



Negotiating dangdut sexuality:

A glance through female audiences' music enjoyment

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2018

Abstract

Dangdut as the most popular music in Indonesia is highly sexualized on its representation of women despite the fact that Indonesia is a religious country. Dangdut's sexualization is prominent on its performance, lyrics and culture. Banality, is the face of dangdut. During its public shows, many of the male audiences are more often than not intoxicated and engage in physical fights. Yet to date, there has never been a study on the enjoyment of female audiences' in dangdut's predominantly male audience. This thesis hence aims to critically paint the picture of female audiences' cultural enjoyment in dangdut.

Adopting a feminist audience research, the research was conducted by interviewing nine interviewees in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, where dangdut is considered more banal than other big cities in Indonesia. Ranging from age 23 to 28, participants in this study explore their dangdut enjoyment and meaning making by the notion of musical pleasure, musical identity performance and female dancing bodies. This thesis aims to relate female audiences musical enjoyment to the disciplinary power and their female bodies objectification.

This study discovered that female audiences' meaning making of dangdut, thus, lies on their personal, sexual, social, and "Indonesianess" experience. Female dangdut audiences are subjected to disciplinary power and have to continuously negotiate and carefully perform their musical identities based on their subjectivity: gender, class, and religious beliefs, especially in the presence of others. Participants in this research want to be identified with some but not all dangdut's values, especially not its banality and sexualized context. The male gaze's disciplinary power over female bodies is moreover apparent at work with regards to their cultural enjoyment of dangdut in public spaces. Consequently, female audiences of dangdut prefer closed, intimate spaces to perform their bodily enjoyment of dangdut music in response to their bodily security and gender expectations directed at them.

Keywords: dangdut, female audiences, feminist reception studies, disciplinary power, gendered experience of music, Indonesia, popular music.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to the loving and positive-spirited family of Media and Communication studies, Lund University, who has become my support system since day one. Especially my supervisor Tobias Olsson, who have been incredibly supportive and encouraging in this learning journey.

To those who stand beside me and make sure I am going strong in writing this challenging subject, covering and tolerating my absence as well as my presence: Rasmus, Rini, Kiky, Cynthia, Raka, Nastitya, Michiel, Hayu, and Zaki. I am forever grateful.

I also would like to express gratitude to the interviewees of my study in Yogyakarta who were willing to open up about their dangdut experience and give me insights on their problematic strive for musical pleasure. Without their extensive contribution, this thesis would never exist.

Long standing appreciation also goes to the Lund University Global Scholarship Fund. The grant given for my master study has led to the discussion about dangdut and female audiences music enjoyment. Hopefully, this will broaden the academic hunger to understand the social world in a multiperspective and multicultural way, especially on media and communication studies.

To my father, mother, Danis, and Diva, thank you for tolerating my philosophical discussions during this process and to have faith in me.

To my grandparents, who despise dangdut so much they couldn't believe I wrote this thesis: this is for you.

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Introduction

'[Dangdut represents a] sensitive and useful prism through which to view Indonesian society'

William Frederic (1982: 104) cited in Weintraub (2010:13)

Dangdut, Indonesian's most popular music, is clearly under researched despite its prominent position in the world of popular music in Indonesia and its neighbouring countries (Campbel, 1988). Indonesians are exposed to it every single day, through social gatherings, public spaces, shows, etc.

Dangdut has enjoyed the high economic and cultural values mostly directed to Indonesian/Malaysian audience because its themes appeal to the two countries' low class masses (Nuvich and Campbell, 1998; Weintraub, 2010), especially in the last few years. For example, in hosting the 2018 Asian Games, Indonesia has appointed dangdut singer Via Valen to sing its theme song. The decision was taken due to its considerably wide audience and its significant position to represent Indonesian's popular music (reported by *kompas.com*). Not only that, *Liga Dangdut Indonesia* or the Indonesian Dangdut League (LDI), an infamous dangdut talent show broadcasted by Indosiar, occupies prime time with a daily schedule along the week. In January 2018, the upper middle rating of LDI parked at 9, while Indonesian Idol that started its season at the same time, placed 15 (Rayendra, 2018). Dangdut has also been used prominently by political practices during elections, in regional and national scope, for its enormous appeal to the Indonesian people (Weintraub, 2010).

However, in the recent years, many discourses in public point out that dangdut's appeal lays on its sexualized and banal performance by its ladysingers (as noted from *Coconutjakarta.com*) and its 'ridiculous' lyrics (Campbel, 1998). This come with consequences if we calculate Indonesia as a religious country. The rising dangdut star Inul Daratista was not given permission to perform on stage in 2003 because she was visually provocative in performing her 'drilling' dance

(Raditya, 2017). Raditya also noted, there are 13 dangdut *koplo*¹ songs that are banned by the government because of their sexually provocative lyrics (ibid.). For better understanding, see Appendix 1. However, *koplo* has become the prominent champion in Indonesia's dangdut universe since television creates talent shows such as 'Dangdut academy' or 'Bintang Pantura' (ibid.). Banality, thus become the face of Indonesian dangdut. Needless to say, its audience were predominantly lower-middle class young male Indonesians (Campbel, 1998; Weintraub, 2010).

However, audience of dangdut has always been represented in media as banal and uneducated (Weintraub, 2010). When writing about dangdut audiences' representation in popular print media, Weintraub suggest that 'They were viewed as incapable of acting together in an organized way; rather than acting, they were acted upon as objects that could be read about in popular print media. When they did become active, at concerts for example, they were accused of being unruly and violent' (Weintraub, 2010: 106). As Weintraub acknowledges, dangdut audience has never been able to speak for themselves in these media platforms (ibid.). Their voices are left out from the discussion.

Referring to Heryanto, with the highly significant value attached to popular music in Indonesia, research on this subject is rarely done. This dues to three major reasons: first, it is seen as new in significance; second, the majority of paradigm in social researches; and 'the prevailing of masculine bias in our scholarship more generally' (2008: 6-7). He suggests, that the study of Indonesian popular music lacks of a feminine perspective and it becomes the problem in the study of popular music in Indonesia (ibid.). Although researches on dangdut performances and performers in ethnomusicology have been done in a number of study, nonexistent research about female audiences perspective of the genre is an evidence of the knowledge gap in the study of Indonesian popular music and this research aims to fill in the gap. This thesis argues tries to fill in the gap on the study of female audiences' of dangdut considering their seek of pleasure and meaning making in a genre that is heightened in female bodies objectification.

¹*Koplo*: a sub-genre in dangdut that gained prominence by incorporating more western musical influences, such as pop, rock and reggae, as well as a faster tempo based on the distinctive *koplo* rhythm of kendang drums" (Coconut Jakarta, 2018) and is known as more banal and sexualized in context.

Familiarizing dangdut

Dangdut is glorified as the music of the Indonesian people. It is labelled ‘as the authentic music of the Indonesian people [musik asli rakyat Indonesia]’ (Harahap, 1996). Established in 1960s in Surabaya, Semarang, and Jakarta, with typical sound that combines Indian, Arabic sounds and Malay orchestra sound (*orkes melayu*) (Hatch, 1982; Heryanto, 2008), dangdut’s musical characteristics lay on the use of the musical instrument ‘*kendang*’ to ignite the dance rhythm (Weintraub, 2010; Hatch, 1982). Dangdut was prematurely enjoyed as the music of the lower social class (ibid.). However, in 1980s, dangdut infiltrated television and changed completely from its original shape in terms of performance. Across Indonesia, which has 350 languages and culture, dangdut is reproduced throughout the culture, therefore it transcends to other genres as well (Campbell, 1998). There are 2 different types of dangdut songs, upbeat and slow, in which the former is sometimes used to reproduce other songs in the market (ibid.).

In the past, dangdut is a genre that encourages positive social and moral values in its lyrics and performances. However, it has changed (Deyoung, 2018). Nowadays, dangdut’s main attractions are its performance and dance (ibid.). To paint a picture on this, see Appendix 2. In the context of dangdut, women have become the victim of the patriarchal society to fulfill men’s sexual desire and to fulfill its high economy values in the industry (ibid.), particularly after the creation of dangdut *koplo* in 1990, in which the subgenre’s main appeal lies in “sexy and provocative singers that serenade the crowds over those throbbing *koplo* beats” (*Coconut Jakarta*, 2018). It’s worth to mention here that there is a number of male dangdut singers in Indonesia, although they are not so many. Some of the male dangdut singers have the image of being masculine singers, while others present themselves as feminine selves.

While the audience of dangdut has always been predominantly men, women have occupied the central stage as performers in the past decades, *nyawer*² practice, and its song lyrics. Dangdut is closely related to the objectification of women bodies. There have been several occasions

² *Nyawer*: audiences’ attempt (mostly men) to give money to lady singer on the stage for their performance for their singing and erotic dance. In some occasion, the money are not handed in, but tucked in into their brassiere (Foley 1979: 89-90).

throughout history when islamic religious groups, local government offices, prohibited dangdut groups to perform because of their erotic stage dances (Weintraub, 2010; Heryanto, 2008).

Ladysingers' performances becomes the center of discussion because they often appear, sing, and dance in a sexually provocative way on the stage. In 2003, the infamous dangdut singer Inul became a phenomena since her 'drilling' dance was seen as erotic and challenging religious and national moral values resulted in governmental and religious ban for her to perform in many parts of Indonesia (see Appendix 2). In the light of this, many also see it as the stimulus toward the anti-pornography bill discussion (UU APP) inaugurated in 2008. Many writers see this as a fruit of performing body politics in post-Soeharto era (Weintraub, 2010). One can not denied that Inul's controversial dance inspired ladysingers came after her to popularize themselves by using provocative dance (Thiar, 2017). This bill, taken from www.dpr.go.id, prohibits anyone to present themselves in a public shows that depicts nudity, sexual exploitation, or other pornographic characters (article 10) with maximum 10 years of prison or 5 million rupiahs of fine (article 37). In comparing the practice of dangdut (especially of the phenomenal Inul Daratista with 'tledhek' (women dancers in 'tayuban' practice) Weintraub suggest that 'in both dangdut and tayuban, women participate as audience members, evaluating dancers and enjoying the festival atmosphere of dance parties. Female dangdut singers are 'owned by the people' (*milik masyarakat*), much like the 'tledhek', who are considered every man's property' (Weintraub, 2010: 192).

Although the genre was mostly sung and performed by female singers, song lyrics are not far to put women in a controversial position. Dangdut attracts people based on its rhythm and the 'simply stated, fact-of-life lyrics that deal with social and emotional topics' and most of the time it is straightforward 'by the standards of this country about sex' in lyrics (Campbell, 1998). Many of the lyrics in the songs are also, in Campbel's term: 'ridiculous' (ibid.). Although in 1990s censorship was given to songs that are not 'appropriate' for national moral values, songs that put women as the center of sexual and social discussion are still circulated (Weintraub,

2010; Raditya, 2017). For example, a lot of dangdut songs put widower as having a characteristics of naughty and having no one to rule her sexually (Weintraub, 2010).

Dangdut is also closely associated with the practice of *nyawer*¹. This dates back to the Javanese and Sundanese cultural practice which mostly occur during wedding ceremony and circumcisions, in which money, turmeric, and *tektek* are supposed to be thrown to the brides or the children (Bader and Richter, 2014). Wallach argues that this practice create a subordination of ladsingers to the audience (2003).

Aim and Research Questions

The under-representation of women is noted in several popular music studies (Griffin, 2012; Mullaney, 2007; Hill, 2016; Wood, 2006) across the multidisciplinary of the scholarship world. However, little is known in the case of Indonesia's dangdut, a genre that gains prominence by its sexualization of female bodies and identity, born and popular in one of the world's most populous country, not to mention dangdut's pronounce in the culture of music enjoyment, politics, and gender representations.

This study is meant to give dangdut female audiences voice in the discourse of dangdut as Indonesian popular music. The study is specifically packed within the realm of gendered experience of music in which subjectivity, power, and performance will intersect with one another.

This study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How do female audiences make meaning of their dangdut listening practices?
2. How do dangdut female audiences' subjectivity negotiate and perform their musical identity?
3. How do mechanism of power influence dangdut female audiences dancing experiences in dangdut music?

This study is an opportunity to give a feminine insight on Indonesian most popular music that is built around women's identity and predominantly aim at male audiences. This study tries to fill in the gap between the feminist audience research in Indonesia and the enjoyment culture of popular music by conducting in-depth interviews with young Indonesian women who have experience of attending or being exposed to live dangdut shows and explore their subjectivity and performance within the genre.

This study acknowledges that dangdut is diverse in subgenres, starting from popdut, *dakwahdut* (that includes religious teaching), *protestdut* (that is signified by its critics toward the government), ethnicdut, etc. However, this study wasn't aimed to make a reading on specifically defined-subgenres of dangdut because it aims on female audiences' experience, perceptions, and meaning making of dangdut music. As Rosemary Hill's study on metal and rock female fans (2016), this thesis is focused on what female audiences have in common rather than in differences.

Literature review

'Music is one manifestation of the human's incessant need to communicate with his fellows'

Garvias (2004: 10)

This part of the thesis is aimed to provide a literature overview that becomes the bases of the research. This thesis is guided by three particular theories on popular music and its components in general (including how music is heard and made into meaning), gendered experience of music, and Foucauldian perspective on power. By using the feminist audience study approach, this thesis strives to unravel female audiences' experience, meaning making, and how power works upon their seek for pleasure in music by using the presented literature review (Hermes, 2013).

