

# Goyang Karawang: Exploration of Woman's Body Between Rites and Fiesta

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This study will discuss about *Goyang Karawang*, which always brings eroticism of woman's body in every show. Eroticism presented through swaying hips is inseparable from the history that surrounds. The changing Karawang district (32 miles of Jakarta, Indonesia) from agriculture to industrial making the culture in this area transformed. In agriculture period, which is almost the entire population of Karawang as a farmer known as *Bajidoran*, is used as a fertility rite to celebrate the harvest. Swaying hips of the dancers in *Bajidoran* later evolved into the cultural identity of the region and then known as *Goyang Karawang*. In 90's *Goyang Karawang* was also known as a dangdut song title that described the condition of the culture. Karawang has been turned into industrial city. *Bajidoran* was adapted to era and is popularly known as *Goyang Karawang* who peddles female's body as commodity with many text weaving. *Goyang Karawang: Exploring of Woman's Body between Rites and Fiesta* is a simple article about the cultural phenomena that occurred in Karawang. *Goyang Karawang* existence as a cultural text cannot be separated from the study of music, history, social, gender, etc., so in the process of research and writing would be in Cultural Studies for weaving the texts which are presented. Ethnography is selected as the method of data collection, considering that this method can describe with deep cultural events.

**Keywords:** Goyang Karawang, Woman's Body, Dangdut

Penelitian ini akan membahas mengenai Goyang Karawang yang selalu menghadirkan erotisme tubuh perempuan dalam setiap pertunjukannya. Erotisme yang dihadirkan melalui goyangan badan tidak terlepas dari sejarah yang melingkupi. Perubahan kota dari agraris menuju industri membuat kesenian yang ada di wilayah Karawang berubah bentuk. Pada masa agraris, masa dimana hampir seluruh penduduk Karawang bermata pencarian sebagai petani dikenal kesenian Bajidoran yang digunakan sebagai ritus kesuburan dalam merayakan masa panen. Goyang penari dalam Bajidoran kemudian berkembang seiring waktu dan menjadi identitas wilayah yang kemudian dipopulerkan lewat lagu Dangdut Goyang Karawang. Kini Karawang telah berubah menjadi kota Industri, sehingga Bajidoran beradaptasi dengan jaman dan kini populer dengan Goyang Karawang yang menjajakan tubuh perempuan sebagai komoditas dengan bermacam teks yang tejal. *Goyang Karawang: Penjelajahan Tubuh Perempuan diantara Ritus dan Fiesta* merupakan tulisan sederhana mengenai fenomena budaya yang terjadi di Kota Karawang. Keberadaan Goyang Karawang sebagai sebuah teks budaya tidak dapat dipisahkan dari kajian musik, sejarah, gender, sosial sehingga dalam proses penelitian dan penulisan akan digunakan Cultural Studies dalam menenun teks-teks yang hadir. Metode etnografi dipilih sebagai metode dalam proses pencarian data, mengingat metode ini dapat menggambarkan peristiwa budaya dengan mendalam.

**Kata kunci:** Goyang Karawang, Tubuh Perempuan, Dangdut

## INTRODUCTION

Dangdut Karawang performances were always enlivened by sensual female singers. The majority of the male audiences make the show more festive with unexpected responses, such as giving money to the singer by slipping between the breasts, and some even tried to touch the singer body. Dangdut singer in Karawang carries out various actions by issuing the sensuality in his singing, words can be spoiled and followed with a sigh, and shake the hips that make the audiences excited. Not only those song sung, but also themed seductive sexuality.

Body in exploitation is as a way to attract attention, especially the element of sensuality into a commodity. All efforts are prepared to look at the beauty and sexiness which can be performed perfectly in the stage. The notice the most crucial stuff, ranging from hairdressing, make-up, clothing, and footwear. Dangdut Karawang singers are racing to be sexy and more sensual when they are singing dangdut song. Songs with the lyrics arouse sexual desire into capital in hawking sound. Strong competition that makes them willing to give sensuality that would invite the desires of the audience, especially the men who were in front of them. Therein Dangdut Karawang singers have the opportunity to attract the attention of the audiences to be captivated by her.

