

The Civilizing Brand: Dissemination Lifestyle Of Traditional Cultural Artists In Indonesia

By

Andiwi Meifilina

Universitas Islam Balitar, Blitar, Indonesia Email: andiwimeifilina@unisbablitar.ac.id

S. Bakti Istiyanto*

Universitas Jenderal Soedirman, Purwokerto, Indonesia Email: bakti.istiyanto@unsoed.ac.id

Abstract

This article focuses on the politicization of fashion brands in the traditional culture of Sinden. This study shows the civilizing process of a fashion brand in Sinden Performance Art and discursive stresses related to the market economy and consumer culture aspects, by describing the semiotic analysis of the Sinden of Jimbe village, an area in Blitar, East Java which is familiar with the Sinden performance culture. This article understands the emergence of cultural commodity signs of the Sinden as 'communicators' of cultural signs on a Sinden that describes an economic transaction that takes place within the Sinden cultural matrix. The conclusion from this study states that the high market economy power of a Sinden in a Sinden art performance has resulted in the display of consumer goods on stage. Lifestyle popularization has become an artistic sub-culture for every Sinden performance. This shows the close relationships between the arts, fashion, and consumer culture as well as with the actors in the Sinden art performance.

Keywords: Consumer Culture, Figuration, and Civilization, Sinden, Semiotic, Traditional Culture

Introduction

A critical theme that will be discussed in this article is the existence of change in the high cultural environment in Java that becomes a popular cultural commodity. Movements of cultural change in high-cultural environments are often initiated because of the emergence of new cultural goods in the cultural actors of high culture itself, which finally encourage lifestyle changes. Sinden (Javanese singer) is one of the actors who create the movement in the Javanese traditional art environment. In Java, Sinden has long been known as a central actor in several high cultures created by the Keraton (royal palace) (Atikawati, 2017; Sutton, 1984). Sinden served as Tari Bedhaya's accompanist, while also serving as an accompanist to the gendhing – gendhing Karawitan (Javanese musical piece for gamelan orchestra) in every royal palace performance. Reports from the 19th century also mentioned that in every palace performance, the sound of Gamelan (Karawitan) is incomplete without the presence of Sinden who sings the songs of Javanese literary lyrics that usually contain songs written by kings. Sinden is an artist and accompanist to the 'sacred' court music who promotes Javanese ancestral values through Javanese literary songs (Poedjosoedarmo, 1988; Sutton, 1984; Weintraub, 2004). For this reason, it is not easy for the commoner to become a Sinden.

However, in the 20th century, the cultural character of the Sinden began to change when the trend of solo Sinden appear, where the Sinden became an independent art performer and was not depending on the structure of the Keraton music composition. Sinden no longer had to sit together with the artists at the court and sing strictly as should be the culture of the Javanese royal court. That way, common people can hear gamelan with a female's solo melody from the Sinden. The tradition of solo Sinden today likely arises from the singer-dancer tradition, although it is difficult to track the history of its development (Weintraub, 2004). Also, the existence of Sinden in this independent performance was able to break down traditional old-style art traditions, as well as initiate gender relations issues in Javanese culture. Women, in this case, Sinden, become very independent figures in economic terms. Even in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, Sinden reportedly enjoyed a high level of popularity so that the Dalang (male art actors) became economically dependent on them (Weintraub, 2004).

The important role of Sinden is also written in Susan Pratt Walton's research (1996), that the pleasant Sinden's voice harmonized with the shrilling sound of the gamelan. Meanwhile, research by Caturwati Endang (2009) said that the existence of Sinden or Ronggeng (Javanese dancer) is only to brighten up the entertainment, and today it is regarded as the center of the performance, while still incorporating ritual elements. Recently it is developed into a commercial art that unites various functions, namely as a business, as a competition, and as a means of communication. These transitions have changed the life systems of local communities, especially in the economic sector. Therefore, Supriyanto (2016) wrote in the findings of his research that today the Dalang (puppeteers) acknowledges that Wayang performance fans will decrease if it does not feature a beautiful Sinden who is good at singing. Many researchers have found out about the important role of Sinden, but unfortunately, these studies are not able to answer the market impact in seeing the importance of Sinden's role in Javanese art performances.

It means that there is still very little effort to unravel the convergence of the values of the Sinden role as a result of "modernization" in which the strength of the market economy encourages the establishment of the Sinden as an important figure in the performance. This is an attempt or effort to examine the decline in traditional values and replace them with "modern" values. Because after all, these efforts reinforce the facts to prove that culture has its logic and circulation, as well as the speed of conversion into economic capital. For example, for people who own high cultural capital, prestige; legitimacy; scarcity; and also the social value of this cultural capital, all depend on the market's rejection of cultural objects, the rejection of their relevance, and the need to transform cultural capital into economic capital. Thus, artists as cultural actors always struggle to show their own 'authentic' products as a capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Featherstone, 2007).