Popular music

Many theorists have tried to define popular music, but it has been everything but easy. It is Shuker (2005: xii) who envisions that the term itself opposes 'precise, straightforward definition'. Of which Hesmondhalgh and Negus (2002) agree. Björk states that popular music is a term that is shared by diverse music genres that is unique for one to another in terms of aesthetics and musical practice (2011: 10). According to Adorno, popular music is closely related to the division of high and low culture (1941). He approaches popular culture through a comparison of 'serious' (or classic, or traditional) music and 'popular' music (in Longhurst, 1995: 4). Frith then explains that popular songs are those that 'express 'commonly held values' and speak for 'the millions who treasure them' and thus becomes a part of oral history (Frith, 1996: 161).

MacDonald et al. (2008) explained that music is found to be a part of several activities such as travel, physical work, brain work, body work, emotional work, and attendance at music shows as audience member. On these occurrences, music occupies many functions. Based on the listener's choice, sourced on predominantly qualitative and ethnographic research (i.e DeNora, 2000; Sloboda et al., 2001), music's functions can be listed into: *Distraction*, to reduce boredom and to put away attention; *energizing*, to stay attentive on tasks; *entrainment*, to give the groove

elements to the task being performed; and *meaning enhancement*, putting additional values to the significance of task in one way or another.

Although traditional cultural theories like Adorno (1940) and MacDonald's (1953) saw popular culture audiences as passive and standardized, contemporary cultural theories explained that audience should be seen as an active and powerful agents in the meaning making of the products of cultural industries, as Ang explained:

The audience no longer represents an 'object of study', a reality 'out there' constitutive of and reserved for the discipline which claims ownership of it, but has to be defined first and foremost as a discursive trope signifying the constantly shifting and radically heterogeneous ways in which meaning is constructed and contested in multiple everyday contexts of media and consumption" (1996: 4).

In listening to songs, audiences are exposed to three things at once, they are: words, rhetoric, and voices (Frith, 1996: 159). Words, which appear to give songs an independent source of semantic meaning; rhetoric, words being used in a special, musical way, a way which draws attention to features and problems of speech; and voices, word being spoken or sung in human tones which are themselves 'meaningful', signs of persons and personality (ibid.). 'Song words are not about the ideas, but about their expression. Songs don't cause people to fall in love, but provide people with the means to articulate the feelings associated with being in love' (Frith, 1996: 164).

Tarrant et al. (2002) explored how musical taste is important in forming one's social circle. 'Music is an active ingredient in the organization of self, the shifting of mood, energy level, conduct style, mode of attention and engagement with the world.... Music's 'effects' come from the ways in which individuals orient to it, how they interpret it and how they place it within their personal musical maps, within the semiotic web of music and extra-musical associations' (DeNora, 2000: 61). In specifically referring to pop songs, according to Frith, language boost this experience (1996: 159). Words in pop songs are significant to people (ibid). 'That they are central, to how pop songs are heard and evaluated... The first is to argue that these romantic

formulas, somehow reflect changing social mores and thus give us useful evidence as of how ‘the people’ regard love (and associated social mores)’(Frith, 1996: 159).

It’s important to note here, that this thesis make use the popular music theories presented in this subchapter to paint the path for the analysis. They are used to justify the term ‘popular music’ used for dangdut in this thesis and how later it explains how female audiences use them through their use of its components. It also paint the way for musical identities discussion that is later related to female audiences’ subjectivities.

Gendered experience and popular music’s dimensions

From this point of departure, this research will make use of Hill’s notion that music is a gendered experience. “Gender is a crucial part of that shaping, yet gender is typically only seen as relevant to women; men’s experiences, are seen as general and universal (Wittig, 1992)”, in Hill (2016: 1). Janice Radway with *Reading the Romance* (1984), Ien Ang with *Watching Dallas* (1985), David Morley with *Family Television* (1986), and Joke Hermes with *Reading Women’s magazine* (1995) have become the stepping stone toward qualitative studies of gendered engagement with media by exploring whether and how gender disrupts the ways women consume media in their everyday life. They eloquently discuss issues of gender identity and media consumption that take place in actual situations in which ‘gender positions are taken up by which men and women, with what identificatory investment, and as a result of which specific articulation’ (Ang and Hermes 1996: 339).

Green (1997), Kruse (2002), Frith (1996), and Hill (2016) argue that music only exist inside the social. Meaning that music is formed through our experience and heard in our social context (ibid.). Lucy Green posited, ‘both experience of the music and the music’s meanings themselves change complexly in relation to the style-competence of the (listener), and to the social situations in which they occur... music can never be played or heard outside a situation, and every situation will affect the music’s meaning’ (in Frith, 1996: 249-250). Frith suggests that to understand the meaning of music, one should understand the culture around it (ibid.). ‘The meaning of music

describes, in short, not just an interpretive but a social process: musical meaning is not inherent (however ambiguously) in the text' (Frith, 1996: 250).

Hesmondhalagh in his book *Why music matters* suggests that there are two dimensions of music, merely the private and the social (2013). The private realm of music offers intimacy to the private self, of which he refers to the 'flourishing of people' feelings'. The second realm, he suggests is the social realm of music. Music becomes 'the basis of collective, public experience' (ibid.:1). Hesmondhalagh insinuates that to gain more understanding on the role of culture in people's life, insights on the emotional experience of music is vital (2012: 366). He proposes five paths on how researchers should approach it, as he called it 'human flourishing' (ibid.:370). First, music is able to make people aware about the walk of time in life, the journey of growing old and mature in one's life; second, that music has the power to boost our sense of community, allows us to connect with other people through music; third, music allows the cooperation of our self-awareness and movements as in dancing in music, fourth; enhancing our understanding of other people's feeling; fifth, music is a bridge for cooperative activities which emphasize the internal reward rather than the external such as money and power (ibid.: 371-373). He states that the focus on experience needs to acknowledge people as *emotional* beings of which dynamics of cultural forces such as power, history, interplay with each others. In line with Firth, he argues, that one way to approach music is to suggest that music somehow puts words into our feelings (Frith, 1996: 262).

However, in Hill's study, she figured that emotionality is not always the appeal of a song or a music (2016). She argues that proposing intellectual account on musical pleasure is seen as fostering 'male's perception' (ibid.) of which female audience can never be seen as full participants (especially of metal and rock music). She argues, that since music is always experienced in a social context, the pleasure of 'other sensual and imaginative encounters' should be taken into account (2016: 164). In which Hesmondhalagh later suggests in criticizing his own notions that 'individual experience is always socially determined and mediated' (2012: 374).

Corner in 1991, coining ‘the new audience research’ as a way to understand the multi-identity of the people and how it influence their engagement to the media (Hermes, 2013). Hill (2016) argues that a number of studies has focused on women cultural engagement with ‘feminine’ media forms (Radway, 1984; Ang, 1985; Baym, 1999); but not ‘masculine’ ones. She argues that it is extremely important to engage such a study so that feminist can challenge the dominant sexist perception about women’s engagement and their intellectual competencies thus lead to explore how patriarchal ideology ‘works through pleasure’ (Hill, 2016; Hermes, 2013). This thesis is a work on that. It strives in explaining how disciplinary power works in female audiences’ seek for musical pleasure. Thus, this framework is important to build up the knowledge and situated the research under feminist audience study. However, it conducts not to what Hill suggests as ‘masculine’ media forms but rather media and popular culture that is consumed and evolved around predominantly male audiences of which sexualization and objectification of women bodies and identities are at work.

As the touchstone of this study, Hill’s study on female metal and hard rock fans finds out that her interviewee continuously negotiating the music and the representation of female audience in the genre to make sure their participation for musical enjoyment is safe and pleasurable (2016: 165). Research on punk, metal, and rock music audiences shows that women feel the pressure to fit in the music scene (Haenfler, 2006; Hill, 2016). In punk subculture the role is limited to have men characteristics or ‘submissive girlfriend’ role (Haenfler, 2006). In which many women decided to avoid the later, or ‘sexual bodies’ (Hill, 2016). In discussing gendered performance of female audiences in DIY Punk scenes, Griffin noted that ‘as a reaction to the hyper-masculinity of the scene and assumptions of female inferiority, women may feel a need to assimilate in behaviour and appearance, for acceptance and respect’ and that women need to adjust to the social norms to be accepted (no make up, tattoos) (2012: 74-75). In citing Leblanc in 1999, she writes: ‘punk is constructed and enacted as a discourse of masculinity .. punk girls are constrained within male-defined gender expectations’ (ibid.). However, Griffin argues, that punk scene performativity can also be seen as a rejection toward widely viewed femininity in which female audiences negotiate and play with the distinction of gender performance (ibid.). This notes on

several studies of female audiences enrich this study's analysis on female audiences in dangdut by using them as a bases of analysis, however, as the studies are different in music genres, they are also different culture. Female audiences that were studied before had differences in age, cultural engagement possibility, subjectivity, class, and sexuality. In short, they are different in values. Thus, this research takes a stand on female audiences' subjectivity in analysing their musical identity and take a space to understand their musical identities negotiations and how they perform their dangdut music enjoyment around it.

Here, this thesis relates to Abercrombie and Longhurst's idea to create an analysis of how female dangdut audiences 'perform' their music enjoyment in the face of others. One performance/spectacle are done with the knowledge that they have an audience (1998). 'One's identity is built upon one's sense of belonging to the imagined communities where diffused audience exist' (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 117). Abercrombie and Longhurst also mentioned that the members of the imagined communities share commonalities to each other, within a symbolic boundaries (ibid.), of which in this study, female dangdut audiences hold an ambivalence position of.

This research makes use of the musical realms of music enjoyment theories by relating it to female audiences' experiences and how their meaning making flourishes around them as a gendered experience. As the bases of this research analysis, these theories are closely related to the use of songs components, such as lyrics and beats of which, Frith argues, 'build the message' (1996) and is found within the data analysis.

Foucauldian power theory and female embodied subjectivity

Subjectivity is an important part in everyone's making meaning and experience and usually used interchangeably with the term subject, individual, agent, person or social actor (Rebughini, 2014:1). Within the discussion of subjectivity, feminism had put forward the idea of embodied subjectivity. It works by changing the notion of subjectivity into a subject that is gendered, racialized, culturally defined (ibid.:5). Thus subjectivity doesn't merely refer to white male,

European, rational subject (ibid.). This subjectivity is found in female audiences who have different ethnicity, religion, and class, and thus becomes a foundation in their meaning making. I use the term subjectivity to follow Björck's note that identity would be a term referring to the psychological state of being inner, stable, and coherent (2011), in the other hand, subjectivity is fluid (Butler, 1997). In this study, however, female embodied subjectivity is evident to be subjected to power relations. At this point, the thesis make work of Foucauldian power theory and its development toward female bodies.

In challenging the traditional conceptualization of power, Foucault, explained that 'Power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere' (1979: 92-93). Foucault sees power in a form of micro relationship of which it is able to control, influence, direct, or make the other 'do' something (ibid.). Foucault proposed that power in society is present in any kind of human relations and this power relation is mobile, can be modified, and is not fixed (Foucault 1984/1997: 291-292). In this point of view, power is seen as a tied relation rather than an institution. Thus, power is not vested on, but rather an execution (ibid.). This power relation, however, occurs as a non-fixed condition. In order for power relations to come into play, there must be at least a certain degree of freedom on both sides (ibid.). Foucault implied that both freedom and resistance are significant to the power relations, and it will stay inside the relations (1980). The change of the power relation is possible. Power is exercised as long as the subordinate(s) allows it, meaning that resistance to power is always possible (Triantafillou, 2012; Foucault, 1980).

Foucault states that 'agency of domination does not reside in the one who speaks but in the one who listens' (1979: 62). To complement it, Gramsci suggests that 'dominant group does not merely rule by force but leads by consent: it excerpts 'intellectual and moral leadership' (2009: 75)' as cited by Storey (2014). Gramsci argued that hegemony occurs as a result of 'negotiation' between those of dominant and those of lower power position that there is always an ongoing relationship (ibid.). Foucault also explained that power has its productive characteristics that "traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse"

(1980: 119). Discourse, thus, according to Foucault, is not just a tool of power, it can also support, hinder, transmit, and make it possible to thwart it (McLaren, 2002: 90).

At this point, I would also put into the context Foucault's idea of Panopticon, an influential concept based on Betham's semi-circular prison with a high tower meant to 'watch' the prisoners (1979). Inmates, in this model, aren't able to see whether they are being watched or not, or whether there are any guards in the tower (1979: 201) and thus far become on alert to always conform to the virtual observation (ibid.). In this study, female audiences felt to be subjected to a continuous control over their actions and attitudes. '... to induce in the inmates a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power' (Foucault, 1979: 201).

He [sic] who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power, he makes them play spontaneously upon himself, he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles, he becomes the principle of his own subjection (1979: 201).

Female audiences in this study are clearly becomes subjected to power by their choice of musical identity and their seek for musical enjoyment. It's perpetrated through various ways, such as gender expectations and disciplinary power through male gaze. As Vaz and Bruno suggest, one would act accordingly to the power's expectations of them, but only because we are aware of the observation it (possibly) conducted (2003). It also means that 'We would act differently if given the opportunity to escape power's eye' (ibid.: 276). Foucault's term, *normalization*, that refers to one's action in conforming to 'a whole range of signs' of gestures, behaviours, rituals, in order to be taken seriously (Foucault, 1982; Björck, 2011). Gandy in his book suggested that, there are '... more subjective form through which the individual actively participates in transforming himself or herself into a disciplinary subject' (1993: 10).

