on its biological



function but also social. The meaning of body is always open to various definitions. As a result, open meaning places social bodies related to values and norms and social regulations related to socio-cultural aspects (Synnott in Mochtar, 2009).

Waranggana's private body is related to her role in the domestic sphere as a wife and housewife. Meanwhile, Waranggana's social body is related to its social role in society. As a woman who is involved in the art world, for her Javanese art is a beautiful thing. In the midst of the uncertainty of the job offers she received, Waranggana turned to other professions such as wayang sinden, campursari singer, and founded the group of grub pengrawit and jaranan as a form of her love for the art world. (TN, Waranggana, 27 October 2022).

In the concept of body politics, Foucault divides the body into two elements, namely the social body which represents society, environment, culture, and politics. Others have a personal body. The social body regulates how the ideal body is based on the rules in society. In Foucault's concept of Discipline and Punish, the order that governs the body is controlling and coercive, carrying out tricks shown through components, actions and behavior. The social body becomes a body that is ensnared by a power machine, analyzes, describes, and rearranges it (Synnott, 2007:371).

The autonomy of Waranggana's body in the private and public realms in the Tayub performance can be seen from how Waranggana limits the parts of his body that can be seen and those that are not allowed to be seen by the audience. Waranggana's body in the private realm is a body that can only be private property and cannot be seen by spectators. Waranggana revealed that the body that was not seen during the performance was the body in the private realm, the body covered in kemben cloth, (upper body, the body covered with sampur or back to the ankles). Meanwhile, parts of the body that are visible such as hair, head, face, neck, arms and ankles are body parts in the public domain, bodies that are deliberately shown to the audience.. *"Kalau Waranggana sebenarnya tubuhnya tidak ada yang terlihat karena ia memakai kostum begitu rapat jadi tidak ada organ sensitif yang terlihat. Yang terlihat cuma telapak kaki, tangan dari siku, wajah, dan kepala. Pakai jarit, pakai kemben, pakai sampur."* / "In fact, Waranggana's body is not visible because he wears a costume so tightly that no sensitive organs are visible. All that is visible are the soles of the feet, hands from the elbows, face and head. Wear a jarit, wear a tank top, wear a sampur cloth." (SD, Waranggana, 24 Oktober 2022).

The body's shift from the private realm of Waranggana's body to the public realm occurs when Pengibing plays the power of finding ways to touch Waranggana's private body. The way to do this is hugging Waranggana's body while dancing, kissing Waranggana's cheeks to chest when

Waranggana serves guests. Another way was also done so that Waranggana would sit on Pengibing's lap.

### **Body Power in Michael Foucault Perspective**

Culture according to Foucault's view is always related to power and knowledge, because that is where power and knowledge play their role. Relations of power and knowledge always exist in social and cultural spaces, they are everywhere, including art spaces (Setyobudi and Alkaf, 2011). The performances that are displayed on stage or in front of the camera are wrapped in a game of attraction for one another which in the end remains oriented towards a woman's body. This power makes a woman's body the object of economic interests that govern life (Surur and Anoeграjekti, 2004: 26).

Foucault explains that power can come from anywhere and can be in various places. Power does not only come from outside, but also from within, setting regulations and relations from certain groups or social conditions (Haryatmoko, 2002; Raditya, 2014: 234). Power takes various forms depending on different conditions. Because power includes practice in certain locations where there are various interconnected strategic positions (in Sutrisno & Putranto, 2005; Raditya, 2014: 234). According to Foucault, power lies within the body and the body becomes the center of power (in Raditya, 2014: 297). Humans who can control their bodies have more power than those who cannot control their bodies (in Raditya, 2014: 272). Women's bodies are positioned as places of contestation (struggle) for power (Foucault, 1997: 87).