This article is a cultural study that seeks to examine the thesis about the life of Sinden in Sinden Jimbe village, Blitar, East Java, Indonesia. This article will try to state the dissemination lifestyle of Sinden Jimbe with the use of branded goods as a result of the improvement of the economic market of Sinden Performance art. To explain this, this article will be divided into 3 topics. **First**, this article will state the process of Sinden to bring up a fashion brand as a new 'cultural object' in Sinden performance art, thus creating a consumer culture among Sinden artists. **Second**, this article will review whether the Fashion Brand can change the expressive effect on Sinden performance art. At the end of the article, the writer will reflect on the identity of Sinden of Jimbe by referring to the dissemination of fashion

brands that happen in the lives of the artists of Jimbe Sinden. **Third**, this article describes the reflection of sinden identity on the interaction process that exists in society.

Literature Review

Who is Sinden?

Sinden is a singer in a Gamelan (Javanese traditional music) music performance. Sinden is in charge to tell the supporting narratives at traditional dance performances (Alfianti, Pratiwi, & Suyatno, 2019; Sutton, 1984). According to Sutton⁽¹⁹⁸⁴⁾, Sinden or Pesindhen comes from the ancient Javanese word "Sindhi" which means to sing. The tradition of Sinden originated from the singer-dancer tradition that has been known since the fourteenth century through the holy book of Nagara Kertagama. The book contains poetry depicting a comfort woman named Juru Angin (mistress of the wind), the woman sings and dances at the same time. Her appearance consists of two contrasting parts. The first part shows that she dances funny and erotic movements accompanied by a Buyut (great-grandfather) in the open air. In the second part, she drinks and sings a few songs with honorable members of the royal court, while accompanied by "Mantris" (mandarins) and "upapattis" (assessors-at-law) at the entrance of "Attendance". This tradition is similar to the tradition of the Thaledhek (dancer-singer) in the previous period which was considered a lowly job (Cooper, 2000; Sutton, 1984). Also, this kind of tradition still exists in the Tayuban tradition where the woman sings with Gamelan music and dances with men alternately (Sutton, 1984).

According to Sutton⁽¹⁹⁸⁴⁾, Sinden has a particularly exceptional role so Gamelan's performance is considered unreasonable or incomplete without Sinden's performance. Even on the cover of commercial gamelan tapes, a picture of a Sinden is more prominent to attract buyers, because Sinden is considered to have the vocal line features at a higher dynamic level than the instrumental part. Four things must be possessed by Sinden to survive, namely skill (the ability to memorize songs and show accuracy in tone and pronunciation), voice (ability to control the chest voice, head voice, etc., a sound clear on high notes and soft on low notes), properties (wardrobe), and appearance (face makeup). The voice becomes the most important of the four things because it becomes an aesthetic value in art (Saefurrohman, Kosasih, & Hendrayana, 2020). Sinden can be performed by men and women, but the tradition of solo Sinden is more exclusively performed by women. In contrast, at the Sandur (traditional theatre) performance in Bangkalan Madura, Sinden is performed by men in traditional Javanese women's clothing (Juwariyah, Darni, & Mustofa, 2020). Role shuffling of Sinden from female to male Sinden also occurs in the Ludruk Theater in East Java. However, this gender swap practice is uncommon in Java. Male Sinden who plays the role of female Sinden is considered less attractive because they are not sexually attractive (Sutton, 1984).

Sinden's reputation in society changes along with Sinden's image and ability in her performances. The book titled "Pariyem's Confession: The Inner World of a Javanese Woman" explains that Sinden has several risks which show a low reputation (Sutton, 1984). First, the bad name is due to labeling related to sexuality. Secondly, Sinden becomes a popular topic of conversation because of Susuk (a metal hair clip that contains magical power from a shaman that is inserted into the body to increase beauty and invulnerability). Third, Sinden must have strong faith when her popularity rises. Sinden is referred to as Ronggeng or prostitute in Raffles's notes in the nineteenth century. The term also appears in Jaipongan art in West Java (Herdiani, 2017). Whereas in the modern era, Sinden is considered to have a more respectable

reputation because they emphasize their vocal ability and foster an image of good behavior to maintain popularity, as did Nyi Tjondrolukito (Sutton, 1984).

In the late nineteenth and twentieth century, Sinden was able to show its popularity through collaboration with modern music and traditional performances of modern styles. Moreover, they can have a career on an international level. The popularity of Sinden in the audience exceeds the tradition in the Wayang performance that considers the Dalang as a dominant figure so there is a saying: "Sinden is accompanied by the Dalang, no longer the Dalang accompanied by Sinden" (Weintraub, 2004). In the modern style of Wayang performance in Central Java, the scene of Kedhatonan often turns into variety shows with various pathet sung by Sinden, songs from other cultural regions such as East Java and Sundanese, songs from different musical genres such as Dangdut and Campursari, as well as a long dialogue between Limbuk and Cangik (Weiss, 2006). In the Banyuwangi Jazz Beach Festival Sinden collaborates with modern jazz singers (Setiawan & Subaharianto, 2020). Collaboration between Sinden and the jazz singer is a form of neo-exoticism oriented to bring cultural tourism products to the national and global level. The Jogja Hip Hop Foundation also uses Sinden's singing style in producing Hip Hop music (Mora, 2020). They have also been performing internationally by touring in the United States in 2011.