'For both feminist and Foucault, the body is central for thinking about subjectivity, for understanding the effects of social and cultural norm, and for developing resistance to normative practices' (McLaren, 2002: 114). In complementing and criticizing Foucault, Bordo and Bartky assert that the cultural construction of body is always gendered (ibid.: 92). Bartky suggested that

there are three different gender specific discipline toward women, they are: practices to result in women's body shape and size, practices that produce certain repertoire of gestures, and practices that boost bodily adornment (ibid.: 93). The first notion works with women's exposure to 'ideal' body and shape, to be slender and 'good' shaped, including dieting and try to lose weight. In rhyme with Young, the second practices put women to act like 'a girl', with less bodily compartment, restriction toward bodily movements (2005). According to Young, women are always concern about their body, that makes them hesitant to engage in physical activity (ibid.). '... women have a tendency to take up the motion of an object coming *toward* them as coming *at* them' (ibid.: 39). This to say that there is a block between women and their bodies that is made up with the way sexist society cut deep and produce restrictions to women bodies (Young, 2005; Griffin, 2012). Howson argues based on Simone de Beauvoir's idea (1949/1972), that female body 'is considered an object that is looked into and examined' (2013: 70). This perception constructed by medicalization, scientific optics, and society (ibid.).

The source of this is that patriarchal society defines woman as object, as a mere body, and that in sexist society women are in fact frequently regarded by others as objects and mere bodies. ... as shape and flesh that presents itself as the potential object of another subject's intentions and manipulations, rather than as a living manifestation of action and intention (Young, 2005: 44-45).

The third one refers to bodily qualities, such as no wrinkles, hairless, including the use of too much or less make up. This has influenced women in constructing their experience in performance even within their social circle. These notions then draw us to Goffman's suggestion that performance management occurs under setting, appearance, and manner (1990) and how one is 'performing' in their musical enjoyment in this context. Abercrombie and Longhurst elicited that one performance/spectacle are done with the knowledge that they have an audience (1998). The acknowledgement of bodily performance and its significant in constructing one's identity in the society is used further to analyse female audiences' bodily enjoyment in dangdut. In this thesis, this notion is used particularly to analyse female audiences' limitation in performing their dancing bodies, although they acknowledge that dangdut is a dance music.

Methodology and Method

This chapter of the thesis is meant to give an overview of the methodology and methods used in researching female audiences in dangdut in the scope of media and communications, sociology, and cultural studies. I start with critically reflect on the methodology of the research, and continue explaining method and data collection conducted in this study. Next, I walk through the description and rationalization of my data analysis. Lastly, I reflect critically on the course of crafting and conducting this research.

Sciences from below, a phronetic research

This thesis relies heavily on Harding's notion of 'standpoint theory' and Flyvberg's phronetic research. In this study, female audience of dangdut is treated as the 'marginalized people', in which Harding argues that this methodology is fruitful to gain an affluent socially constructed knowledge (2004).

This research correlates in the sense that female dangdut audiences' experiences are 'enabled and constrained by the assumptions and practices of dominant institution' (Harding, 2008: 117) by their female bodies and identity objectification in dangdut music genre. This thesis also strives to find the realities of female dangdut audiences by observing 'what people can come to know about themselves and the worlds around them' (ibid.).

A case study on female audience in dangdut is used to unravel the discourse of gendered experience of music and the power structure around it. As Flyvberg suggested, a case study could provide 'concrete, practical, and context-dependent knowledge' (2001: 70). This study, thus, fit perfectly in providing exactly the expected knowledge embedded in dangdut culture context (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 544). This research focuses also on answering Flyvberg's four significant questions: "1. Where are we going? 2. Who gains, and who loses, by which mechanism of power? 3. Is it desirable? 4. What should be done?" (Flyvberg, 2001: 162).

Although not in explicit manner, this thesis strives to answer the questions in relation to the female audience's perspective on dangdut.

Harding also emphasized that 'Dominant groups can not understand the nature and causes of their own social situations if they examine such topics from their own 'native' perspective' (2008: 14). Haraway insists that 'subjugated standpoints are preferred because they seem to promise more adequate, sustained, objective, transforming accounts of the world' (1988: 584). In this study, it is important to explore how gendered experience of music and power is at work for dangdut female audiences.

Flyvberg argues that case studies often reveal narratives that 'approach the complexities and contradictions of real life' and when paired with phronesis, it is 'a sign that the study has uncovered a particularly rich problematic' (2001: 84).

However, it is hard to do well in qualitative research interview (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015: 19). However, pilot interview that I conducted was a way to put it into perspective. Ann Gray explained that piloting is important to help recognize primarily failure or success in a result (2003: 102). It enhances the chances of successful research significantly (Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001).

Method, piloting, and conducting the research

In discussing about feminist reception studies, Hermes argues that 'qualitative audience studies have arguably been the best possible expression of feminist engagement in media studies' (2013: 61). She argues that through conducting interview, as done by previous feminist reception studies, it can challenge the regime of patriarchal power experienced through dominant gender definitions as posited in media and media genre (ibid.: 64). Brinkman & Kvale suggest that to understand meaning making in people's world, talking with them is the best way to seek the knowledge (2015: 1). Hermes also suggests that feminist reception studies sees individuals as an

agent that is subjected by power and therefore they construct their meaning based on their shared cultural values and social structures (ibid.:64).

It is important to mention that the complexity of the topic such as patriarchal culture in the music genre made it crucial for the researchers not to ‘set social or moral norms for individuals’ (Hermes, 2013: 63). The interviews were done as conversations which becomes one character of qualitative interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015: 27). This interviews becomes a mean to construct knowledge (ibid.:57) in which both the interviewees and I seemingly exploring the knowledge together.

Jensen, however, posits that the difficulties with interviewing is that people do not always say what they think, or mean what they say (2012). An interview might be the first time the interviewees articulate their view on a certain phenomenon (Jensen, 2012: 270). This is evident during my research, that some of my interviews said ‘.. *well, this is the first time I got the question, never thought about it before*’ (Nana), or ‘..*wait, it means there is a problem..now that you asked..*’ (Tata). The difficulty with respondents articulating their own experiences means that the interview can not guarantee the authenticity of the interviewees accounts are (Gray, 2003: 200). This takes us back to the notion of performance management by Goffman in which people consciously and subconsciously try to create a certain image or good impression (1959). On those moments, I would let my interviewees had their train of thoughts without interrupting it, although I might ask few questions to clarify what they meant after.

Interviews conducted in this research is semi-structured. Before conducting the sampling interview, an interview guide was prepared in advance that touched upon topics that I would like to discuss with the interviewees. However, with the tough challenges of revealing female audiences experience in their everyday meaning making and attending dangdut music shows, the interview guide is extensive, touching upon seemingly broad topics (see Appendix 4). However, reflecting on the feedback from my thesis seminar, I narrowed the case toward women’s participation in dangdut as a genre that occurs in their everyday life and social circles around

them, and not into a specific subgenre. Thus far, this thesis doesn't aim to explain the complexities of female audience in dangdut's subgenre as in dangdut koplo or *temon holic*³ but more into female audiences' meaning making and their participation in dangdut events around them such as: wedding ceremony, public shows, karaoke, concert, etc in relation with their gender and subjectivities. At the very base, I categorised female audiences' meaning making and performance in the light of everyday life and social events.

During the interview, I used several songs to contextualize the questions, merely about dangdut lyrics that insinuating objectification of women bodies or patriarchal societal prism presented in dangdut songs such as in *Perawan atau Janda* (Virgin or Widower) by Cita Chitata, and *Hamil Duluan* (Got Knocked Up First) by Tuty Wibowo (see Appendix 1). As in turn, it also happen from the interviewees side. Female audiences during the interviews searched the web for lyrics and/or artists' name, youtube videos. Some of them even sang to refer to particular dangdut songs. With this in mind, I was able to construct knowledge through the flow of the conversation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015: 27). In this way, both the interviewees and I are exploring the subject matter and knowledge together (ibid.: 57). Topics that rose, among others, are: female audiences' meaning making of dangdut, their self-discipline in being associated to dangdut-identity, performance management, and female audiences' bodily performance in public.

I use the word 'audiences' in this research to refer to those who are actively listening dangdut music, and occasionally exposed or attend dangdut shows in their neighbourhood. Thus, the notion of place of being a Yogyakarta residence is very important because then these interviewees have experienced to be subjected into particularly Yogyakartans' style of dangdut shows. Yogyakartans are chosen based on the banality of dangdut in the area, in which compared to other cities in Java, topped the rank. In this study, all of the interviewees expressed to be occasionally exposed to dangdut shows. Most of the participants direct their dangdut songs

³ *Temon holic*: a dangdut fandom characterized by their unique flash mob done together in dangdut shows. Initiated by a young male dangdut fan from Klaten Muchtar Setyo Wibowo a.k.a Temon. This fandom holds the spirit of not getting drunk and putting forward their togetherness at shows.

listening practice through the use of digital media such as streaming services, and see digital piracy as an outdated means although they once enjoyed dangdut by using them too (Weintraub, 2010; Sherlock, 2008).

The contacts to invite interviewees for interviews were done prior to my visit to Indonesia and continuously done during my visit. My strategy in conducting the interview was by approaching my contacts and expand them with snowballing methods. I approached several friends of mine who I know that like dangdut and are regular listeners of it to connect me with their female friends who has the same music liking. I also spread the word through social media (Instagram) and got several responses to connect.

The interviews were conducted during my visit to Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in March 2018, in which I happen to interview eleven women in which two languages were mostly used: Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese. Both languages are the interviewees' native languages of which happen to be mine too. Through their native language, it is certainly easier for the interviewees to explain their point of view. The pilot interview was done within a group interview with two female audiences to observe the possibility to have a group interview for the future. As the nature of pilot interview was to test the interview guide, it was very beneficial for me to test and revise my interview guide afterwards. However, it was decided that it's better to conduct individual interview to make a more effective and on-focused data gathering and not to use the pilot interview as a main data. Therefore, I went on to interview nine dangdut female audiences of which I happen to use eight of them.

Everytime before the interview was conducted, every participants was given a slight oral information about the research, the aims, and the scope of the research. Every single interviewees were given a consent form (see Appendix 6), and have signed them. In these consent form, and in oral explanation, the interviewees were told that there are possibilities of inconvenient questions, and that they are allowed not to answer them or stop their participation

instantly. They were also told that a copy of the research could be provided if they would be willing to read them.

Interviews lasts from around 34 minutes to 2 hours and 13 minutes, as long as they needed to. The interviews were all conducted in public spaces such as kafes, KFCs, gym resting area, and all occurred in Yogyakarta. The interviewees were varied in occupations, ranging from student, housewives, private officers, to internship doctor. They are in the age of 23 years old to 28 years old. In terms of ethnicity, most of the interviewees are Javanese. They are also well-educated, which makes it easier for them to express and reflect on their opinion. Interviewees in this study also comes from middle class, which also means that this thesis is a reflection of the dynamics of class in dangdut audiences. Here, I also need to set the limitation that female audiences in this study are all heterosexual females and most of them have a partner or a husband.

After finishing up with the interviews, I had the opportunity to join dangdut shows during my last week in Yogyakarta as a form of observation, but not as a point to analyse (although I decided to put some insightful note in the analysis very briefly to support the analysis). I see this as an important point of departure in researching the topic. At the least, to be familiar, to experience, and to observe dangdut crowds, especially the female audiences. I visited three different shows conducted in a club, some sort of concert hall, and in a community's football field. I treated my ethnographic observations as a enriching experience of which I got insights on female audiences' social crowd in these dangdut shows and their bodily security. The observations were done during the first week of April, of which notes, videos, and pictures were taken and used only to paint a picture in this thesis' analysis.

Data Analysis

After all the interviews were transcribed, I printed them, and read them thoroughly. I also reread them and listening to the recordings at the same time to make sure nothing were left behind. Then, lines of the interview transcriptions were open-coded and put into categories and themes. Yin states that it is significant to go back and forth between the data taken and theories available

in order to construct a clear path for the analysis (2003: 3). Theories read in this stage covered musicology, sociology, communications, and gender studies.

I used colors to pick the themes on the printed paper and transfer them to computer to have a better working structure. With this, I was able to find the main themes of the data (see Appendix 6 for better illustration). A lot of time during the analysis stage was spent on pinpointing the data to the knowledge available, because the entangled and interconnected topics were laid out and open to multiple interpretations (Gray, 2003: 147). These interrelated topics, for example, were female audiences' social enjoyment of dangdut and their gendered meaning making of dangdut. However, enriching the knowledge was very fruitful to bridge the topics. Working on the themes and categories, then I was able to construct the structure of the thesis and start to work on it.

However, it is evident that there are cultural translation that needed to be performed in analysing the data, in which it requires the cultural interpreter to be bicultural in a sense (Katan 2004: 17). A cultural mediator 'facilitates communication, understanding and action between persons or groups who differ with respect to language and culture' (ibid.). As Harish put it, 'the unit of translation was no longer a word or a sentence or a paragraph or a page or even a text, but indeed the whole language and culture in which that text was constituted' (Harish, 2007) and the job is to signifying, explaining, and showing the cultural difference that lays 'in between' (Bhabha 1994: 217).

Reflection

As I conducted my research particularly in Yogyakarta, it is not possible, and thus has never been my aim, to put this research as a generalized notion toward all female audiences in Indonesia. Consisted of numerous ethnic groups, economical status, beliefs and religions, and thus far cultures, to put Indonesian women's meaning making and music experience under this research meant that we neglected their agency. As Frith (1966) commands, music listening put the weight on the culture comprehension, and it also means that female audiences' subjectivity in this case should be taking a considerable amount of meaning-making (ibid.).