Karawang is located about 75 kilometres east of Jakarta, known as the city granary because it produces the largest rice in the colonial era. In the society of farmers or agriculture, the culture is usually presented to meet the needs of a fertility rite. For instance Bajidor, music and dance are presented in celebration of the harvest. Female dancers present as a symbol of the mythical figure of Dewi Sri giver of life. Bajidor presents hip sway, later known as jaipong dance, swaying hips is adapted from the women's movement when they are cleaning the rice. Swaying hips is then popular with *Goyang Karawang*.

Bajidor rite is a folk performing art that lives in the northern coastal areas, such as Subang and Karawang. Bajidoran often used as ritual after the rice harvest to express gratitude for the harvest obtained. The term Bajidoran in Subang is frequently considered as negative meaning. Bajidor is acronym from *Barisan Jiwa Doraka* (row spirit of disobedience), refers to the behavior of the Bajidoran fans which tend to justify anything in the performing arena, throwing the

money (*sawer*), drank liquor, seduce and expressing sexual desire to sinden or ronggeng. There is other narrative story from H. Hilman (RIP) the headman of Pagaden area, who married to famous Sinden named Cucun Cunayah, he said that Bajidor is acronym from Abah Haji Ngador (Haji abah wander) because many Bajidor fans are Haji. Meanwhile, Tan Deseng (Sundanese Artist) said Bajidor is the acronym of some folk music instrument, namely Banjet, Tanji, and Bodor.

Now, Bajidoran recedes in Karawang. The changing of dynamics city from agricultural into industrial points out as the main reason for the disappearance of this folk dancing. The government has also taken part with the intention to preserve Bajidoran in order to avoid negative behaviors, particularly physical contact which has made between men and women. The physical contact is not just a casual physical contact, but with erotic dance, the dancer frequently gets disrespectful treatment. The man sometimes gives the money (*nyawer*) to the dancer by slipping between the breasts, and some even tried to touch the dancer.

Karawang people can be categorized as a transitional society where the color of the life of industrial society has been felt in the life of the heart rate, but the style of traditional agricultural life has not disappeared altogether. Community is at the gate, 'Neither here nor there' (Durkheim, 2003), not in the frame of the traditional culture, nor in modern frame. To survive and cling to the traditional life is no longer possible, especially because they are not suitable and outdated, but to leave as a whole is also not possible as the model life of the new world which will be addressed is unformed. As a result, people's behavior becomes very ambiguous, the jumble of the old idea with a new idea.

This condition is visibly apparent from a view of the city where the industrial area grows in the middle of rice fields. Other than the society habit, Dangdut presented in the middle of the marriage rite comes as social symbol that is no longer a tradition. Goyang Karawang which had been constructed as a cultural heritage by the government adds the exotica of dangdut which is inspired by Inul Daratista performances. Bajidoran as a rite of harvest is no longer audible and visible in Karawang life society, but the tradition of *nyawer* is persist on Dangdut Stage.

In the Dutch colonial era, Goyang Karawang was used as a symbol or password struggle. The Karawangan women used swaying hips as a code for the fighters when the enemy came. When the enemy came, Karawang women will tell fighters around them with a code of swaying, swaying on the right gives a meaning that the enemy was on the left, swaying on the right to give a code that enemy was on the right, and swaying rotate means the position of the enemy had surrounded.

The story did not just finish, women in Karawang, in particular on Rawagede village have a bitter story in the Colonial era. Large-scale massacres carried by Dutch soldiers on the second military aggression make Rawagede in an instant into a village of widows. On the otherside many women Karawang became concubines by the Colonial, and later abandoned after the Dutch left Indonesia. The term widow widely has a negative connotation, but not in Karawang. It is common woman married and divorced more than four times. Data from the religious court (Pengadilan Agama) in the year of 2016 showed that the number of widows in Karawang increased 400%. And this story certainly contributes the cultural text which is full of sensuality and sexuality bodies that appears.

Now Goyang Karawang has changed its function as a space that is no longer agriculture and not the colonial period. Goyang Karawang comes amid frenzied industrialization as a popular mass entertainment. The swaying hips is present as a commodity that needs to be sold. How is the woman's body in this case Dangdut singer became a central player in the world of entertainment and spectacle, but in a subordinate position in the world is unequal? how far woman body becomes sexual object on capitalism commodity?