The Civilizing Process of Consumer Culture with Fashion Brand.

Norbert Elias writes in his books an important theory in studying a contemporary culture that is now called Cultural Studies. Elias with his theory of civilizing process is inviting us to study the long-term development of concepts such as Civilization and Economics and focus on the derivation of these terms from daily terms. Elias (2000b) has paid attention to the problem where growing autonomy in social phenomena such as markets must be connected to the growth of the market potential of the real economists in the commercial sector, industrial trade, and the development of autonomy of thinking. Therefore, Elias stated that we need to make sure of the process of figuration and the economic scope, and the important role of culture in this process.

Figuration is a general term used to represent the interdependencies between people and those that connect them such as structures that are mutually oriented and dependent (Elias, 2000a; Quintaneiro, 2006). Figuration emphasizes that impulse comes from the way people are interconnected and puts pressure on one another (Linklater & Mennell, 2010). The figuration was formulated to overcome the confusing polarization in the theory of Sociology at the time that placed 'individual' above 'society' and 'society' above 'individual', where the traditional terms between the two concepts are considered to be fundamentally different. Elias rejected the idea of a social system that stands apart from social interaction which is considered misleading.

However, Elias tried to put the concept of figuration in the theory of civilization processes because the two related to one another. Independent relationships (figurations) carried out by individuals or groups affect the process of interaction. The changes that occur as a result of these interactions will ultimately direct behavior toward the civilizing process. The concept of civilization is derived from the concepts of courtesies and civility (Linklater & Mennell, 2010). The Theory of The Civilizing Process (1978) describes the internalization of external control as an impact of the figuration relationship, thereby increasing emotional restrictions. This opinion was then continued by Cas Wouters (1986) that the process of informalization emerged as a counter-movement in the development of the civilizing process. It emphasizes that at some points the balance will change to 'de-controlling the controlled

emotion' that shapes behavior and models of emotional exploration which was previously prohibited followed by interpersonal and psychological sanctions. It means that agents are familiar with certain practices in their social environment and how to coexist with others (Linklater & Mennell, 2010).

If more people are in a relationship then the pressure will be increasingly higher. Elias (2000a) saw this change based on books that discuss manners. Through this book of manner, Elias (2000a) discusses the relationship of his theory with consumption culture. Elias discussed it by showing how the medieval palace society showed the caution that must be done by individuals regarding fashions, attitudes, appearances styles, and knowledge. Elias states that this is proof of the changes in body sensitivity and social standards. This conception is then cultivated to establish community development. If individuals or groups want to fulfill their social function in a relationship then they have to adjust their behavior with others and this will lead to 'shared identification'. With the increase in behavior control towards other individuals the embarrassment level is also increasing. It can be seen how little things like blowing your nose, farting, having sex, and table manner are also taken into account. Embarrassment is an unexpected body expression in social interaction as part of self-control and moderation techniques (Binkley, 2009).

This embarrassment then indirectly makes the civilizing process related to market relations. Elias explained the civilizing process is related to the gradual expansion and consumerism culture. Consumerism ultimately influences self-awareness and self-distancing displayed by contemporary society (Binkley, 2009; Featherstone, 2007). The process of commodification is explained in 2 assertions, namely a decline in the characteristics of embarrassment from the civilizing process which eventually drives consumerism. Subsequently, the product that is created uniformly becomes more intimate or personal. This personal process then creates informalization which is correlated with lifestyle consumption. The ever-increasing consumerism culture has imposed the effect of individualization (Binkley, 2009; Elias, 2000a). Individualization and consumption culture has encouraged people to conduct self-regulation; the relationship no longer focuses on person to person, but on individuals with themselves instead. It is shown by the desire to have commercial goods. Purchasing choices and various credit items show that people are anxious about the social embarrassment to be humiliated by others. Social embarrassment is a marketing strategy of mass-market product manufacturers. Thus, the culture of consumption reproduces insecurity and the risks within the commodity itself.

Anxiety and insecurity, the need for self-control, and the view of the future that arises in the interaction eventually invested in the form of consumption. Within the conditions of consumerism that are very individualistic lifestyles, the civilizing process and changes in embarrassment inherent in the body continue to develop in new ways. The arrival of branded goods and mass consumerism made a shift to hygiene and beauty standards. Products are mass manufactured using the same standards so that cleanliness and beauty are generalized to everyone. Branded products and packaging are suppressing social exchange and directing the needs of consumers (Binkley, 2009). However, after the war, around the 1960s, these standards began to shift gradually where the individual characteristics were given more attention due to the movement of self-awareness. The civilizing process gives way to the process of informalization, shifting mass consumption

products into lifestyle consumption products. Products are determined by lifestyle, individual identity, and the deeper relationships between consumers and branded products. In this case, the body that was previously regarded as an object that has the potential to cause embarrassment is now regarded as a means of attraction for intimate and personal relationships (Binkley, 2009).