Another reflection on this method was the fact that it was a challenge to gather the informants. In a stigmatized music genre like dangdut, not all female audiences want to be interviewed on their musical taste. In fact, I was let down by a female fan because she fears my judgements will fall upon her. As a point of reflection in this thesis, I would also mention that I decided not to use one of my interviews because my informant has a strong connection with dangdut imagined communities and therefore she creates a 'false' imagery with a sense of irritation in her interview with me, insisting that there is no problem inside dangdut imagine communities in relation to female audiences' dangdut enjoyment. As explained by Hermes (2013), irritation becomes the seed of an unreliable data collection and thus I decided not to use this particular interview.

As a point to clarify in this research, I consider myself not a fan or a constant listener of this music genre. I was exposed to dangdut shows in my surroundings, but not particularly interested in them. For me, dangdut is a means of the social, to connect and share experiences with other people but not as a medium to reflect and understand the self in an intimate way. However, I have a great interest on the work of disciplinary power toward women. And therefore I am always intrigued by the way dangdut commodify women bodies and representing women's societal and personal problems, bodies and thoughts, from the patriarchal point of view. However, I always bring Hermes' suggestion that 'Whilst they may be highly critical of social inequality, of particular media practices and texts, basic respect for media users must be the bottom line. The project of media and gender research from an audience perspective has to do with understanding, not with prescription or finding fault' (Hermes, 2013: 63).

Analysis

As the core section of the thesis, in this section I try to unravel the complex findings accordingly to the research questions and literature review provided in the previous sections. This chapter begins with the presentation of the use of dangdut in female audiences' everyday life. Then, I will present female audiences' experience of dangdut within particularly four dimensions of dangdut music enjoyment, referring to Born and Hesmondhalagh (2003) and Hill (2016) and additional dimension as discovered in the data analysis of this thesis: the spirit of Indonesianess (Billig, 1995). Next, the analysis flows into female audiences' musical identity negotiations which covered several topics, such as their musical identity performance. In the last part of the analysis, I present findings related to female audiences' dangdut enjoyment of the next level: bodily performance, and how disciplining power works around it. Through the discussion, direct quotations from representative interviews are given to bear the validity and the quality of theorization (Hermes, 2013: 65). This thesis is presented to explore meaning making, seek for enjoyment, subjectivity negotiations, and mechanism of power experienced by female dangdut audiences in Indonesia's most popular music: dangdut.

The use of music has been elaborated briefly in the literature review. There are four functions of music based on the listeners' choice sourced on predominantly qualitative and ethnographic research (i.e DeNora 2000; Sloboda 1999; Sloboda et al. 2001), they are: *Distraction*, to reduce boredom and to put away attention; *energizing*, to stay attentive on tasks; *entrainment*, to give the groove elements to the task being performed; and *meaning enhancement*, putting additional values to the significance of task in one way or another. Hesmondhalagh therefore, argues that the message of popular music is delivered through a joint-force of semiotic use of song lyrics and its cooperative work with voice or sound (2013).

Per se, female audiences in the study shows that dangdut serve these functions in their everyday life. They use dangdut to accompany their daily main activities such as: driving, cooking,

studying, working, reading, and mood management (MacDonald et al.: 2008, Clarke et al.: 2012) in their everyday life. Most participant listen to dangdut few days in the week and some for the whole day, accompanying their activities. Some listen to the same songs for a period of time (Nana, Tata, Lili, Fani), others depend on their social circles' song choices (Yati, Sari, Tata, Lili, Pipi, Didi, Fani), while others on the algorithm (Didi, Sari, Lili). Only one participant takes the time to create a playlist of her favorite dangdut songs, but still playing it while doing other activities (Pipi). Referring particularly to taste, participants of the study make use of both different style of dangdut. The melancholic-rhetorical dangdut songs that strongly narrated the story of the lyrics, and the up-beat, plain, dangdut songs that is weighted on its use of beats to 'cheer up' the mood.

I like dangdut because of its beats, not the melancholic ones, but the 'hore-hore' ones with cheerful beats. Because i think it can build my mood. To do something.

Nana, HR manager, 25 years old.

I listen to dangdut when I want to, when I am sad. If compared, I will listen to it when I am happy, when I am sad, I will choose a melancholic ones, ones that support the feeling. But if my purpose is to cheer me up, I use dangdut. I often listen to it during happy times.

Titi, admin, 27 years old.

In listening to pop songs, audiences are exposed to three things at one, they are: words, rhetoric, and voices (Frith, 1998: 159). To note, participants of the study make use of dangdut's 'musical' rhythm of which the 'beats' serve as the auditory elements of the songs and its semiotic function in lyrics. The combination of the tree elements of pop songs are observed in female audiences' listening practices. Participants' view in the study suggest that dangdut plays a role in their everyday lives to 'build my mood', 'to cheer me up', and 'to spirit you up', those of what MacDonald *et al.* refers as 'mood regulation' (2012) in which the listener has the full authority in using music to create a certain mood. Nana's statement above refers to the auditory elements of music in which it can elicit emotions (Clarke et al.: 2010). Titi's response elicits that her dangdut listening relies heavily on dangdut's 'funny' lyrics as the attraction. The combination of both the

auditory and lyrical experience serve female audiences of dangdut the function they are looking for while listening to it.

The pleasure of Dangdut: the Private, Sexual, Social, and "Indonesianess" experience

Hesmondhalagh in his book *Why music matters* explained that there are two dimensions of music, they are the private realm and the social realm. The first refers to how music elevates and nourish our feeling and self perception (2013; see also DeNora, 2000), and the second refers to the shared experience of music enjoyment (Hesmondhalagh, 2013). However, Hill suggests in her study that there is another realm of music enjoyment: the sexual realm (2016). She argues that the sexual realm can't be separated from female music enjoyment in metal and rock music as it makes way to the pleasure of sexual imagination (ibid.). As relies heavily on analysing female dangdut audiences' meaning making to those two accounts, this thesis observes also another point of view of dangdut realm: the "Indonesianess". Billig's concept of banal nationalism is observed here by the findings that Indonesian nationhood is continuously be 'flagged' without people paying attention to it (1995) through dangdut music. 'The national flag hanging outside a public building in the united States attracts no special attention. Daily the nation is indicated, or 'flagged', in the lives of its citizenry' (Billig, 1995: 6). This notion carries on Bennet's argument on how Britpop is used to define national distinctiveness (2015).

Participants in this study, I argues, make meaning of their dangdut listening practices into four different realms: the private, sexual, social, and "Indonesianess" experience.

The Private

Female audiences particularly refers to lyrics and beats of dangdut songs in serving their everyday listening practice. Dangdut songs, then, also serve the particular functions of music as: "distraction, energizing, entertainment, and meaning enhancement' as proposed by MacDonald et al (2008). Participants in the study narrated that they listen to melancholic dangdut songs as well as the up beat ones that reflects their feeling or experiences.

Stated by Titi previously that she listens to dangdut songs when she was sad, to enhance the feeling. This also happens to Didi. She explains that she listens to dangdut melancholic songs when she's having a deep emotional feeling (MacDonald, 2008; Hesmondhalagh, 2013).

When I feel sad, longing for my mother. Well, I've been away from home since college. Sometimes I miss my family so much, especially my mother. Then I will listen to the song *Bunda* by Erie Suzan.

Didi, 23 years old, private employee

She particularly sung the song 'Bunda' (meaning: *mother* in Bahasa Indonesia) during the interview in explaining to me how the song explicitly narrate the story of longing for mother's hug and care and how she relates to it when she was away from home. Tata, on the other hand, explains how dangdut song '*Ditinggal Rabi*' (Left for marriage) was representative to her experience of being left for marriage by her ex-boyfriend.

The participants' emotional experiences' in their dangdut listening practice are apparent to be very significant. In noting Nausbaum, Hesmondhalagh suggests: 'we reacted toward characters, sharing emotions through identifications or reacting against the emotions of the character' (2013: 23). This functions are noted by Hesmondhalagh as the private dimension of music of which music 'links intensely to the private self' (2013: 2). Both Didi and Tata here relate to dangdut songs through their emotional experiences narrated in dangdut, especially through the lyrics. Dangdut songs put words into their emotional experience (Frith, 1966) and enhance it.

In this private realm of dangdut music listening practice, dangdut occupies the space as the listener wants it, as a channel for specific self-fulfilling purpose. This puts the power of listening practices in the hands of the listeners as dangdut songs serve particular purposes for female audiences. The participants of this study show that they are fully in control of what they want to achieve from listening to dangdut songs. Referring to Clarke et al., this actions are seen to be a conscious strategies in using music (2012).

The sexual

Hesmondhalgh (2012) states music enjoyment is focused on how it flourishes the self. However, Hill notes that it is not possible to separate music's appeal to emotions with its 'imaginative' pleasure as she found in her female audiences research on metal and hard rock (2016). 'To think of musical pleasure as only intellectual is a limited understanding' (2016: 162). This, she argues, is encouraging 'male' ways of experiencing music (ibid.). 'This kind of musical pleasure relies upon binary thinking that demeans the body and sensual pleasure, in order to raise up the mind and spiritual pleasures' (ibid.). This view, however, is also shared by the participants of this study. They reveals that dangdut pleasure relies on its sexualized performance for its predominantly male audience. However, for female audiences in this study, since they are heterosexual female, male singers masculine, appearance, and performance bring up this experience.

Yati explained that dangdut is perceived as entertainment for men, that it is then unusual for women to like dangdut, because the object of the shows are women. '*Why would women watch women?*' Yati, 26 years old. During my conversation with female audiences, they see that appeal of dangdut by the predominantly male audiences are based on also the sexual pleasure of the genre given by female audiences.

Although they agreed that female dangdut singers are able to offer more energetic and appealing performance, comparing to male performers, sexual appeal is not the reason they like ladysingers' performance or music, and that they can always separate their attachment with ladysingers and the music. '*I like the songs and the music. If the song is performed by other singers and it's better musically, then I'll listen to the better version*' Nana, 25 years old. They find female singers compelling in their song, singing competencies, and its ability to build the nuance. However, it is true that they find sensual and attractiveness pleasure on male dangdut singers (that are not so many) as expressed by Fani and Sari on Thomas Djorgi and Ridho Rhoma. '*Well, he is handsome*' Fani, 25 years old.

However, in the sense of watching dangdut shows, it is limiting to say that female audiences do not enjoy the spectacles of female singers in dangdut shows. Five out of nine interviewers in the study explain that they also enjoy female dangdut singers' sensually provocative performance although they are seen more as a spectacle on the stage (Yati, Titi, Lili, Fani, Pipi) and nothing sensual about it. However, others see it as 'immoral' sight. *'Well it's fine until some point for them to dance however they want, but until they show their undies, I am out'* (Yati, 26 years old, freelancer).

However, this argument is debatable. Hill argues that 'gender and sexism are also key in considering the private and social experiences of musical engagement' (2016: 159). As will be discussed later, female audiences need to negotiate or conform to the predominantly male audience in order to enjoy the social dimension of dangdut fully. Thus, female audiences' enjoyment and reaction toward ladiesingers' performance should also be considered as 'spectacle', of which they perform to conform to the male gaze of the audiences to be able to experience their music enjoyment as a whole. Female audiences are aware that the objectification of female bodies is at work during the shows thus, some of them conform to it in order to "share the experience' (Hesmondhalagh, 2013).

The social

All female audiences in the study also experience (although not completely, as will be explained in the next subchapter) the pleasure of dangdut in the social realm by sharing the moments and connect to other people to music. Fani (25 years old, private employee) even elicits that *'For me, dangdut is better experienced socially'*. Yati even explores below how mood building is done by dangdut music and becomes a base of a collective experience at her workplace as a team building facilitator, referred by Hesmondhalagh (2013) as the social dimension of music. In which the audiences are experiencing a collective emotional bound, as such that happens in music concerts: the element of 'togetherness' (ibid.).

Because dangdut needs to have the tempo, because dangdut makes your spirit up. Make those who aren't spirited up then 'come on thumbs up' together, well then what to do with 'Malam ini....'

Yati, freelancer, 26 years old.

When the music playing occur in a social context, i.e office, parties, etc., female audiences' experience dangdut as a collective force of which they share the moments and building the bond with the others.

However, female audiences in this study explain that even when they attend concerts or shows, they would perform mostly as 'observer' as there is a gap between the 'crowd' (of people they don't know) and them as female audiences. Pipi was on her dangdut enjoyment journey with a friend when she felt that she 'has distance with them'. She went on her own initiative to watch a dangdut show of NDX, a group that is consisted of two male singers. However, she still feel the 'distance' and acknowledged to become an 'observer' of the crowd. Pipi said:

Familia⁴ is close. Although when I am with them I also feel like there is a distance between us. I am more like, observing them, can't really sing along with them, the militan familia.

Pipi, 26 years old, make up artist.

This explains that female audiences' social realm in enjoying dangdut has several limitations. Female audiences still experience the 'distance' of not being part of the community of dangdut during shows or other social gathering. This ambivalence is related to the work of disciplinary power over female audiences' seek of enjoyment as observed during the interview and argued in the last part of this chapter.

An embodiment of "Indonesianess"

Born and Hesmondhalagh argue that 'Music is intensely involved in the propagation of dominant classifications of ethnicity, class, and gender, and notably, too, in the cultural articulation of nationalism' (2000: 32). In this respect, popular music is still used to define national

⁴ *Familia* is the name for NDX fans community

distinctiveness (Bennet, 2015: 144). The Britpop phenomenon was a tool to picture the radical imagined notion of Englishness (ibid.). Music informs us 'our sense of place' (ibid.:145). Meaning that music's aural signifiers are taken by the listeners and then translated into the listeners' sense of national identity (ibid.). Moreover, one's identity is built with sense of belonging to the imagined communities where diffused audience exist (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 117). Members of this imagined communities share commonalities to each other, within a symbolic boundaries (ibid.).