### **THE PROMENADE OF WOMAN BODY AND PROSPERITY IMAGINATION**

Evening, between the sparkle of the moon light in Karawang, a middle-aged woman was busy answering telephone from the public whose requests to enliven the event which will be held. Lia Ozawa dangdut singer who was quite famous in Karawang, she almost spent her days every night on the stage. Lia began her career as a Dangdut singer in Karawang since she was in high school. Although her parents did not allow her become a singer, but she loved his profession as a star. Lia is from an educated family.

Her father is government employee in Karawang. Lia claimed to start a singing career because it was inspired by television sparkle. At first she wanted to be *Jaipong* dancer like what she saw in the TV shows. Then in 2003, when Inul shaked Indonesia with *Goyang Ngebor*; Lia also assured themselves to be like Inul. In the begining Lia started her career as Dangdut singer from stage to stage. The rejection from her family did not make her recede. In 2006, she made her own dangdut group named Askara, which is an acronym of Asli Karawang.

The presence of television in Karawang brought significant cultural change. One of the woman characters of Dangdut singer who chose the nickname Lia Ozawa has been very visible. She chose Ozawa name, which was incidentally taken from a Japanese porn star named Maria Ozawa. Ozawa known as a sex symbol in the virtual world of sexuality brings imagination to hear the name. Surely Lia too, as a dangdut singer, she offered sexual imagination such as the porn star Maria Ozawa.

Andrew N. Weintraub, an ethnomusicologist from US discusses in detail some of the figures in the Indonesian dangdut from the king of dangdut Rhoma Irama up Inul era that brought new phenomenon dangdut into music with the sensual sway. Andrew also noted how Dangdut went back in the "exploitation" by the world of entertainment, including broadcast TV program dangdut music, until the contest looking for dangdut singer. In 2006, in an informal survey on a weekly television program showed that 29 of the 43 events devoted to the music dangdut (67%), while other calculations showed that dangdut was displayed on the screen almost ten hours per day.

The presence of Inul Daratista in Indonesian TV (2003) brought many changes on dangdut genre in Indonesia. Inul was considered raising the image of dangdut even to foreign countries. Dangdut previously is often derided as a musical "fried peanuts" in the 1970s and was associated with grassroots poor which later has turned into a form of entertainment that was highly appreciated by the public. The woman who was born in Pasuruan, East Java, January 21, 1979, began a career stage as dangdut singer in the folk events in Pasuruan, East Java. Initially his father did not agree with his decision to sing, but with strong determination and wanted to help the family economy, she still advanced. Before entering the total performance into the world of dangdut, Inul preferred

to bring the Rock songs than dangdut, because of this background, too, Inul preferred to sing dangdut songs re-arranged using the style of dangdut music with arrangements of rock music is different with Rock songs sung by the musician Rock itself, for example Jamrud, Rif, Boomerang. Similarly, the upbeat songs are often sung by Inul: Poco-poco, Goyang Dombret, Jaipong, the action stage was also very interesting. Stage action is known as “Goyang Ngebor” Ngebor (drilling) is associated with Inul’s style moving his hips rotating to the left, to the right in a clockwise direction or the reverse, up and down, there are enchanted and some are aghast, rocking is considered erotic and indulgence of sensuality by people who do not support Inul. Inul’s performance became famous while creating the pros and cons in the whole society, not only among musicians but was expanding Indonesian dangdut including the politicians, clergy, students, workers and so on. Indonesian dangdut presence in the world has created thousands of loyal fans, both in villages and cities. Lia Ozawa is one of them. Life choices as a dangdut singer obtained from virtual impressions are present in her life. Maria Ozawa with images of sexuality and Inul with images of sensuality become important references in the career of Lia Ozawa.

Dangdut is really loved in Karawang. Every celebration (marriages, circumcisions, thanksgiving, etc) is not legal without a sparkling dangdut stage. Dangdut performance is a symbol of prosperity in Karawang. How could not be? Karawang grows as the largest industrial city in Southeast Asia which makes the inhabitants have enough income to buy an entertainment. Fancy Dangdut stage, sparkling lights, audible sound which can be heard until hundreds meters, inviting all the people to present to enliven the celebration. Not only that, *nyawer* habit (giving money to the singer and dancing together) is a sign of economic status and must be declared in front of the audiences.