Method

This research was conducted in Sinden Jimbe Village, namely in Jimbe Village, Kademangan District, Blitar Regency. The location was chosen because the majority of the female population in Jimbe Village, Kademangan District, Blitar Regency work as Pesinden. In addition, Jimbe Village is known as the forerunner to the development of Sinden in Blitar Regency. Therefore, it becomes a village under the auspices of the Department of Youth, Culture, Tourism, and Sports (DISPARBUDPORA) of Blitar Regency. Besides that, Jimbe village also has a Sinden school and the Sinden community as a facility for social empowerment in the arts. This is interesting for researchers to study the figuration and civilization of sinden in Jimbe Village, by analyzing the unit of cultural objects that forms a Sinden figuration.

To answer this focus, the authors also use the semiotics method. The researcher tries to explore the reality obtained through the interpretation of the symbols and signs that are displayed in the Sinden performance. This is done to discuss the variety of cultural attributes that exist in every Sinden performance, and then its influence in the formation of Sinden's figuration and civilization can be analyzed. Therefore, this paper specifically describes the results of analyzing Sinden's cultural attributes in the form of consumption objects. In analyzing those cultural attributes, the writer refers to Roland Barthes's semiotic analysis. Barthes's semiotic helps researchers to interpret the Sinden art attributes so that they can explore the meanings and messages hidden in the Sinden's art attributes. In addition, the data in this article was taken directly by researchers using interviews and direct observation techniques.

Result

Fashion Brand: A New Cultural Goods in Sinden Jimbe

Sinden's departure from high Javanese culture made Sinden very dependent on the market's (audience/connoisseurs) tastes and demands. The Sinden performance has separated itself from the values of the 'cult' which are strictly regulated by the standards of the Javanese royal court. Sinden now not only sings old Javanese literary songs but has covered a variety of musical genres such as campursari, dangdut koplo, religion, hip-hop, jazz, and so on. In addition, Sinden also began to bring up new cultural objects as their attributes in each performance. The emergence of new cultural objects is at the same time marking the emergence of cultural commodity signs within Sinden themselves. These objects become 'communicators' of cultural signs on a Sinden that describes an economic transaction that takes place within the Sinden cultural matrix. These objects are consumptive objects attached to the Sinden attribute in the Sinden art performance, including wardrobe to accessories.

The emergence of new cultural objects is marked by the display of upper-class attributes in every Sinden performance. Nowadays, Sinden tries to show branded attributes such as bags,

watches, perfume, wallets, makeup equipment, and also cell phones that are used to read song lyrics. In every Sinden performance, the audience is not only presented with a vocal performance but also watches a variety of branded handbags such as Prada, Louis Vuitton (LV), Hermes, Channel, etc. Besides Sinden's bag, the audience can also see a wallet that is as



expensive as their branded bag. On Sinden's wrist, the audience is 'contented' by the glittery expensive branded wristwatch such as Guess, Fossil, DW, Casio, Tissot, etc. Besides, expensive makeup equipment is also neatly arranged in front of Sinden along with their bags and wallets, also not to mention the mobile phone which is worth millions of rupiah also spoil the eyes of the audiences. However, this is a self-show effort of Sinden. This shows a marking process for cultural differentiation as the front part of the stereotype of the community in dressing.

Figure 1 Sinden Jimbe's performance with displaying consumer goods on stage


From the context above, it is clear that the emphasis of Sinden's self-show lies in the circle of materialistic objects of consumption society. From this point of view, it is not surprising that these objects are part of the stage set in each performance, thus turning the Sinden art performance into a show of objects. Therefore, Sinden not only marks the objects in front of her, but the objects in front of them have become markers of their life, such as home decoration, income, and various other activities that must be understood and classified by the audience to understand the presence of these objects before the Sinden. Consequently, the audiences who are presented with these objects possibly also talk about hedonism or calculations about stylistic and economic effects. This context becomes interesting when we see how Sinden freely expresses themselves through a variety of aesthetic goods, not to support the art performance of Sinden themselves, but goods that indicate experiences and practices of daily life.

Semiotics Sinden Jimbe Blitar carrying a branded bag on the stage of a leather puppet show

The Sinden Jimbe of Blitar is now wearing branded bags that are brought on stage even

though they are not original, but the Sinden Jimbe of Blitar always use the branded bags that I brought to the stage to carry the items needed by the Sinden that are needed on the puppet show stage. skin. In addition, because the other Sinden have all been wearing branded bags to increase their confidence because the bags are carried on-stage performances, the bags must be good and branded. The Sinden Jimbe Blitar always wears branded bags that are brought on stage. The use of branded bags, even if they are not original, such as the ones used are fake, such as those branded by Prada, Louis Vuitton (LV), Hermes, and Channel to appear on stage and to place cellphones, makeup, lipstick, and wallets.