Throughout my conversations with female audiences in the study, it is revealed that dangdut represents the national identity of Indonesian in the form of popular music. It is doing so by the musical characteristics of the timbre and specifically representing the low-class Indonesians' problem as narrated in the lyrics (as coined by Sari below). Raditya (2017) argues that the spirit of dangdut comes from the lyrics' power of repertoire, not only the musical variable. This usually represents the misery of middle class-below people of Indonesia (ibid.). Raditya (2017) argues briefly that through dangdut, 'the nationalism of being Indonesian can be felt, acknowledge, and bonded'. Dangdut audience feel represented in this genre, that is why it becomes very popular (ibid.). In this respect, female audiences subject themselves as Indonesians in identity that belong to the 'imagined community' of Indonesians (Anderson, 1983) through their music consumption.

The use of Indonesian lower class narrative and the particular rhythm of dangdut that is distinct from other popular music serve as the character of it to be perceived as Indonesian nationhood. This is accordance with Bennet's argument (2010) while Britpop's use of accent, a representation of its origin, is used to create a distinction 'mockney' twang of singers as in Blur Damon Albarn.

The reference of dangdut as a nation's character and that it belongs to specifically Indonesia, as an 'imagined community' of which female audiences related to, per se works just as a national flag, a passport, symbol, of a nation, of which it belongs, and it represents the notion of

Indonesia (Billig, 2009). It unnoticeably presenting the people with the continuous symbol, sign, of Indonesian nationhood in their daily life.

I think the stories narrated in dangdut lyrics is very Indonesian. That's what makes them relatable to how I feel. That is very Indonesian, the problems are very Indonesian, if we hear western music, the feeling is different with those of Indonesians'. Dangdut stories are Indonesia.

Sari, accounting student, 23 years old.

I am interested to the song, it's not related to my life. (the story of the songs) happen everywhere like that. They narrate something that actually a bit off from the view of people who has the privilege not to have those kind of problems.

Pipi, make up artist, 27 years old.

Sari explored that dangdut marks a unique position in the face of global music map, as having the characteristics of lower-class Indonesian narrative. Billig states that the ability to recognize one's identity relies on the ability to see the distinctive character one's own in the face of a global community (1995) as shown by Sari in the ability to divide "Indonesianess" and 'westernness'. Sari stated also that she is comfortable with her music preferences since dangdut is Indonesian in character. Pipi suggested that 'it happens everywhere like that' concentrating on the concurring theme of dangdut songs that happens in daily life, although she creates the distinction of class 'a bit off from the view of the people who has the privilege not to have those kind of problems'.

Musical identity negotiations and female audiences' performances

Many aspects surrounding music created the meaning and the reception of it, including the music's culture, such as through gender (Hill, 2016). Participants in the study insinuate, explicitly and implicitly, that dangdut is a music genre directed for predominantly male audiences' amusement and thus far the culture evolves around it. One participant in the study commented that dangdut itself is gendered.

In my mindset, dangdut is not 'masculine' genre, it's 'feminine'. For masculine, it is rock or pop, at least, but not dangdut. What makes dangdut 'feminine' is because when the male singer sing, they sways (like girls).

Tata, 25 years old, doctor.

Tata stated that as rock and pop are perceived, dangdut is also gendered. If rock and metal are masculine music genres, then dangdut is feminine. In exploring this, Tata states that the gendering resulted from its male performance, especially the bodily performance of male singers. Hill argues, men becomes the benchmark of the social world (2016). In this case, male singers' feminine bodily gestures constructs the perception of the genre, because they perform gender through how the predominantly female singers would entertain the male audiences' majority through their 'swaying bodies' that reflect femininity and make their 'swaying' available for male audiences' musical enjoyment. It's because masculine bodily gestures, as reflected by Tata, is 'rock or pop, but not dangdut'. Gender performance, as posited by Butler (1997), is producing gender and 'not reflecting' it (Björck, 2011). Male singers and their feminine bodily performance as those embodied by dangdut's female singers constructs female audiences' perception of the genre. Especially the fact that male singers become the benchmark in defining what is 'masculine' and what is 'feminine' and perceptions relies heavily on men as the touchstone of the social world (Hill, 2016).

As female audiences of a 'feminine' genre that in its developments revolves around its predominantly male audience's enjoyment, dangdut female audiences have an ambivalence approach toward the music genre. As happens in Hill's study on metal and rock female fans (2016), female audiences of dangdut need to negotiate and rationalize their music preferences, especially in the presence of other people. It's because musical identities stick to one's identity as a form to announce to people who you are (Cook,1998) and in a way forming one's social circle because a broader set of values embodied in the music genre are also attached to the listeners as identities (Tarrant et al, 2002). In light of this, Dini, Tata, Nana, and Yati explain that they prefer to listen or explore their dangdut identities with people who shares the same interest or at least understanding their choice of music in order to upholds their musical taste without being 'attacked' by the values associated to it.

It's better to listen to dangdut songs with friends who knows dangdut... Because there are a lot of comments: 'what is this, Din? Dangdut?' Well, it's up to me, I don't care. It's why it is better to listen with others who are at least familiar with dangdut.

Sari, accounting student, 23 years old.

Female audiences interviewed in the study explain that there is stigma against female audiences of dangdut. 'Female audience in dangdut is seen as *mendes*⁵' (Yati, freelancer, 26 years old). Most of the interviewees stated that it is triggered by the class and sexuality stigma in dangdut music (Weintraub, 2010), and the society's expectations of them being women. Dangdut, in many ways, intersect with female audiences' subjectivity. The highly heightened sexuality and the fact that the music's culture is created around male's interests create a distinction between what female audiences' could and could not identify with based on their subjective perspectives that is gendered, racialized, and culturally defined (Rebughini, 2014: 5). Female audiences subjectivities identified in this study are: class and banality, gender, and religious beliefs.

This section argues, that as dangdut female audiences, participants in the study create fluid identities, reflect and construct their musical identities as necessary (Giddens, 1991). And thus perform their associations toward the music's culture accordingly knowing that their audience is watching (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 2002) by managing their performance (Goffman, 1959). This is a result of their entitlement to the music genre's set of values (Tarrant et al, 2002) which comes ambivalently with their subjectivities (Rebughini, 2014).

As explained before, audiences' multi-subjectivity poses a significance in their perceivment of being female dangdut audiences. All participants in the study explain that they have no issues for people to know about their music preferences in dangdut. However, they don't want to be associated with the banality of dangdut in certain aspects and thus far perform their disagreement around it (Giddens, 2001). The clash between their subjectivity and dangdut's banality occurs because people's stigma against the genre. This ambivalences are evident in several points of departures such as class, gender, and religion subjectivity that resulted in their self-discipline

⁵ *Mendes* is Indonesian's acronym of '*mentel desa*' straight translation into '*flirty villagers*'. A connotation in negative light to refer to a woman who has no class but flirty, cheap.

toward certain aspects of dangdut and resulted in their performance management (Goffman, 1959).

Female audiences in the study reveal that they can not identify with dangdut's banality sometimes in fear of their performance in front of other people. Lili, for example, chose not to listen to certain songs that is considered banal or taboos in the society for concern that she might sing it in public and it will intersect with her 'front stage' (Goffman, 1959). As Goffman suggest, performance management occurs under setting, appearance, and manner (ibid.). This makes Lili limit herself to her dangdut music listening so that her 'front stage' can be protected.

Because they are not fun. Imagine, .. because I'm easy to humm with those songs, how can I dance with it.. Humming the 'pelakor⁶', how could I? In this age of mine, it seems to be very low-classed, those in the orkes melayu meant for men audiences.

Lili, news analyst, 27yo.

Female audience in the study also consciously recognize that dangdut and their feminine identity sometimes fall under problematic circumstances. In dangdut, many songs are sung in light to see that women is 'submissive', 'objectified as sexual body', or 'fragile'. During our talk about '*Perawan atau janda*' (Virgin or widower) and '*Hamil duluan*' (Got knocked up first) (lyrics available in Appendix 1), Nana reflected:

I wonder, these dangdut songs always refer to downgrading women, why don't they empower them? Why do they discuss virgin and widower, why do they objectify women. In sexual discourse, men is never discussed. That is annoying, why do we always become objects for them, it's a matter of privacy, but unfortunately people haven't considered it yet. .. on those songs, I would just listen to its rhythm.

Nana, HR manager, 25 years old.

Nana in particular, observes how dangdut lyrics could be seen as a form of women objectification that is in clash with her sexual and gender identity. Nana identifies her gender and sexual subjectivity on particular dangdut songs and it influences her meaning making about

⁶*pelakor* is an acronym in Bahasa Indonesia for '*perebut laki orang*' or somebody who's in affair with other people's husband. A dangdut song was made with the same title, sung by ladsinger Vivi Violeta, after a video went viral in social media on this.

them. Most of the participants in this study do not find herself identifying with dangdut's sexual banality. They stated that their disagreement with this aspect of dangdut, creates a 'self-discipline' of which they would just listen to the rhythm and neglect the lyrics around it when they are exposed to this character, especially in song lyrics.

Acknowledging Indonesia as a religious country, it is natural that the notion of religious beliefs are brought up by the participants during the interview. Some female audiences in the study express that their religious belief influence their approach to the music genre.

It has significance. In religion, it is said, in *haddits*: women's voice is already an *aurat*⁷. So that's what makes me shy in expressing myself, singing at the stage because I obey the religion. But to do other things, it is fine, however, the implication to myself is that I shouldn't be erotic, to sing just to sing in average. Shouldn't get erotic, not allowed.

Sari, Accounting student, 23 years old.

For Didi, the aspect of religious belief are apparent in her choices to enjoy music. She reveals that apart from her sole enjoyment, she would consider other people's perception about her, especially looking at the fact that her religious attire carries the societal weight and embodied in her identity as a muslim women. This explained by Longhurst that 'fashion and clothing are cultural constructions of embodied identities' (2008: 40).

However, there is a different approach to the banality of dangdut songs introduced by Fani and Pipi. They see that it is a way of resistance toward social norms: '*Well if we talk about sexual things explored in dangdut songs, it will be inappropriate. But if we sing it, it's okay. It's a song*' (Fani, private employee, 25 years old).

Participants in the study see that their ways in enjoying dangdut is closely related to people's perception about them. Born and Hermondhalagh posited that music is both reflecting and constructing identities (2000: 31). With the deeply weighted stigma over dangdut's sexualization

⁷ *aurat*: sexually seductive in character

of women and class alignment, it is shown through the findings that female audiences need to always negotiate their identity in enjoying dangdut.

The relationship between female audiences' subjectivity and performance links clearly when they explain about their use of social media to channel their liking to dangdut. Through WhatsApp update, Instagram posts or Instagram story, female audiences were trying to gain attention from their 'audience' (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). Frosh (1991) suggested that self is always looking for other people's confirmation in their action. This action can be seen from their seek of acknowledgement from their social media followers or 'audiences'. Commenting on her social media activities in regard to her musical identities, Didi said:

I never share, I just like to record. Then update, just like that. Record, sing, but not *koplo*, just the slow ones. Once I sang 'Bunda' song.

Didi, 23 years old, private employee.

Sometimes I share, just to show that I like NDX. Maybe more like NDX songs are interesting. I shared the videos, I wrote the lyrics. Then people asked: do you really like NDX? .. I also want to show that I am a fan. I know the lyrics.

Pipi, 28 years old, make up artist.

Participants of the study see themselves as the performance with the presence of 'audience' in the social media (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998) and in their daily life. Here, Pipi reveals that she used social media to show her audience/followers that she likes a particular dangdut group. She channels her fluid identities and social media spectacle through her audience to gain attention (Frosh, 1991; Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). This was done by Pipi in her social media posts 'to show that I like NDX'. Through her posts in her social media channel, she acknowledge that she speaks to er 'audience', creating her posts as spectacles of her identity (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998).

They perform their cultural identity of dangdut realizing that audience is on the other side, making meaning of the performance. Didi is careful in presenting her liking of dangdut in social media, 'not *koplo*' she said. Didi does not want to present herself to her social media followers

(*front stage*) the image of her being associated to *koplo* subgenre although she also listens to it. She prefers to be related to those of ‘slow dangdut songs’ that are ‘decent’. The presentation of music taste in social media is deemed important by Didi since it constructs her identities to her ‘audience’, once again linking us to ‘the spectacle/performance paradigm’ of Abercrombie & Longhurst (1998) and Goffman’s presentation of selves (1959).

Dangdut and female audiences’ dancing bodies

‘It is impossible to listen to dangdut and not dancing’ Nana, 25 years old, HR manager.

In my conversations with female audiences, it is almost impossible not to touch the bodily performance in their experience of attending or being exposed to dangdut shows. Dangdut as a form of dance music foster this. Female audiences in this study explores that dangdut at times becomes a means to share the experience. In this schemes, the enjoyment of dangdut mostly occurred in the form of dancing. However, performing their gender in dance is more complicated than that.

Griffin, in her study of DIY Punk scenes, suggests that the most prominent example of gender performativity (Butler, 1993: 137) would be the dancing bodies (2012: 72). Gender performativity believes that gender is constantly constructed by doing the specific actions or conducts that are in accordance with the gender ‘style’ (Butler, 1993: 137). Dance, as a social inquiry, involves the physicality of the body, of which then people share the experience (Hesmondhalagh, 2013: 109).