Askara (Dangdut Group) in certain months is crowded of receiving a request to perform. In this month Askara will perform for 25 times. Removing and rebuilding the stage will become daily work and that could be exciting and exhausting for this group. Complete package with a stage, sound, lighting, instruments, musicians and five singers are facilitated by Askara during a celebration. Consumers only need to spend 8-10 million rupiahs for one show. Usually Askara starts the performance at 1 pm until

sunset, and continue again after *Isya* (prayer time in the evening) until night passed. Lia admitted to not intend for trying the recording industry to further popularize her group. However, she always makes video documentation on every show. She submits the video to the agency which then they multiply the video into thousands of copies and sold freely in Karawang. Lia did not get money from the VCD sale, but her group (Askara) gets popularity and the invitation to perform never stops.

The performance of Dangdut Karawang is actually almost similar to Bajidoran rite, which differentiate only types of music, musical instruments, and costumes. In appearance, Dangdut Karawang is categorized as Dangdut Pantura (Northern Coastal) Style. Dewi Persik (Dangdut Singer who is popular with Goyang Gergaji) on Dangdut Television Program said there are three important elements in Dangdut Pantura: voice, swaying, and interaction.

The singer’s voice that must match with the standards of dangdut genre, as well as singers must be able swaying the hips, swaying the hips does not mean just moving the hips alone and slowly but should be creative as possible so that it can be an attraction to captivate the audiences. Apart from the voice and swaying, dangdut singer Pantura should be able to interact with the audiences in front of them, because of the nature of dangdut Pantura is more populist, not only enjoyed by the singer, but all those who are in the arena, including the audiences who should come to enjoy the song they sung. Apart from Dewi Persik, Inul Daratista has also said when commenting to the contestant D’Academy in Indosiar (National Television) that dangdut could not be enjoyed there is no shake or sway, even though the song is presented a sad song but always remember to shake or sway even when the song is not happy. Dangdut without swaying is like vegetables soup without salt. So, be reasonable if Dangdut Karawang can’t be separated from the swaying hips, especially Dangdut Karawang has a narrative history of Goyang Karawang struggle, which later became the region’s identity.

The term of Goyang Karawang has been known since the 90s when Lilis Karlina used the term Goyang Karawang as dangdut song title. This song reminds that Karawang have Goyang tradition associated with the history of the struggle. At first Goyang Karawang, women do when they cleaned up the paddy, then the colonial era used it as a sign of the

war, which has now become entertainment Goyang Karawang coming with dangdut and Jaipong. Here are the lyrics Goyang Karawang:

*Kalau ingat akang ke tanah Sunda  
Jangan lupa Kang kota Karawang  
Kota sejarah dan perjuangan  
Punya tradisi Goyang Karawang*

*Dari dahulu sehingga sekarang  
Goyang Karawang tetap disenang*

*Goyang kiri, goyang kanan  
Geol kiri, geol kanan  
Goyang! (Serr..) Goyang! (Serr..)  
Goyang, goyang, goyang (Serr..)*

*Air laut aduh... asin sendiri  
Boleh dicoba kalaulah sudi  
Goyang Karawang itu tradisi  
Perlu diingat jangan dicaci*

*Reff: Goyang Karawang jadi hiburan  
Gendangnya dangdut seiring suling  
Kalau goyang-goyang memakai aturan  
Perut yang gendut menjadi langsing  
Goyang Karawang jaman sekarang  
Dicampur dangdut dan jaipongan*

*Asyik goyang-goyang lupa punya utang  
Biar perut kosong keroncongan*

*Goyang Karawang menarik hati  
Seiring nada silih berganti  
Mengajak anda untuk berjoget  
Goyang Karawang tetap disenang*

*If you remember 'akang' to the Sundanese land  
Do not forget 'Kang' about Karawang city  
The city of history and struggle  
Has a tradition named Goyang Karawang*

*From the time so now  
Goyang Karawang is still loved*

*Swaying to the left, swaying to the right  
Shake left, shake right  
Swaying! (SERR ..) Swaying! (SERR ..)  
Shake, shake, shake (serr ..)*

*The water of the ocean oouch, salty taste*

*Even if willing to be tried  
Goyang Karawang is traditions  
Keep in mind not to be mocked*

*Reff: Goyang Karawang is entertainment  
Kendang Dangdut harmonized with flute  
If swaying the hips there is rules  
Abdominal fat to be slim  
Goyang Karawang today  
Mixed dangdut and jaipongan*

*Fun sway forgotten in debt  
Let empty stomach growling*

*Goyang Karawang is interesting  
Along the tone turns  
Invites you to dance  
Goyang Karawang is still loved*

Lia, the singer and the owner Askara always start the performance by singing Goyang Karawang song. There is no definite reason why this song shall appear in the opening of the show, but Lia claimed all dangdut group in Karawang do. So, this is like a rite that has become a tradition and identity of Dangdut Karawang. Identity is understood as a reflection of a common history and cultural codes that make up a group of people become 'one', although from the 'outside' they look different (Stuart Hall, 1990). Pride in the history of the nation struggle with swaying hips into images that amplify the actions or behaviors that may be widely considered taboo.