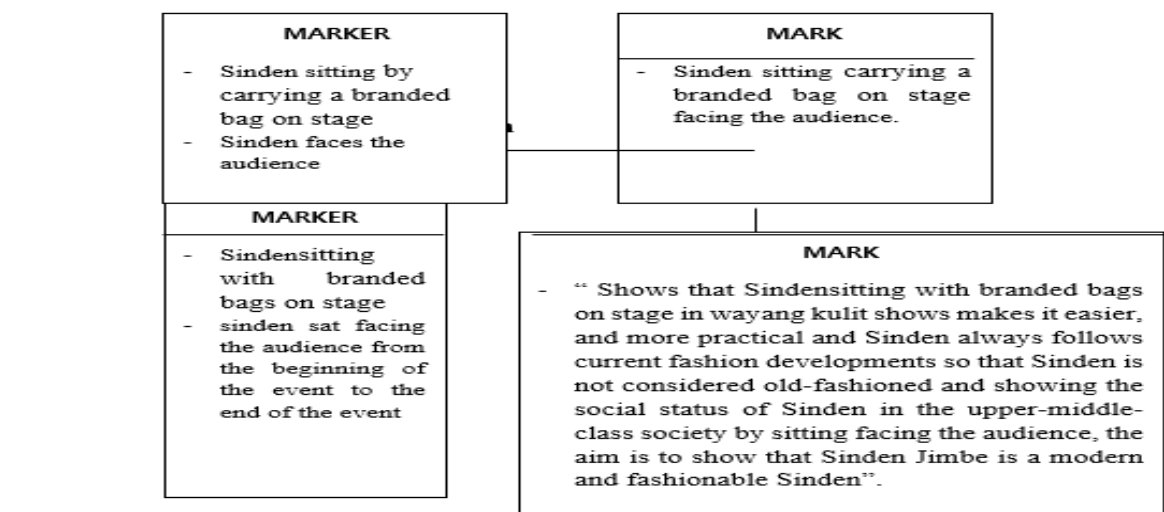
Table 1 Sinden Jimbe Blitar carrying a branded bag on stage

Appearance	Settings	Visual
	<p>Sinden sitting with a branded bag on stage</p>	<p>Sinden sits with a branded bag on the stage while facing the audience</p>

Data Source: Researcher's documentation and processed data

Many Sinden Jimbe Blitar wear branded bagssuch as channel brands, prada, Louis Vuitton, Hermes.The Sinden Jimbe Blitar give each other suggestions to look good when they are on stage in a wayang kulit performance.

Marking/ Signification Denotation



Myth | **Connotation**
Data Source: Data processed | **Schematic 1**

Schematic 1

Semiotics Sinden Jimbe Blitar carrying a branded bag on stage

The data in the field that Sinden Jimbe Blitar carried a branded bag on stage based on Roland Barthes' theory (Barthes R., 1981) shows the meaning that Sinden Jimbe Blitar always follows the development of fashion and current fashion. They, the Sinden Jimbe Blitar, show the public that the sinden is not like the ancient one, but the current sinden is a trendy modern sinden like the socialite women of today. The myth is that the branded bags that Sinden brought on stage in the wayang kulit performance were expensive goods indicating an upper economic class and high social status. This means that modern Sinden is Sinden who always follows fashion trends, of course, by wearing luxury items such as branded bags to show Sinden's social status in society, which is currently the upper middle class, the same as other popular singers.

The Effects of Aestheticization on the Appearance of Fashion Brands in Sinden Jimbe Performance Art

The appearance of new objects of the Sinden in every performance nonetheless gives an expressive effect on the Sinden performance. This expressive effect directs to the affirmation of consumption practices, rather than the Sinden performance art. The existence of products onstage implied that Sinden emphasizes hedonism, pursues pleasure, and focuses on the lifestyle. This may be seen to have a destructive effect on Sinden art as a vocal culture of ancient Javanese and also contrasts the Javanese values that teach about thriftiness. However, this is just a portrayal of Sinden as a deliverer of two aesthetic values, namely voice and daily attributes. Voice represents the aesthetic value of Javanese Sinden art, while the attributes or the Sinden's stage appearance represents the aesthetic value of the daily life of a Sinden. Thus, the Sinden performance can be used by the Sinden as a method of self-actualization to display the signs that surround their daily lives beyond their ability in singing.