Music evolves into a shared dancing experience through events. In Hesmondhalagh’s scheme, it ranges from the private intimate sociable events to public open sociable events: ‘small parties where everyone knows each other; social networking interactions among ‘friends’; small events open to anyone but where many people know each other; larger-open events; and broadcast events’ (Hesmondhalagh; 2013: 87). Dancing makes it possible for people to release themselves from their self-consciousness and self-monitoring, thus it needs safe spaces for people to perform their dancing (*ibid.*). However, Hesmondhalagh’s argument relies heavily on his observation of

young males who dance at the pub in Britain. As appeared in other studies of women's involvement in popular music scenes (Griffin, 2012; Hill, 2016) there are barriers in women involvement in the music scenes, coming from the inside and outside of the female audiences' subjectivity, particularly in the study of metal and rock genre. 'The characterisation of women as sexual participants, rather than as music lovers, creates a sense of the hard rock and metal genre as exclusively made for and important to men' (Hill, 2016: 160). Research on punk, metal, and rock music audiences shows that women feels the pressure to fit in the music scene (Haenfler, 2006; Hill, 2016). In punk subculture the role is limited to have men characteristics or 'submissive girlfriend' role (Haenfler, 2006). In which many women decided to avoid the later, or 'sexual bodies' (Hill, 2016).

Howson argues based on Simone de Beauvoir's idea (1949/1972), that female body 'is considered an object that is looked into and examined' (2013: 70). This perception constructed by medicalization, scientific optics, and society (ibid.). Berger, in line, announced that 'men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at' (1972: 48). The objectification of female bodies is also discussed by Hughes and Witz (1997), where they explain that female bodies are considered as a spectacle, for which the audience looked at. This then leads them to always be in spectacle and influence their relationship with others and with themselves (Howson, 2013: 70).

In this study, I discovered that female audiences' physical musicalisation (Richter, 2008) in listening to dangdut music depending on the place and the 'audience'. Dangdut female audiences interviewed in the study suggest they are self conscious and self monitored themselves to perform their dancing bodies in public spaces. In dangdut's case, as this study observed, female audiences prefer to have a closed-circle social music enjoyment because many aspects are involved, such as gender norms and bodily security.

Dangdut female audiences' dancing performance occur in the continuum of private and public events (Hesmondhalagh, 2013: 87), as mentioned by the participants from private intimate

sociable events to public open sociable events: Karaoke; social outings; wedding, independence day celebration; and dangdut shows in an open space such as club or community's field. Participants in this study have never been exposed to broadcasted dangdut shows.

Out of all participants in this study, four of them experienced in joining and dancing in the crowd, while the rest prefer not to join the crowd, or join under several circumstances. There are strategies conducted by female audiences when they are exposed to dangdut dancing event, of which they still perform their self-consciousness. Some participants in the study choose not to exercise dancing in the crowd because their fear of judgement. As Abercrombie & Longhurst incline, in this case, female audiences in the study recognize their music enjoyment in the crowd as spectacle for an audience (1998). Referring back to Goffman's performance management, female audiences bend and form her musical enjoyment to fit the society's expectations of her as a woman (1959). This was expressed by participants such as Didi, Nana, Lili, and Titi.

In dangdut shows, I act usual. Because there are a lot of people. I'm shy because you know, in Indonesia, attitude is constantly judged by other people. Especially by the family. They will judge, ah this girl is too much, too flirty.

Didi, 23 years old, private employee.

Yati, on the other side, explains her strategy to join the crowd dancing, that is through shifting her identity to the mass audience. Yati states that the notion of identity conformity to the crowd is important to be able to enjoy dangdut as a whole, an opportunity to experience the social pleasure of dangdut. This I would like to call it 'identity shift', in which they conform to the predominantly male conduct to conform to the crowd.

When attending a concert, usually I tag along with other people I don't know. It's comfortable. Because we approach the ladysinger, chanting 'stripe down miss, stripe down!' as if I am a man.

Yati, Freelancer, 26 years old.

In this regard, Yati expressed that she joined the crowd of people she is not familiar with, although she is still in close proximity with her companions she came with. However, to enjoy

the performance, she turns into the crowd's character (that is of predominantly male audience: being entertained by the female body) by asking the ladsinger to strip down her dresses, as typical male chanting in the audience. Although in her words, if the ladsinger does strip down, she can not accept it. This circumstances, then fall into Frosh's idea of fluid identity, of which one's identity is not fixed and is interchangeable to one another under social circumstances (1991).

A safe space

I noted in my research that most female audiences in the study at some point express their uncomfortable feeling toward dangdut dance culture when they attend or are exposed to dangdut shows. The perception of drunk, banal, and sexually threatening men creates this disagreement. This mostly occur when they attend dangdut shows, either in the neighbourhood, clubs, or open-space stages. These places, offer them threat of insecurity that makes them unable to express their music enjoyment fully. As Weintraub suggest in his ethnographic study, dangdut audiences come from low-middle class, they are also predominantly drunk and banal men (2010). In these arenas, female audiences observed that male audiences have more liberty in terms of dancing. *'They can dance however they want'* says Yati. *'But women are mostly watching from the side, not involved in the mass'* she continued.

In dangdut shows I attended during my research, it is safe to say that most of the male audiences danced in swirl, close their eyes, and mostly with hands bended in front of their body shaken to the side or front-back. These expression of music enjoyment can be seen as feminine projection in bodily performance. Male and female bodies are brought up to conquer space differently. As Young pointed out, girls learn not to occupy much space in society (2005). Girls walks, run, and performing bodily activities in lesser space than men. They tend to have a close and safe environment for their body. It can be said that female body is considered fragile as an object even by the female self. Mulvey argues that especially in public spaces, 'male gaze' becomes the disciplining force that boost conformity (1975). During my research, the talk about dangdut as a sexual threat occupy quite a space in the interviews as also happen to Weintraub (2010).

Nana expressed below, that space is a very important notion in enjoying the social realm of dangdut enjoyment.

I want to (dance in open shows), but it's not the place. I can't express it. Most people when they hear dangdut, they want to dance, but I will express it in some other place, to club, cafe, or a more private place. People go there in groups, women and men see each other dancing, it's okay. In the karaoke, we want to act in anyway possible, let's say with girlfriends, then if we dance, it won't invite other people to enjoy our dancing body.

Nana, HR manager, 25 years old.

Female audiences in the study explains that the more private the occasion is and the more close their relationship with the people who attend the event, the more comfortable they are to express their social dangdut enjoyment. It's because they will not get any judgements or being subjected to male gaze from their closest friends. Space of music enjoyment becomes the 'stage' for their performance in enjoying the music (Goffman, 1959). However, as much as comfortable they are with their companies, an intimate karaoke space also requires their performance, although in a different spectrum. Thus far, intimate closed-space of social music enjoyment acts as both the backstage and the front stage (ibid.). As expressed by the interviewees:

In the village arena, we indirectly show our body to other people. Who knows there are people who want to 'poke' your body and you don't know who it is. It hurts. Because you feel unsafe and embarrassed to other people.

Nana, HR manager, 25 years old..

I come to shows, depending on the mass condition. If the ladysinger was vulgar, and the mass then.. For example, I was attending a concert, and they did masturbation in there, then I don't want to be there. Because men when they see that they can lost control and do obscene actions, well, those are their issue. But if I am in the group there will be possibility I will get touched, or others.

Lili, admin manager, 27 years old.

Nana and Lili explain here that they experienced threats over their female bodies from other audiences in dangdut shows, mostly from male audiences. They feel unsafe to the possibilities of sexual intrusion starting from the possibility of being 'poked' until extreme sexual activities such

as public masturbation. The sexualized dangdut shows, including provocative songs, are seen to be a stimulus for male audiences to conduct sexual intrusion toward female audiences body, of which creates the boundaries of female audiences' music enjoyment through dancing.

This view of bodily security is shared by all of the women who has experience of attending such dangdut shows in the study. They have concern over their safety, especially the way people (male) perceived their dancing bodies in dangdut shows. This, once again, pull us back to the notion of spectacle/performance (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). Female audiences of dangdut see herself as an object of sexual desire, based on the sexist environment of the genre. Following Young's idea, girls tend to learn that their body is 'fragile' and in need of extra-care, as a result of sexist environment in which they are brought up (2005). In her argument, this happen because girls has been trained by society to act referring to their lived body: feminine (ibid.).

'The source of this objectified bodily existence is in the attitude of others regarding her, but the woman herself often actively takes up her body as a mere thing. .. She also lives the threat of her body space. The most extreme form of such spatial and bodily invasion is the threat of rape' (Young, 2005: 44-45).

Based on this understanding, female audiences' enjoyment in dangdut music through dancing needs a 'safe space' to perform their bodily movements. According to the study participants, they channeled it in a closer, more intimate circle, such as group karaoke.

In karaoke because you have your friends around, then you dance, *drilling*.. haha of course not. In the village arena, I sing and observe people at the same time. Male audiences, they dance funny. But I don't tag along, jaim bro. Because jaim, there are people I don't know. If you with your friends, you don't need to be jaim. Why should you? And it's closed, people don't see. In the arena, there are lots of men, too much hustle. If you're dancing, there must be somebody approaching you. That's just annoying.

Lili, news analyst, 27 years old.

These women see close-intimate circle as a safe place to 'perform gender' (Butler, 1990). Lili above even posited the dance 'drilling' (as of the infamous Inul Daratista dance style) because

she feels comfortable with it. This shows that society performs its power over female bodies, make them doing things they are expected of society (Foucault, 1979). Female dangdut audiences also see that they are disciplined by the society's male gaze and gender expectancy.

Through this view we can perpetuates that female audiences' channeling of female agency is deemed dependable on the society and male gaze toward women body, which also exercised by the female audience itself. Nana elicited that a safe space is a place in which there is no moral judgements for her to dance in her lived bodies, such as club or cafe.

Hill in her study of metal and rock's female audiences finds out that her interviewee continuously negotiating the music and the representation of female audience in the genre to make sure their participation for musical enjoyment is safe and pleasurable (2016: 165) as it happens in dangdut.

I would like to draw back to Foucauldian's point of view of power here. Foucault argues that power is established within micro relationships and not merely structural power relation (1959). The power relation between women and predominantly male dangdut audiences occur in their seek for pleasure in their dancing activities. Female audiences' engagement is defined by societal norms and gaze in which the crowd secure the power over female agency. This power is exercised (Foucault, 1959) constantly as a disciplinary force toward female audience enjoyment of dangdut creates a limitation for female audiences to enjoy the social realm of dangdut, as in sharing moments with other people. However, in female audiences' point of view, the exercise of power through male and societal gaze is lesser by the closer and intimate social realm of dangdut enjoyment.

'When women are already in the minority, how can women feel comfortable and accepted if they set out to challenge the misogyny they see around them?' (Hill, 2016: 166).

Conclusion

The initial strive of this study was to paint the picture of female audiences enjoyment in dangdut, a genre that's in development is highly sexualized in context and in culture. This highly sexualized character is evident from dangdut lyrics, performance, and culture. As Goddard, Pollock and Fudger explain, 'lyrics constantly reflect and reinforce whatever ethos society currently considers desirable' (1977: 143). 'They express dominant sexual ideologies through their recurrently exploitative images of women, their stereotypes of sexual subjugation, their treatment of femininity as at once 'mysterious' and 'dependent', and above all, through their systematic denial of the material reality of sexual exploitation', Frith argues, in talking about popular music's sexualized lyrics (1988: 110).

Female dangdut audiences in this study make use of many subgenres of dangdut and have their preferences over certain types of subgenres. However, they don't have strong attachment toward one particular subgenres. The study finds that female dangdut audiences use dangdut music in many different ways, such as distraction, energizing, entertainment, and meaning enhancement as referred by De Nora (2000) and Sloboda et al (2001). Dangdut music serves them in many different ways, either through its aural characteristics, lyrics, or performance.

How do female audiences make meaning of their dangdut listening practices?

Female audiences in this study make meaning of their listening practices through four realms of musical enjoyment, as referred to Hesmondhalagh (2013), Hill (2016), and Billig (2009).

In the private realm, dangdut songs approach audiences' intimate experience by enhancing their feeling. Dangdut songs correlates intensely toward their private experiences by intense link toward their private self (Hesmondhalagh, 2013: 2). In sexual realm, female dangdut audiences experience imaginary pleasure with male dangdut singers and see ladysingers' performance as spectacles only. But then again, this research participants are all heterosexual females. This is in line with female fans enjoyment in metal and rock (Hill, 2016) of sexual pleasure is interrelated

to one's search of musical pleasure, not only appealing to their inner self (ibid.). In the social realm, female audiences in the study share their social experience in dangdut music listening by sharing the bond with other people. This occurs in any public spaces such as office, wedding, shows, etc. However, female dangdut audiences don't feel the connectedness with the mass when they are around people they don't know. Dangdut also serves as the embodiment of "Indonesianess" for the female audiences of dangdut. It reminds them of the sense of space (Bennet, 2010) and national distinctiveness (Billig, 2009) by its music and its lyrics that narrate problems or story that are deemed 'Indonesian' by the audiences.

How do dangdut female audiences' subjectivity negotiate and perform their musical identity?

Understanding that dangdut is a genre developed for male audiences enjoyment, female dangdut audiences find themselves in an ambivalence position to explore their musical identity. With the highly sexualized dangdut culture, there are constraints toward female dangdut audiences to express their musical identity freely. It's because musical identities stick to one's identity as a form to announce to people who you are (Cook, 1998) and in a way forming one's social circle because a broader set of values embodied in the music genre are also attached to the listeners as identities (Tarrant et al, 2002). This thesis argues that dangdut female audiences create fluid identities, reflect and construct their musical identities as necessary (Giddens, 1991). And thus perform their associations toward the music's culture accordingly knowing that their audience is watching (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 2002) by managing their performance (Goffman, 1959). This as a result of their entitlement to the music genre's set of values (Tarrant et al, 2002) which comes ambivalently with their subjectivities (Rebughini, 2014).