Tayub art is seen as one of the patriarchal cultural practices where Waranggana as a woman is positioned as an object to be shown and seen as inferior. But in practice, there is a tug-of-war between women and men (Waranggana and Pengibing). The contest for body power between Waranggana and Pengibing is distinguished based on the sacred and profane Tayub rituals. In sacred rituals such as village clean-up Tayub, the body's power contestation is limited because it is bound by local custom. The Assistant prohibits Pengibing from getting drunk in the punden area, thereby minimizing physical contact between Pengibing and Waranggana. Even though there were still 2 companions who put sawer into Waranggana's chest, the contestation for power occurred tenuously. Pengibing is more polite to Waranggana, while paying attention to the distance in dancing as far as 1 meter. During sacred events, no Waranggana openly seduce Pengibing. However, when the tutor gave a small amount of money (tips), Waranggana said "Please add more, sir". During *ndoro-ndoro* (Waranggana serving guests at the table), Waranggana smiles and chats to guests. They don't pour liquor because the Assistant forbids it. There was a

spectator who forced Waranggana to kiss him with the lure of adding sawer money, but Waranggana refused this. The assistant rebuked the drunken Pengibing who tried to kiss Waranggana in front of the audience because it was considered impolite. There was no companion forcing Waranggana to sit on his lap. The assistant plays a more assertive role. In Tayub Clean Village, the contestation for power between Waranggana and Pengibing occurs tenuously.



Figure 2. Waranggana Performance at *Tayub Bersih Desa*  
Source: Research Document

Pengibing's body power is influenced by the rules set by the Culture and Tourism Office. The guide must give tips/saweran money politely and at a distance from Waranggana. Pengibing has various characters, and different professional, educational, and economic backgrounds. The honour guests were dominated by village officials, some of whom worked as breeders, traders and farmers. The majority of Pengibing are middle aged. Furthermore, there is a minority of young Pengibing who are still shy about dancing with Waranggana and keep their distance from Waranggana. The old musicians who have an artistic background adhere to the rules of *langen* and dance according to the rhythm of the *gendhing*. There is an old groom who feels that he has money to give in large quantities to Waranggana and has a wild nature (touching Waranggana's body). They often look at Waranggana's body with great desire, seduce Waranggana, dance without paying attention to the rhythm of the piece, and try to kiss Waranggana while dancing by deliberately bringing their body and face closer to Waranggana. They did not hesitate to force Waranggana to kiss him with the lure of a lot of money. There was a companion who gave 200 thousand in cash so that Waranggana wanted to kiss him and sit on his lap. Usually the Pengibing character is "forceful" and if his wish is not fulfilled, he will get angry and try to get closer to

Waranggana's body again. Waranggana did not want to fulfill his wish. "If the character likes to touch it, it's usually because of drinking alcohol, it's impolite, so there are 1-2 companions" (NE, Pengibing, 30 December 2022).

In rituals that are profane, the contestation of power occurs fiercely. The shift of the body as a subject into an object occurs when the guide plays the power to find gaps in areas that are not highlighted by the camera so that they can touch Waranggana's body, such as embracing Waranggana's body while dancing, kissing Waranggana's cheeks and chest when Waranggana serves guests at the table, and forcing Waranggana to want to sit on his lap. companion. Pengibing uses power in the form of sawer money so they can dance with the Waranggana. Waranggana was ensnared by the power to dance and sing songs based on Pengibing's request. Pengibing ordered Waranggana to pour liquor for him and occasionally forced Waranggana to drink beer too. Pengibing deliberately brings his face and body closer to Waranggana without paying attention to the distance rules in the Tayub dance so that he can come into contact with Waranggana's body. There was also Pengibing who wrapped the sampur around Waranggana's neck and tried to hug him. The escort who had succeeded in showing his power to touch Waranggana's body was so excited that he clapped his hands. "Yes, there is Pengibing whose nature is wild. If he doesn't manage to hold Waranggana's body, he's not satisfied. For a Pengibing getting sampur is a pleasure, he will sit and dance with Waranggana and get liquor poured by Waranggana, sometimes stealing the opportunity to kiss and touch Waranggana's body.