The relation between the value of aesthetic voice and the material attributes is then institutionalized in the practice of Sinden art and produces the aestheticization effects, where the aesthetic value of voice and material attributes is politicized in Sinden art. In the context of vocal aestheticization, we will see how Sinden is signified by a specific type of vocal¹, but not on the song that is sung. It is suitable as the statement of a senior Sinden below:

There is a difference between learning Sinden now and then. In the past, Sinden first must learn the classical Javanese song or Gendhing, but now as long as Sinden can sing the Campursari song, she can perform on the stage of Wayang performance. That is the difference so that a lot of new Sinden or junior Sinden cannot sing classical Javanese songs or Gendhing because they do not learn classical Javanese songs or Gendhing ... "(Interview results, 15 September 2019)

The interview excerpt above shows the aestheticization of Sinden's voice. Where Sinden used to be identified with the ability to sing the classic song with Javanese literary lyrics, therefore to become a Sinden someone must start by studying Javanese literature. But now, after the aestheticization of Sinden's voice, to become a Sinden someone only needs to learn the vocal technique, then she can practice it on all kinds of song lyrics. Thus, Sinden's voice is politicized as something that has an aesthetic value that was

¹ In musicology learning, Sinden has the sound of a tone. A tone is a formula of melody taken from Javanese music that usually has the four beats of melodies (S. Walton, 2007)

previously placed on the song that is sung. Here we can see how the object of an aesthetic sign of Sinden art changes from song composition to the voice. This voice aestheticization makes Sinden able to sing various genres of songs on the stage because the aesthetic value of Sinden is not in the composition of the song they sang but in the characteristic of their vocal technique.

In the context of the aestheticization of material attributes, Sinden is competing to show objects iconically on the stage through various similarities. Sinden tries to convey various sensations and they also acted as an intermediary in stimulating the sensibility of the use of these objects to the audience, or other Sinden. Therefore, some Sinden manipulates the material attributes to deliver a certain image on the stage:

I wear a branded bag even though it's not the original one because my fellow Sinden usually asks me to buy bags together and also gives me suggestions to buy branded bag even though it is a replica or imitation, but I think the bag is good enough to be shown on the stage such as Chanel, Prada, Louis Vuitton, Hermes, those are the brands of bags that I like ” (WW2, 10 September 2019)

The statement above shows that the aestheticization of material attributes is directed at the lower middle-class Sinden, and it causes the manipulative objects politicization. This is interesting because we find the relationships between classes of the Sinden are very influential to encourage the object-centered lifestyle. Moreover, those goods are then politicized as demands that must be filled by a Sinden for their performance on stage.

Discussion

Dissemination Lifestyle on Sinden Jimbe Life.

We found that Sinden's art now is more than just vocal art. The existence of consumption goods of Sinden on the stage made the Sinden performance exists as a means of producing market culture. Further, we can discuss the relationship between the Sinden, commodity signs, and also consumption signs of the Sinden performance. However, the appearance of consumption goods on stage shows the tendency that Jimbe's Sinden tries to classify and arrange her social environment as a Sinden artist. Consumption of goods becomes a sign where it becomes a limiting and connecting device that sets boundaries between some people in building relationships with others. The social benefit displaying of items by Sinden shows the practice of a Sinden to simulate cultural signals to the audience to interpret a consumption practice in the Sinden environment. Therefore, we need to investigate the logic of the commodity that creates the image of Sinden on the display of those objects.

Concerning the display of consumption goods, to achieve satisfaction from the various commodities and practices that surround the individual, there should be a constant demand for information about lifestyle (Featherstone, 2007; Lasch, 2013). In this case, Sinden has represented the 'new hero' of Javanese consumer culture which shows a lifestyle as a performance on stage. Through their performances, Sinden shows their individuality and understanding of the particular style through the goods they display on stage. At this stage, Sinden forms a regime of figural significance that emphasizes the primary process (desire) and not the secondary process (ego), or it can be called the process of imagining goods. This is the process of creating emotions for an object, resulting in changes in style and behavior that directly increase disgust at the expressive emotion and gesture. As a result, other things that are eliminated in the process of forming an identity becomes an object of desire (lust). Therefore, the Sinden performance is not only an attempt to transform the value of Javanese

local traditions but also becomes a medium for Sinden to make popular transformations through the intersection of consumer goods.

Perhaps it becomes the starting point where the Sinden civilization is built through the display of goods. Every Sinden previously portrayed in a uniform Javanese fashion type on stage has now performed with personal displays of objects and items. Bags, Watches, Make-Up Equipment, Wallets, and Perfumes are personal goods that emotionally become the form of self-awareness and self-distancing of Jimbe's Sinden. The display of the goods on the stage shows that Sinden is embarrassed to share a similar appearance, so they make self-regulation through very individualistic consumer goods.

By increasing the autonomy of self-realization through personal choices, and by mediating interpersonal relationships with consumer goods or products, Sinden has indirectly imposed individual, reflexive or narcissistic orientation on individuals who become self-enterprising, self-governing, and break away from the collective context. It is following Warren Susman's thesis (1979), which states that one of the most important changes in identity formation that occurs along with a shift toward consumer culture, is the goodness of character becomes the best of personality.