Female audiences in this study negotiate dangdut's sexuality and don't want to be associated with dangdut banality, therefore, they self-disciplined themselves not to listen to certain songs in fear that it might compromise their *front stage* (Goffman, 1959). Female audiences in the study keep on negotiating their subjectivities (in gender, class and banality, and religious beliefs) with their dangdut musical identities. The self-discipline is also a part of supporting their conformity

toward gender and religious norms. Participants in the study see that their ways in enjoying dangdut is closely related to people's perception about them. This is evident from their performance with the presence of 'audience' in social media (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998) and in their daily life.

How do mechanism of power influence dangdut female audiences dancing experiences in dangdut music?

Born as a dance music, dangdut invites its audience to dance. However, this bodily performance for female audiences has its own complexity aside from the fact that dangdut is sexualized in performance. In this study, I find that the physical musicalisation (Richter, 2008) in listening to dangdut music depending on the place and the 'audience'.

Two strong issues arose in this study, they are: gender norms and bodily security. Female dangdut audiences are more comfortable to perform their dancing bodies with people they know and close with in a private setting rather than in public setting. It is because there won't be any gender norm judgements and male gaze performed toward their body on those settings. Female audiences see their body is under threat of security because the banality of male audiences' in the shows. This relates to notion that female body is deemed as 'fragile' and in threat of sexual interruption from male audiences. Thus here, male gaze become the 'disciplinary power' of which female audiences are subjected to (Foucault, 1959).

Hughes and Witz (1997) discussed that female bodies are considered as a spectacle, for which the audience looked at. This then leads them to always be in spectacle and influence their relationship with others and with themselves (Howson, 2013: 70). However, female audiences in the study also perform strategies to still be able to join the crowd, that is to conform to the mass' identity by shifting theirs to the predominantly banal men.

Concluding reflections

This research was set out to address female audiences' musical enjoyment and seek for pleasure in a highly sexualized popular music in Indonesia. Thus, this research has addressed several

important topics revealed in the interviews conducted toward dangdut female audiences in Yogyakarta.

Further discussion on both dangdut and female audiences are significantly enriching and fruitful in the study of cultural enjoyment and meaning making of popular music. This study reflects that music are not constructed solely, but in a social context. As evident, disciplinary power and subjectivity are relevant to the gendered experience of music.

Future research in dangdut is certainly deemed necessary. A better contextualization of the subject of the study will source a better understanding of dangdut enjoyment. With the multiculturalism of dangdut and the range of Indonesian audiences' subjectivity, meaning making of dangdut are a big pot of knowledge of which one can understand the Indonesian people (Weintraub, 2010). Suggestions on future research cover the subgenres of dangdut. Moreover, female audiences' political stand on feminism or female audiences enjoyment in a particular live events or everyday lives will broaden the understanding of the gendered experience of music in a more specific and closed-circuit context. To put it more into media and communication studies, representation of women in dangdut videos and lyrics are also a valuable research for the construction of knowledge (Cherry, 2018). Moreover, as gender also belong to the opposite sex, it is also vital to construct knowledge on male audiences' perspective on dangdut enjoyment.

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Appendix 1

Examples of Song Lyrics (Translated)

Title : *Perawan atau Janda (Virgin or Widower)*

Performed by Cita Chitata

<p><i>Abang pilih yang mana Perawan atau janda Perawan memang menawan Janda lebih menggoda</i></p>	<p>Sir who do you choose Virgin or widower Virgin is captivating But widower is more tempting</p>
<p><i>Abang pilih yang mana Perawan atau janda Perawan memang cantik Janda lebih menarik</i></p>	<p>Sir who do you choose Virgin or widower Virgin is beautiful But widower is more interesting</p>
<p><i>Kalau abang pilih perawan Masih muda masih segelan Belum disentuh orang Belum berpengalaman</i></p>	<p>If you choose virgin She is still young and sealed Have never been touched Has no experience</p>
<p><i>Kalau abang pilih janda Sudah pasti lebih dewasa Sudah bermain cinta Banyak pengalamannya</i></p>	<p>If you choose widower She is more mature Has played with love before Has a lot of experience</p>

Title : *Hamil Duluan (Got knocked up first)*

Performed by Tuty Wibowo

<p><i>Awalnya aku cium-ciuman Akhirnya aku peluk-pelukan Tak sadar aku dirayu setan Tak sadar aku ku kebablasan</i></p>	<p>At first I kiss And then I hug Unconsciously I got lured by devil Unconsciously I cross the line</p>
<p>Reff. <i>Ku hamil duluan sudah tiga bulan Gara-gara pacaran tidurnya berduaan Ku hamil duluan sudah tiga bulan Gara-gara pacaran suka gelap-gelapan O ow aku hamil duluan O ow sudah tiga bulan</i></p>	<p>Reff. I got knocked up first, it's been three months Because I slept together while dating I got knocked up first, it's been three months Because we're dating in the dark O ow I got knocked up first O ow it's been three months</p>

Appendix 2

Dangdut in Images



Image 1

Inul Daratista on stage performing her drilling dance

Image taken from <https://forumbebas.com/discussion/47901/inul-goyang-ngebor-di-malaysia>



Image 2

Dinda Anggraeni, Yogyakarta dangdut ladsinger during her performance.

Image taken from:

<http://yogyafoto.blogspot.com/2016/08/foto-dinda-anggraeni-penyanyi-dangdut.html>



Image 3
A female audience spotted dancing in a club in Yogyakarta
Image : author's private collection



Image 4
Dangdut crowd in a public show in Yogyakarta
Image: author's private collection

Appendix 3

List of Interviewees

Name of Interviewees	Age (years old)	Sex	Occupation	Date of Interview
'Tata'	25	Female	Intern doctor	25-03-2018
'Nana'	25	Female	HR Manager	21-03-2018
'Yati'	26	Female	Freelancer	22-03-2018
'Sari'	23	Female	Student	03-04-2018
'Lili'	28	Female	News analyst	28-03-2018
'Titi'	28	Female	Admin officer	28-03-2018
'Fani'	25	Female	Private employee	28-03-2018
'Pipi'	26	Female	Make-up artist	28-03-2018
'Didi'	23	Female	Private employee	26-03-2018

Appendix 4

Interview Guide

1. Background

- Who are you? (age, occupation, etc.)
- What do you think when you hear the word ‘dangdut’?

2. Dangdut listening routines

- How often do you listen to dangdut?
- Since when do you listen to dangdut?
- What medium do you use to listen to dangdut?
- In your opinion, what is the charm(s) of dangdut?
- What makes you like/don’t like dangdut? Please elaborate.
- Have you ever attend dangdut shows? When, where, please describe.
- Would you define yourself as fans? Do you join any dangdut fans group?
- Who is your idol? What do you like about him/her?
- What dangdut subgenre do you like?

3. Female audience performance in dangdut

- How do you express your dangdut enjoyment when you listen to dangdut?
How do you express your dangdut enjoyment when you attend/see dangdut shows?
What makes them different/same?
- What do you think differ male and female audiences in dangdut respectively to their expression of enjoyment?
- Do you think there are limitations on your dangdut enjoyment? Please elaborate.
- Do you think there are certain predicate placed upon female audiences in dangdut? Please elaborate.

- Do you have concern in being female dangdut audiences? What are they? How do you cope with it? Please elaborate.
- What do you prefer, male or female performers? Why?

4. Negotiating dangdut

- What do you think about dangdut that's deemed as low-class music genre? Please elaborate. Does it influenced your liking of dangdut?
- As a woman, how do you find dangdut's erotic performances? Does it influenced your liking to dangdut? Please elaborate.
- What do you think about provocative/vulgar dangdut lyrics? How do you react to it? Please elaborate.

Additional questions:

- a. Do you watch dangdut in television? How often do you watch them? Where, with whom? Please elaborate.
- b. What do you find interesting/not interesting about it?
- c. Do you see any difference with neighborhood dangdut? What are they?

Appendix 5

The Coding Process

After conducting the interviews and transcribing them, open codes are listed using thematic coding strategies. There are three themes discovered and fifteen categories emerged by constantly reflecting on the theories used in this thesis. Below table illustrate a part of the coding process conducted in the thesis to the 9 interviews under the theme Musical identities and Musical Enjoyment.

Theme	Category	Subcategory	Sari	Tata	Didi	Yati	Nana	Titi	Lili	Fani	Pipi
Musical Identities	Subjectivity	religion	nyanyi oke, goyang engga, muslim yg baik, suara adl aurat, dilarang agama, ga berani nyanyi,								
		gender				seakan-akan aku laki-laki, stigma perempuan mendes	lagunya merendahkan perempuan, ga dengerin liriknya yg				
		class	ga ada bedanya, jakarta jogja, yg dateng konser bukan orang yang ada kerjaan	kebanyakan kelas menengah ke bawah, tapi udah berubah gara2 pop	ga ada beda sih, bisa gabung	lebur, tapi msh ada stigma	bisa membaurkan kalangan, ga ada stigma kelas, penikmatnya menengah ke		ngikutin yg viral di masy, komersil	lebih terbuka karena sekarang anak muda bgt	militan, dateng dari mana2, aku ditakoni kok gabung karo gondes2, malah tak
Social media presence		post di instagram	no share	post lagu melow di instagram				no share			
		selective									

Appendix 6

Informed Consent Form

In Bahasa Indonesia

Formulir Persetujuan Partisipasi

Department of Media and Communication
Lund University



Peneliti: Gabriela Deasyntya Kaloka Putri

Formulir ini menjelaskan mengenai topik penelitian yang bertujuan untuk membantu anda dalam memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi. Formulir ini bukanlah kontrak, ini adalah penjelasan tertulis mengenai apa yang akan terjadi dalam penelitian ini jika anda setuju untuk berpartisipasi.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendapatkan pengetahuan menyeluruh mengenai audiens perempuan dalam musik dangdut. Anda diminta untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini berkaitan dengan pengetahuan dan pengalaman anda sebagai audiens perempuan dalam musik dangdut. Anda akan diminta menandatangani dokumen atas partisipasi riset. Jumlah narasumber yang dibutuhkan dalam proses penelitian ini adalah 8-10 orang audiens dangdut perempuan. Partisipan yang terlibat masing-masing memiliki latar belakang yang berbeda.

Peneliti telah merancang sejumlah pertanyaan (*semi-structured interview*) yang dirancang untuk membantu anda menjelaskan hubungan dan pengalaman anda sebagai audiens perempuan dalam musik dangdut. Pertanyaan-pertanyaan klarifikasi mungkin ditanyakan selama wawancara untuk memperjelas jawaban anda. Peneliti akan melakukan rekaman audio. Anda dipersilakan melewati pertanyaan yang anda tidak ingin jawab, dan berhak menghentikan partisipasi kapanpun anda mau.

Rekaman audio

Salah satu aspek penelitian ini melibatkan rekaman audio partisipasi anda. Rekaman tersebut akan digunakan untuk menuliskan kembali hasil dari wawancara semi-terstruktur (transkripsi). Rekaman akan dibuat dalam perekam suara digital dan disimpan dalam lokasi yang memiliki kata sandi. Rekaman tersebut akan dihancurkan setelah dipakai. Tidak ada informasi identitas yang akan dituliskan. Transkripsi komplit wawancara akan disimpan dalam komputer yang dilindungi kata sandi.

Saya mengizinkan Peneliti untuk merekam suara saya Ya Tidak

Karena sifatnya yang rahasia, tidak ada resiko fisik, legal, finansial, atau psikologis dalam riset ini. Namun, selama wawancara, anda mungkin akan diberikan pertanyaan yang membuat anda tidak nyaman.

Anda dipersilakan melewati pertanyaan apapun yang anda tidak ingin jawab, dan berhak mengakhiri partisipasi anda kapanpun.

Dalam penelitian ini, Peneliti tidak memiliki kepentingan finansial apapun. Penelitian ini tidak melibatkan dana operasional dari sumber manapun.

Bila anda memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi, anda berhak untuk menyampaikan pertanyaan dan pendapat yang berkaitan dengan publikasi hasil penelitian ini. Hasil penelitian ini dapat dibagikan kepada anda apabila anda menghendakinya.

Pertanyaan lebih lanjut, saran, atau keluhan mengenai penelitian ini dapat disampaikan kepada:

Tobias Olsson

Professor at Media and Communication Studies, Lund University

E-mail: tobias.olsson@kom.lu.se

Terima kasih atas waktu dan kesempatan yang diberikan.

Tanggal _____

Peneliti

Narasumber

A translation in English

Consent Form

Department of Media and Communication
Lund University



Researcher: Gabriela Deasyntya Kaloka Putri

This form aims to inform you about the topic of the research, to help you to decide in participating in this study. This form is not a contract, this is a written explanation about what will happen in the study if you decide to participate.

This research is meant to gain knowledge in a whole about dangdut female audiences. You are asked to participate in this research relating to your knowledge and experience as dangdut female audiences. You will be asked to sign this consent form. The number of interviewees needed in this study is around 8-10 dangdut's female audiences. Participants involved in this study have different backgrounds.

The researcher has designed some questions (*a semi-structured interview*) to help you explain your relationship and experience as dangdut female audiences. Clarifying questions might be asked during the interview to clearly understand your answers. The researcher shall conduct audio recording. You are allowed to answer questions you do not want to answer, and have the right to end your participation at any time.

Audio recording

One aspect of this research involves audio recording in your participation. The recording will be used to transcript the results of the *semi-structured* interviews. The recording is made with digital audio recording and will be saved in a location that requires password. The recordings will be deleted after they are used. There will be no information of identity written on the recordings and the transcriptions. Complete transcriptions will be stored in a computer that requires a password.