On the other hand, Waranggana played with the power of his body with various tactics to win Pengibing's heart so he would give saweran. In every movement of Waranggana, there is a discourse of power. Through her glances, her voice, her smile to captivate Pengibing, and seduce Pengibing. Waranggana also plays on the power of the body through his flexible dances, mendhak movements, pajeg gulu, rocking ingger according to the piece to attract Pengibing.

Furthermore, during profane rituals such as the Tayub celebration, there were Waranggana who were flirtatious towards Pengibing by embracing Pengibing's shoulders and patting Pengibing's thighs. Waranggana replied to Pengibing who patted Waranggana's shoulder with a playful punch to the stomach, rubbed Pengibing's face with sampur and other movements. But not all Waranggana in the show behave like that. Waranggana body power also differs based on their respective characters, there are Waranggana who make it as an effort to get sawer money, there are also those who refuse because it is considered harassment.



Figure 3. Violation of Tayub Art Rules during Celebration Events  
Sources: Research Documentation

The body becomes the main object of discipline. The body is tempered to become adept so that it can be of use. The system of power is embedded in all body forging procedures so that the body becomes competent and valuable. The body is guided and controlled so that its movements are in accordance with the time. Foucault argues that only a submissive body has value. The process of disciplining the body is submission to the individual's body (Hardiyanta, 1997: 162). In line with this, Waranggana wore conspicuous clothing and jewelry and highlighted several parts of their body as a sign that they were able to take over the power that had so far ensnared them. Through their body Waranggana existence are shown. They consciously use their body to appear beautiful, flexible, smiles a lot in front of the audience not only as an object of power, but also as a subject of power to attract and captivate the audience. The more attractive their appearance in the Tayub show, the more money they will get. The more they are known by the audience, the more job offers for them.

Foucault (1997:117) states that where there is power there is resistance. Every time there is a power that operates there is always a conflict against the power itself, which in fact is a resistance that cannot be separated from the relationship of power, because going out of power is an impossibility. Jhon Berger explained the unequal position of men and women where men are placed as subjects while women as objects have been firmly embedded in the cultural space including traditional arts, pop culture, advertisements, pornographic sites (in Lurry, 1998; Setyobudi and Alkaf, 2011). Men's view of women as objects that are shown not only affects the relationship between men and women, but also how women see and position themselves. A system that places men as sex subjects. While women as objects signify the discourse of power

and knowledge. But will this position always be constant and unchanging? Can there be a cycle where women have the power to use their bodies to dominate men? (Setyobudi and Alkaf, 2011).

On the other hand, as Waranggana, they do not necessarily remain passive objects. In this case, women's body politics also plays a role. Waranggana knows how to look attractive. The more attractive he seemed to Pengibing, the more people were interested in touching him. The more attractive Waranggana's appearance, the stronger his existence in the world of Tayub. When a Waranggana is widely known by the public, there are more and more job offers.

Waranggana's body politics was able to captivate Pengibing so that Pengibing often colored them fighting over Waranggana which led to fights. The more beautiful and melodious Waranggana's voice, the more favored the groom will be, who does not hesitate to give a lot of sawer money. Among Tayub, Waranggana fans always come when their favorite Waranggana performs even though their house is far away. It is undeniable that the relationship between Waranggana and Pengibing often creates a feeling of affection for Waranggana. Before Tayub, it was Pengibing who voiced among the Tayubs that they were dancing with their favorite Waranggana. If Pengibing gets a dance partner who is not his favorite Waranggana, he will be disappointed, angry and jealous. Fights are inevitable. If the situation is not conducive, community guards and security forces will stop the show.