The increasing influence of consumer culture has imposed the effect of atomization or individualization on citizens as the consumers, influencing changes in the basic structure of individual subjectivity by weakening the purchase of collective structures and group affiliation on the choices and livelihood of individuals, demanding various modes of self-monitoring and emotional self-control in daily life (Featherstone, 2007; Simmel, 1997). But this is at the same time underlying the importance of the lifestyle of a Jimbe's Sinden which depends on market dynamics by searching for new models, new styles, new sensations, and new experiences as a Sinden. This way, it emphasizes the publicity of consumer culture in the Sinden group that every Sinden has the same opportunity to make self-improvement and self-expression regardless the age. Self-expression that cannot be considered in this area of social interaction eventually becomes the goal for various control techniques and moderating the relationship between one Sinden and another.

This seems to be the most visible form of Sinden figuration, in which interdependent relations between them are at least attached to two things. First, the Sinden relationship with social interest in terms of the acceptance of their perception of the Sinden lifestyle, namely the value of the aesthetic view; the value of cultural goods, and experience in general about how to use and sense these objects in Sinden art performances. Secondly, the relationship between image dependence and the superiority of their lifestyles is displayed on the stage, so that other people - presumably audiences or other Javanese artists - will adopt the fashion, style, and perceptions that they always show in Sinden art performances. Through these two things, Sinden has represented themselves as an expert of consumption, as Elias referred to as an individual who is attentive toward fashion, attitude, and style of appearance. Sinden figuration has created a model of self-control that comes from integration in social interactions and from deep anxiety about the assessment of something about cultural objects, which is then interacted into a personal relationship, and mediated by a discourse of consumer and products itself. The relationship between Sinden artists is expressed through the interest in commercial goods.

Reflection of Figural Identity of Sinden Jimbe on the Group Interaction Process of Sinden Jimbe.

Nonetheless, the impact of individualization on consumer culture has the capacity for internal self-regulation practices or the calculation capacity for hedonistic gratification. As a result, the discourse is shifting into the explanation of calculation hedonism, calculus on the stylistic and emotional economic effects on the one hand, and aestheticization, so the real thing that happens is the existence of a competitive market for people in the consumer culture environment (Featherstone, 2007). In line with the two statements of Simmel⁽¹⁹⁹⁷⁾ regarding the discussion of Fashion as relevance to consumer culture, first, fashion is very closely associated with a certain social stratum, the middle class, and a certain place, and second is the implications on the stylization behavior in daily life. It means that fashion embodies contradictory imitation and differentiation tendencies. That is the tendency of the consumer culture to differentiate and encourage the differences in social classes which are validated socially. Thus, different social classes have different ways of life and views about the nature of social relations that form a matrix in which consumption takes place.

Nevertheless, this tendency has begun to occur in the Jimbe Sinden group, for example, the emergence of a gap between high-class artists who can afford expensive original branded goods and middle-class artists who are only able to afford the imitation of branded goods. Therefore, referring to Elias (2000a), by expanding civilizing process into the middle class, it is necessary to establish greater control over emotions and bodily functions. This is because the civilizing process involves increasing emotional control, resentment and disgust towards the body (lower body), and sensitivity to one's physical problems. This is a very threatening thing for the middle class because according to Stallybrass and White (1986) the increasing threshold of disgust of Elias (2000a) also led to the perpetual inclination to eliminate the source of charm, longing, and nostalgia. Therefore, this process places the middle class in a complex gap, as civilization tries to eliminate the traits that are considered as 'shameful' and 'slums'.

Despite causing competition among artists in controlling the emotional feelings towards goods that are imitated by the lower middle class, most practices and lifestyles of the Sinden artists do not show an uncontrolled emotional decline. However, it involves 'regulated emotional control' which requires attention and self-control with one another by not breaking the bond of occurring figuration. This is proved by their togetherness on the stage of the performance although each individual tries to convey a different message for the objects she carries. It seems that Sinden has better emotional control to own the goods, so it does not result in something threatening. The use of imitation goods and the 'embarrassing' impression of the goods that are used by the lower-middle-class Sinden can still be tolerated.

That becomes interesting because in this case, we see that the Javanese value which is not too concerned about something materialistic is still applied in the group Sinden of Jimbe. Although on the other hand, they are in the civilizing process and through consumer goods. However, the Javanese value of respecting one another is still strong by not being too attached to the ownership of material goods. Therefore it can minimize the threat that has been predicted by Elias. In Javanese values, honor is called *Drajat* (nobility), and for Javanese people, nobleness is more important than material (Suratno, 2013). According to the value of the Javanese people, honor can be obtained through work ethos. Through this value, Sinden can regulate their emotional control of consumption goods for use in stage performances.

This research implies that economic factors are the main factor in the occurrence of cultural changes in sinden on stage by using goods that are consumed or used on stage. The second factor is the shift in sinden culture on stage which always follows modern cultural trends so that it shows a process of figuration or civilizing sinden built through consumptive culture. In contrast to the ancient sinden who performed on stage following the Javanese cultural standards which he held high as a benchmark or basis for sinden performing on stage performances that did, not use consumer goods such as fashion and other branded goods.