I give permission for the researcher to record my voice Yes No

Due to its confidentiality, there is no physical, legal, financial, or psychological risks in this research. However, during the interview, there is a possibility that you will be given questions that can make you feel uncomfortable. You are allowed not to answer any question if you don't feel comfortable with it and you have the right to end your participation at any time.

In this research, the researcher has no financial concern whatsoever. The researcher does not involve any operational fund from any sources.

If you decide to participate, you have the right to express questions and opinions related to the publication of this research. The result of this research can be shared to you if you'd like it.

Further questions, inputs, or complaints about this research shall be directed to:

Tobias Olsson

Professor at Media and Communication Studies, Lund University

E-mail: tobias.olsson@kom.lu.se

Thank you for the opportunities and time given for this research.

Date _____

Researcher

Interviewee

Appendix 7

Sample Interview

(translated from Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese)

Nana', 25 years old, HR Manager

Date of Interview : 21-03-2018

Length of interview recording : 57' 03''

How often do you listen to dangdut?

I am that kind of person who will repeat the same songs all the time when I love them. I can even love and listen to the same ones for a week or a month. It's not everyday, though. I also go for karaoke once a month. I listen to the same playlist according to my mood, by the way. When I am not in the mood, I won't listen to it. I follow YouTube's list. Before I got a job, I downloaded the songs. But, since I've got facility from the office, I usually stream.

Do you have specific dangdut music you like? Please elaborate

I love the koplo one, the type using ketipung. Not the mellow one, because it makes me languish and melancholy - like the old dangdut era. I prefer the modern ones. Talking about language used, it is relative. I also love the western songs covered into dangdut. Right now, I often listen to those using eastern Javanese. It's not a problem. I rarely enjoy dangdut with Bahasa Indonesia like the old songs by Kristina, Iis. I even never listen to Rhoma's songs because I cannot shake my body following the beat. I like dangdut because of its beats, not the melancholic ones, but the 'hore-hore' ones with cheerful beats. Because i think it can build my mood. To do something.

How did you begin loving dangdut?

Since I was a kid, my parents did not introduce me to western music but the 'campursari' one, Javanese kind. When I was in Senior High School, I loved electrical music - found mostly in club house. There were many dangdut-like songs. But, recently I love koplo dangdut like Via

Vallen or Wiwik Sagita's songs. For me personally, those songs bring up good mood to do something.

What do you love from dangdut?

What makes me love dangdut is because it can be accepted by all circles. Though there are some people not loving it and be like 'what's good from dangdut?', but I am not like that. Everyone has their own favourite genres. Just because you like classic western songs, then you can underestimate others' preferences. Dangdut can unite all circles from people with higher statuses to the lower class, no matter what position you have in your office. Sometimes as women, we cannot express ourselves freely when we come to dangdut shows. But, when we are gathered in that music ambience like in karaoke place, even together with our close male friends, we can enjoy and express ourselves. I've got a friend from Jakarta who does not understand Javanese at all, but whenever I sing, she will sing along with me because she said the music was easy-listening. It is different from classical music which not all people can enjoy it. I also don't enjoy jazz or blues. Dangdut can be enjoyed by anyone because it is music of people, easy-listening, able to make people enjoy it easily. Tell me, where in Indonesia which never invites dangdut singers. Dangdut shows are rarely not crowded. There are some not qualified dangdut shows, then, yes, it will be not crowded, unless the singers are already well-known. However, in my opinion one band's songs can be famous because of being brought by dangdut singers. "Sayang" song of Via Valen is originally sung by NDX, but not all people listen to the hip hop NDX, while Valen brings it to national TV.

In your opinion, is there still any stigma that dangdut is music of lower class society?

It can be said that way, because the enjoyers mostly are people from mid to low class society. People with higher class have more money to entertain themselves. For example, kpop concert ticket must be expensive, but dangdut shows ticket is cheap, less than IDR 50k, or even free. Moreover, mostly when people hold an event, they invite dangdut singers because that way, there will be many people coming, especially when the singers are famous.

Have you ever come to dangdut show? Please elaborate?

Yes, I have, it was cigarette company's event at Lapangan Kenteng. It was small event in a hamlet for celebrating Independence Day. They invited singers. I came there because the event was in front of my own house. However, in my opinion that wasn't a show, they didn't sell their voice but body. Sexy women were not interesting for me, low in morality. Let's say if the watchers are all adults, that's fine. But, if there are underage children there watching things like that, those shows are definitely not for kids, though I love koplo. Usually the songs brought in that kind of dangdut shows are koplo ones, even though what they sell is not the quality but their bodies on stage. Why should they show their breasts, or (sorry) their groins? For what? I am speechless, but that was an event in village where I live. However, why the invited ones are like that, at midday, in front of kids who watch inappropriate shows they should not see. It is more about the morality. People say dangdut without swaying is like a hook without bait. No matter how famous the singers are, the way they present the show determines their quality. That should be changed, because even they are adults, it is not appropriate to show as well. Actually, for me, that's fine if the singers want to wear whatever fashion they want, even sexy outfits like how mostly dangdut singers usually use. Every singer has their own uniqueness. There are some singers with very sexy clothes showing parts of their breasts like Uut Selly and Nia Jovanka, because that's what they actually sell. They are usually drunk before the show to boost their adrenaline on stage. Why don't they just wear minim outfits but still the proper ones. They use hot pants while in one stage with other members of the opposite sex. The lady singer is in topsy-turvy position in front of a man with her butt against the man's penis like having sex. I am not sure whether it's a music show or striptease show

In your opinion, what is an interesting dangdut performance?

I'm interested in dangdut singers who wear proper stylish clothes, like wearing covering-clothes and not showing too much skin. When Via Vallen's wearing hot pants, she also wears legging, sometimes she wears an oversized t-shirt; it's more stylish, and that actions bring the usual dangdut negative paradigm of to a different direction. I usually watch her performance by video, I don't know about Via's background. Sometimes she wears retro style clothing, short-loose

dress instead of the tight ones, the one that shows your figure because you force your body to fit in it even though it's not. I think dangdut singers wear tight sexy clothes because they're worried that they might not be interesting, not selling, that's why they put their sexy action on stage. But for those who already have the value without putting on some sexy clothes or showing their body parts, there will still be great audience that present on their show. It's not possible on TV shows, but it'll still be crowded there in public shows. Because on TV, even though the singers wear proper clothes, the organizer is a big one for sure. When there's a show I never join the crowd. The women audiences, they just sit and watch from afar. It's different, compared to the man audiences. If man audiences wants to roll, there's nothing wrong with that. Sometimes I want to join the crowd, but in a wild crowd with uncontrollable situation, there will be nudges everywhere, it just doesn't feel right. Even though in a dangdut show there's an urge to roll and dance, there are proper places to have fun, like in a club, or a café, in a more private spots. Because in a dangdut show venue, we know nothing of the person who stands next to us. And in a club, they invite Via Vallen and Nela Kharisma too, and it just feels right to dance there. In a club both man and woman is looking fine when they dance. But it must've felt inappropriate when village (low-class) society sees a woman dance to a song. There are judgements that we have to face. Like in a city karaoke, when we girls jam to a song, it's okay, and it won't invites people to enjoy our body's movements in an inappropriate way. Even though the genders blend in a club house, it's normal. Because we won't pay the club fee just stand there doing nothing, we'll definitely dance there. In a open field dangdut venue, people can watch and judge our body when we dance and they might want to poke here and there, while we have no idea who does that. We'd be embarrassed, feeling unsafe and insecure. There are certain perception when you dance on the open dance venue. Villagers, they think differently.

How do you express yourself while listening to dangdut? Is there any difference in expressing yourself due to different places?

When I am enjoying it alone, I sometimes sing along a little bit. When I am working in the office, I use headset to listen it. I'll be just swaying a little following the music because you can

never just stay still when listening to dangdut. You can do it when watching film, but not when you are listening to the beat of music. You will be reflexively move your body.

In your opinion, why the majority of dangdut lovers are men?

That's because of 1 thing, the lady singers are sexy. We don't like seeing women with sexy clothes, unless we were lesbians. Wow, her body is hot. But for the normal women, we love seeing guys. Why it is men, because of the "woman" matter. However, most women sometimes are too shy to admit they love dangdut, since dangdut is considered as not classy music, music of low class society. But, people's preference for music is different from each other, so, why should people be shy? If you love it, that's it. Well, in terms of expressing ourselves, we still keep our image and have some fears for it.

What do you think about dangdut lyrics?

Dangdut lyrics are sometimes meaningless. I don't really enjoy the content, only the music. Firstly, I listen to the music, then give attention to the lyrics. If the lyrics tend to be vulgar and about pornography, I don't want to listen. But, if it is still around the romance thing, like songs in Javanese, even though the language style is not musical, I don't know why I still enjoy it. I love the music. Sometimes I listen to dangdut songs with vulgar lyrics just to analyse what the content is about. In my opinion, the existence of the vulgar song is because the writer of the song is a moron. It is enjoyed because the audience enjoy those things. When I listen to Wali's song "Emang Dasar Kamu Bajingan" (You are a bastard), there are some words making us to scream loudly. The song's genre is Melayu, and usually, like in the word "bajingan" (bastard) part, everyone simultaneously screams it out loud. But, for the vulgar one, like those mentioning people's genitals, even though it is in a joke, conversation or textual chat, I cannot tolerate that. I feel so uncomfortable with it, you mention your own sex organs. If it is still the upper parts, that's still bearable, but the lower part, that's different case. Even when someone use another words to describe it like using "sword" for "penis", or "tempe crackers" for "vagina". If it is heard by adults, that doesn't matter. How if it is heard by children? Since I studied psychology, I know it could be stimulus and it is considered violating society's norms.

What do you think of songs telling about women, like the *virgin or widower* for instance?

In my opinion, it is not good and doesn't give any positive impact. Just for fun. Just like the song "Ku Hamil Duluan" (I am pregnant before marriage) which idiots want to sing that song loudly? The singer is a woman, and what we say are prayers. Will you be proud singing that song when it happens to you? It could be a warning, how lovers must do in their relationships. If they do it wrongly, the women could be pregnant outside marriage. Alright, that's good if people think that way. But, for children, do they know about it? If there are kids asking about it, what will you say? How do you tell a woman is still a virgin or not these days? I am just confused how come dangdut songs underrate women's dignity, why don't they praise it. Why do they talk about virgin and widow and make women as object? They never talk about men in sexual terms. That's annoying. It is about privacy, but sadly our society doesn't understand about it. Even right now there is law on someone's sexual life. I would rather change my nationality. That's people's choices. There are many factors why people have sex. Maybe, they love it or it is because of their environment, family, etc. Let's say, he really loves his girlfriend, they love each other, but their families couldn't accept it. I am confused, why it is always women becoming as the objects. Dangdut is good to listen, but sometimes, the lyrics do not make any sense and give any positive impact for the society, especially children. But sadly, there are still lady singers singing those kind of songs, with their coquettish style. Do they know they are being degraded? Only God has the right to judge, men do not have any privilege to judge something like that. I disagree with songs like that. If I still listen to it, that's just because of the rhythm. Personally, when it is related with the morality, I don't like how the society here interfering someone's privacy. That's my life, they have no right to intervene.

How is your reaction when you watch dangdut lady singers moving their body erotically?

If the lady singers do the erotic moves in front of me, I'll feel ashamed. It is different when you watch it on tv or video. But, if they do the moves like having sex in public, it feels like that's not dangdut show but striptease one. However, striptease dangdut does exist, and I feel embarrassed as a woman. It feels like I am also stripped, because I am also a woman. Men love shows like that, but I don't. I am a normal woman and I love man, so it doesn't affect me. If I see man

stripping, I'll be crazy. I am gonna slap that man. That's gross. I have ever seen an exhibitionist showing his penis, and the more I scream, the more he feel satisfied. Damn, it's as if his penis is good looking.

Will you call yourself a fan?

I am not a fan. I just listen to it when I am in the mood.

What do you think about 'nyawer'?

There must be pro and contra about 'nyawer'. Think about a married couple. If they have much money that is still enough for their life, there won't be a problem. But, if they are weak financially, better don't do that. If it is my husband, I won't allow him. Better use the money for investment. I won't let him give money to another women. The singers must have been paid since they are invited. What we get from 'nyawer', then? For men, it could be a prestige for them, but that's temporary and useless. Seen from value and morality, if the men give money to the ladies from hand to hand, that's still acceptable. If the men put the money of the ladies' breasts, I think they really want to die in their wives' hands. Maybe, that's how they collect money, but the men have no right to touch them. They 'nyawer' because they want to touch the singers, right? That's my opinion. I've never been asked about this, so this is spontaneous answer from me. If the women do the 'nyawer' thing for fun, I don't know. I have never seen it.

Which one do you prefer for dangdut, lady singers or male singers' performance?

I prefer lady singers. If a man sings and moves his butt, that's weird. The male singers usually just sing elegantly (like my boyfriend). Lady and male singers are different, I would rather see the lady ones. Well, though sometimes, we need male singers as well.

Do you watch dangdut show on TV? Please elaborate.

I usually stay still when I watch dangdut on TV. I enjoy watching dangdut alone, not with family. Because, I cannot choose my own favourite songs. I go to karaoke place because I want to listen to those songs. Besides, I don't have time to watch TV, and dangdut shows on TV are

not interesting to express myself. I can express myself freely in karaoke place, by my own or with my friends. I don't want to do that on public. If the singers are ladies and famous, I'll be excited and coming to the show. But I disagree with 'nyawer' thing. If I am given CFO, I won't refuse it, but as a wife, I disagree with it.