The body politics played by Waranggana Tayub caught Pengibing's heart. This affects the relationship between Waranggana and Pengibing during and outside the show. The companion always comes to Tayub when his favorite Waranggana is performing. Not infrequently Pengibing has an affair with Waranggana outside of the show. If Waranggana likes Pengibing, he will often go to the table of the companion he likes when having sex. Waranggana and Pengibing's love life can continue to the level of marriage, but some are not. Waranggana's profession as an artist is full of risks, especially at night. The unavoidable contest of body power between Waranggana and Pengibing causes them to be vulnerable to divorce either caused by economic problems, having an affair with their husband, and violence. Therefore the Waranggana profession needs full support from their partners.

Waranggana's life outside the show is also different. They have different economic status. There are senior Waranggana who are at the peak of their popularity at the middle to upper economic level because they were invited to record, set up art groups so that they can show themselves more on social media. But there are also senior and junior Waranggana whose daily lives are not much different from ordinary people because there is no job. Some become farmers and traders, some become housewives. Waranggana social life is not much different from society

in general. There are Waranggana who look simple, although there are those who look flashy to attract attention. In community activities Waranggana continues to socialize with fellow residents and actively participates in activities such as Koran recitation, Hadroh, social organizations.

Waranggana also performs body power as a form of professionalism in their work. There are companions who give negative offers such as “Come on out tomorrow” or “I have money, come on out, I'll take you home later”. Waranggana did not respond to such an offer and when they returned home they were picked up by their husbands. There were even Waranggana who were accompanied by their husbands and children until the show was over. She is also able to position herself as a Waranggana who is professional in her work but still has integrity as a woman and a wife.

Waranggana's body politics also occurred when they rejected Pengibing who abused him. They were moving backwards slowly while dancing when facing Pengibing who got too close to them. Waranggana turned and kept his face away when Pengibing tried to kiss him. Waranggana also used a swift movement to sweep the sampur at the wild Pengibing who was too close to him. They did not hesitate to throw their hands at the companion who was bothering them from behind so that the companion would not harass them. For Waranggana, the job on stage is to sell voices and perform dances, not to be harassed. They try to avoid various forms of harassment that occur. Waranggana also has self-esteem and cannot be abused.

Waranggana faced various disrespectful treatment from Pengibing. On the other hand, waranggana interprets her attire as a protection from the companion who wants to poke her. Waranggana clothing can be layered and use a sponge that makes several parts of the body stand out. This was done to avoid direct physical touch in the body.

In the struggle for power relations, there is competition between the Waranggana, such as suddenly their voices disappear during a performance, even though outside of the show there is no problem with their voices. Then throwing insults at each other between the Waranggana and trying to look more prominent in terms of sound. Others, Waranggana do silicone injections to make her appearance more beautiful, wearing a large amount of jewelry as a symbol that she is a famous and salable Waranggana. Some of Waranggana's colleagues also ordered him to sing a piece that he could not master with the aim of embarrassing Waranggana in front of the guests. Outside the arena, Waranggana also often shares job information. However, there are also Waranggana who show dislike for each other, don't want to cooperate, and show bad speech, tease each other on social media, and don't greet each other when they meet.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the theory of power relations put forward by Foucault, culture is never separated from the practice of power. Likewise *Waranggana Tayub* whose body is bound by the power of values, norms and culture which makes his body divided into two dimensions, namely the body in the private and public spheres. *Waranggana's* body autonomy in the private sphere interprets the body as the property of the individual himself. Meanwhile, in the public domain, *Waranggana's* body is arranged, made up, streamlined to be displayed in front of an audience. The body's shift from the private realm of *Waranggana's* body to the public realm occurs when *Pengibing* plays the power to touch *Waranggana's* private body. When the Tayub performance began, there was a tug-of-war in the power relations between *Waranggana* and *Pengibing*. In sacred rituals, the contestation for power between *Waranggana* and *Pengibing* occurs tenuously. However, during the profane rituals, the contestation for power took place fiercely. *Waranggana* who is seen as an inferior object turns out to be able to position and use his body power as a subject to attract *Pengibing's* attention in order to get *saver* money or tips.

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