Goyang Karawang song is sung by a woman and the first stanza appear the word 'akang' and 'kang' in the phrase 'Kalau ingat akang ke tanah Sunda, Jangan lupa Kang kota Karawang' (If you remember akang to Sundanese land, do not forget Kang about Karawang City) which means a call to men. That is to say the song is dedicated to men. In the fourth stanza is the words ... this tradition, ... do not to be mocked. These words may be interpreted as the legitimacy of Goyang Karawang as a tradition that should not be mocked, it allows, there are people or men who underestimated Goyang Karawang action.

Performativity of Karawang dangdut singer is very attractive, different from other Dangdut singers in other areas. Lia admitted that there are no special rules or norms agreed upon in the community about her appearance. Precisely the people ask Dangdut

singer to appear as sexy as possible. This is different from other regions around West Java, the presence of Fundamental Islam is now limiting Dangdut singer performativity, ranging from hours to clothing worn gig singer. Dangdut sexy appearance in Karawang make man excited to give money (*nyawer*) and dance. Sexy body with lust provocative attire often create negative stigma attached to Dangdut singer, however the singers enjoyed it. Sexier means more audiences dancing and giving money, so the income is also getting higher, about 5-10 million rupiahs in a night.



**Figure 1.** The audience giving money (*nyawer*) to the sexy singer (Captured by: Gilang MS)

### DISCARDING THE MORAL LIMITS: SONGS OF MARGINALIZED WOMEN.

During the day, after the call to prayer at the home yard on Tegalsawah village, Karawang seems like the singers are busy preparing before the performance begins. They apply make-up, arrange costume for attractive appearance in front of the audiences. The preparation room is usually located in the back of the stage with quite narrow space. When the singers are dressing up, it seems some people to come giving small pieces of paper containing song requests so it can be sung by Askara singers.

The event begins, Master Ceremony introduced the singers one by one with the dangdut rhythm. The singers introduce herself with swaying the hips followed by one by one. The Askara singer does not hesitate to wear very skimpy, up curves stand out. Each singer has a different way of swaying, so some singers got the nickname according the swaying. This also happens in popular dangdut industry, call Saskia the Swaying Ducks, Inul the Swaying Drill, Dewi Persik the Swaying Saw, etc.

Goyang Karawang song is sung after the introduction. All Askara singers perform on stage and swayed all. It is a ritual procession of the opening always done by all the Dangdut Groups in Karawang, not only Askara. After the opening procession, the singer began to sing in accordance with the request song written on the scrap paper. Audiences began to enter into the stage for dancing with the seductive singer and they give money (*nyawer*) to the singer. The performances paused when a call to prayer sounded and continued back afterwards.

After Isya' time, the audiences are already familiar with the rundown waiting for Lia Ozawa (the singer and the owner of Askara) impatiently. Lia's appearance is awaited, not only because of her voice, she always looks stunning with the action. When the MC summons Lia Ozawa, she came out from behind the stage and the audience's eyes immediately fixed on Lia. Lia's performance is riveting, with striking costume and makeup. In the night performance she applied strong eye makeup in black color and her expressions that indicate sinister but sexy. Her action stage is very unique. Starting with swaying the hips like jaipong dance, somersault, twist the head of more than 30 seconds, climb the rigging, climb the ranks of sound system that Lia did. That night Lia sings dangdut song entitled Abang Rony. Abang Rony song tells about girl who is missing so badly for Abang Rony.



**Figure 2** Lia Ozawa Performance (Captured by Gilang MS)

After Lia Ozawa performed with fray attractions, then other singers sang the requested songs. The next stage performer is not as sensational as her. But they sang with sensual swings and calling the audiences up on stage. When Askara singer sings a song alone, and

spectators who want to dance more than one person, then the other singers who were backstage forward to center stage to accompany the audience who came to the stage to dance. At that moment, the audience gives money to the singer's (*nyawer*), and the singers who were given by the audiences continued to sway the hips in front of the audiences hoping that the money are not interrupted. Money continuously flushed them as if they were more excited to sway.

The swaying hips which are provided by the singers who accompany the audience dancing does not have a special pattern. The swaying is spontaneous but tempting. Askara singer performances always brings excitement, not only swaying or shaking, chatter and sigh spoiled always present in their appearance. Supported by attractive Sundanese drum (*Kendang Sunda*) rhythm makes Askara as the most famous dangdut group in Karawang.

Lilis Monica one of the Askara singers that night sang requested song from the audiences, entitled *Juragan Empang* and *Janda Bodong*. With seductive voice and swaying hips that inspires passion, some men were immediately greeted by onstage. Lilis's friends were then accompanied by the men, who took to the stage so everyone got a couple to sway.

Andrew N. Weintraub in "Dangdut Stories: A social and musical history of Indonesia's most popular Music" (2010) discusses the development of Indonesian dangdut as folk music. 1970s, Dangdut was considered as urban music from lower classes. Dangdut favored mostly men and women in rural and urban narrow alleys. One thing that makes it so easy that dangdut music "spread" is because the lyrics of the song are simple, easy to understand, and take advantage of everyday situations experienced by the general public. Dangdut, in the view of Andrew, had become part of the title word "people" in Indonesia.

Indonesian dangdut music development in line with the movement of the capitalist system adopted new order of government. Thanks to technology, dangdut burst, move and merge together the music recording industry in Indonesia. Dangdut move with the modernity of the country looked "sparkles", while people are still many who are still struggling with problems such as poverty, unemployment, until personal problems moving along parallel society dangdut song lyrics.

Janda Bodong song is a song most requested by the audiences. The lyrics of Janda Bodong in the use of the word can be interpreted only a minor and lowly. Bodong is a term commonly used to denote something improperly. For example, Bodong car means the car without a legal letter. So, it can be interpreted that Janda Bodong is a widow without a valid letter from Religious Court. The following is lyrics of Janda Bodong song:

Suamiku tergil-gila janda muda beranak dua  
Minta izin berpoligami aku tak sudi  
Gara-gara tak mau dimadu kau nekad pergi  
meninggalkanku  
Tak pernah pulang-pulang lagi u sakit hati

Bilang tak berani kau tiru cara sensasi  
Kau talak kau cerai diriku lewat sms  
Mana kejantananmu ana hati nuranimu  
Kau buat diriku bagaikan baju rombeng

Reff:

Aku si janda bodong, suami minggat kecantol kalong  
Istri bukan, janda bukan, statusku digantung-gantung  
Aku si janda bodong, surat cerai kosong melongpong  
Istri bukan janda bukan, nasibku digantung-gantung

*Janda bodong! Janda bodong!*  
*Korban egonya lelaki*  
*Janda bodong! Janda bodong!*  
*Korban poligami*

My husband is crazy about young widow with two kids  
Ask permission polygamous I did not deign  
Because I do not want be co-wife, you left me  
Never coming home again makes me hurt

Daren't tell you how to emulate the sensation  
You divorce me, you divorce me via sms  
Where is your manhood, where is your conscience  
You made me like rags

Chorus: I'm the *Janda Bodong*, runaway husband  
hooked bats  
The wife is not, widow is not, status-hanging  
hanged  
I am the *Janda Bodong*, empty divorced  
papers  
Wife not, widow not, my fate hung-hanging

*Janda Bodong! Janda Bodong!*  
Victims of male ego  
*Janda Bodong! Janda Bodong*  
Victims of polygamy

Janda Bodong song lyric tells of a woman who would falter status, since abandoned by her husband who wants to do polygamy. Her husband divorced her via text and left it like old clothes. The lyrics of Janda Bodong use stylistic assonance. Gorys Keraf stated that assonance is a kind of style that is tangible looping similar to consonants. It is usually used in a poem, sometimes in prose, for suppression. Style of Janda Bodong assonance in poetry can be seen in the similarity of the sound of each stanza causing rhythmic effect. This rhythmic effect that causes the lyrics Janda Bodong are easily memorized and attached to the memory. For example, the rhythmic sound effects can be seen in the first six stanzas, the suffix of each stanza has the same rhythmic sound effects.

Besides the issue of linguistic, Janda Bodong song is also a social picture of Karawang community. Industrial estate in Karawang makes the town attracts many foreign workers (expatriates). The consequences faced then are difficult biological needs, which are met. The foreign workers live in Karawang in a relatively long time and usually do not bring their families, so many of whom later arranged marriage with a local woman. Usually the marriage contract is done about 2 years with 15 million monthly wages excluding the cost of living. The marriage contract is valid marriage by religion (Islam) but not legally valid state. Some respondents (Performer Marriage Contract) claimed to want to do this for money. The amount of money that many rated tempting to obtain a better life. They also claimed that there are no social consequences because many women do this Karawang. Not only that, non-formal education institutions offer language courses to address the needs of the communication gap with foreign workers, vulgarly decorating Karawang city.

Dangdut debate in the realm of religion and politics in Indonesia could be the issue in the 2000s. Weintraub stated during the New Order regime (1966-1998), the production of pop cultures was strictly controlled by the government. This control aimed to make all forms of entertainment to be free of politics. Almost no space left for the occurrence of resistance to absolute power when it was owned by the government. Even

the text content of the song and costume artist, did not escape from supervision. (Weintraub, 2010)

Even if music can be used as an instrument of resistance, but not massive or substantial resistance. The shape is more to an expression of popular resistance that is "difficult" because of the crush of economic hardship. Dangdut is always crocheted by group working class and the poor as consumers or audience, especially in rural areas, where the majority of the economic circumstances are mediocre. While welfare uneven and gaps are higher, dangdut becomes a tool or medium for the working class groups to express their dissatisfaction and grief in the form of entertainment.

In different decade, dangdut function has shifted continuously in projecting social and political change in Indonesia. In the 1970s, dangdut was medium to preach and disseminate Islamic ideology. In the 1980s, the female singer began to appear in dangdut music scene. The lyrics are sung usually voiced sorrow and lamentation of women or wife about the love story and a painful affair. It can be concluded that dangdut lyrics generally reflect the experience of women who are trying to survive in an unhappy marriage in the context of the tradition of patriarchal society and does not see women as equal partners with men.

During the 1990s, dangdut genre is defined as a national genre by the Indonesian government. In the post-New Order regime, controls in the entertainment industry began to soften. Simultaneously, the debate around the themes of gender, religion and politics were associated with dangdut music performances are also getting warmed up.

As one of the largest Muslim countries, Indonesia is unconditional and may be deconditioned to implement the values of decency, particularly those related to sexual practices. Under pressure to express these practices and sexual instincts, dangdut then became a media or producers who provided eroticism through the body, dance and women's voices. There are various forms of variation in this dangdut, such as dangdut Koplo Pantura. Performances of this kind of presents attribute such sexual sexy costumes and sometimes cheap, erotic dancing and lyrical content inviting and tempting for the male audiences. In addition, there is also a tradition in the show of dangdut (*nyawer*) which actually comes from the

tradition of the dancers in West Java, where people give money (*nyawer*) to a female singer as a reward for their sensual dance. It is also a sign of the male audiences who asked to be invited to dance on stage.

### FINAL CONSIDERATION

This article entitled *Goyang Karawang: Exploration of the Woman's Body between Rites and Fiesta* is a simple description of the social conditions in Karawang district, using dangdut as woman's body commodification in order to serve the male sexual fantasies. On the other side *Goyang Karawang* has actually become a public media to express their sexual desires in the eastern zone of cultural modesty integral to the identity of the territory exalted.

Mikhail Bakhtin, a Russian philosopher, said how to understand the events of the carnival as an event in which the mass of the opportunity and freedom to act and break away from the norm and moral restraints normally found in their everyday life.

In the context of *Goyang Karawang* as an event, dangdut performances can be understood as the only zone in which sexual expression is allowed to be presented or displayed. In the case of dangdut, dangdut singer presents the experience for the audiences to a longing for the past and a form of protest against sexual oppression which were very provocative and binding.

The Dangdut singer as victims of the patriarchal system to serve the needs of male sexual or economic commodity in the music industry are created. But on the other hand, these women are as a subject who has the power through the appearance and actions. Therefore, dangdut performances have explanation is far more complicated than capitalism and the dominance of gender inequalities for singers. By understanding the performance of *Goyang Karawang*, we could see woman singer as the subject, we will also be able to understand much more interesting explanation about the dynamics of social class and gender relations.

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