Conclusion

Based on the findings from the study on Jimbe Sinden above, we can find out that the high market economy power of a Sinden in a Sinden art performance has resulted in the display of consumer goods on stage. This makes Sinden to be considered a hero of Javanese consumer culture which makes lifestyle part of the art on stage. Lifestyle popularization has become an artistic sub-culture for every Sinden performance. This shows the close relationships between the arts, fashion, and consumer culture as well as with the actors in the Sinden art performance, including the audience. In addition, this paper found that there is a shift in aesthetics in Sinden. The aesthetic sign of Sinden art has changed from the song composition object to the vocal object. At the same time, the aestheticization of fashion attributes on the stage. Therefore, these two things become the benchmark of Sinden's performance.

The above findings are finally able to show that the figuration and civilizing process of Sinden is built through consumer culture. The display of goods on the stage has created a mode of control and deep anxiety about Sinden's assessment of cultural objects, which are then interacted into a personal relationship within the self, and mediated by consumer discourse and the products of the goods themselves. By mediating interpersonal relations with the discourse of goods or consumer products, Sinden has indirectly become self-enterprising and self-governing. This causes a decline in traditional values and is replaced with "modern" values of cultural goods. However, the crucial thing that must be underlined is the fact that the Sinden civilization through consumer goods does not cause a threatening effect on Sinden who is unable to fulfill the demands of these consumer objects. This is because Sinden still has emotional control rooted in Javanese values which view that honor, nobleness, or degrees are not determined by material goods.

References

- Alfianti, D. A., Pratiwi, R. A., & Suyatno. (2019). Study of stage acoustic parameters of Cak Durasim concert hall Surabaya for Javanese traditional dance performance. *Journal of Physics: Conference Series*, 1153(1). <https://doi.org/10.1088/1742-6596/1153/1/012007>
- Atikawati, G. (2017). *Kisah Perjuangan Sinden Siter Bertahan Hidup Dari Masa Ke Masa (" the Strings of Traditional Life " : Sinden Siter Survival Story From Time To Time)*. President University.
- Barthes, R., 1981. *Element of Semiology*. New York, Hill, and Wang
- Barthes, R., 1998. *The Semiotics Challenge*, New York, Hill and Wang
- Binkley, S. (2009). The Civilizing Brand Shifting Shame Thresholds and the Dissemination of consumer lifestyles. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 12(1), 21–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549408098709>

- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of Theory of Practices*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Caturwati, E. (2009). *Sosok Perempuan dalam Masyarakat Sunda: Sunan Ambu, Dewi Sri, dan Ronggeng. Pesona Perempuan Dalam Sastra & Seni Pertunjukan*.
- Cooper, N. I. (2000). Singing and Silences: Transformations of Power through Javanese Seduction Scenarios. *American Ethnologist*, 27(3), 609–644. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.2000.27.3.609>
- Elias, N. (2000a). *The Civilizing Process*. Singapore: Blackwell Publishing.
- Elias, N. (2000b). *The Society of Individuals*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing.
- Featherstone, M. (2007). Consumer culture and postmodernism. In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism* (2nd ed.). Nottingham: SAGE Publication.
- Herdiani, E. (2017). Dynamics of Jaipongan on West Java from 1980 to 2010. *Asian Theatre Journal*, 34(2), 455–473. <https://doi.org/10.1353/atj.2017.0032>
- Juwariyah, A., Darni, & Mustofa, A. (2020). The Sandur of Bangkalan Nowadays: Performing Arts in the Prestige and Social Status. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 380(SoSHEC), 53–56. <https://doi.org/10.2991/soshec-19.2019.12>
- Lasch, C. (2013). *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations*. In *Telos* (Vol. 1979). New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Linklater, A., & Mennell, S. (2010). Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations - An overview and assessment*. *History and Theory*, 49(3), 384–411. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2303.2010.00550.x>
- Mora, M. (2020). Rappers, Rajas, and borderless spaces: Urban musical practices in Kepri province's 'Growth Triangle', Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 0(0), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2020.1729536>
- Poedjosoedarmo, G. R. (1988). A Phonetic Description of Voice Quality in Javanese Traditional Female Vocalists. *Asian Music*, 19(2), 93–126. <https://doi.org/10.2307/833869>
- Quintaneiro, T. (2006). The concept of figuration or configuration in Norbert Elias' sociological theory. *Teoria & Sociedade*, 2.
- Saefurrohman, A., Kosasih, D., & Hendrayana, D. (2020). The Cultural Values of Ronggeng Tayub Kaleran in Mekarsari, Ciamis. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 424(Icollite 2019), 121–126. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200325.066>
- Setiawan, I., & Subahianto, A. (2020). Neo-Exoticism as Indonesian Regional Government's Formula for Developing Ethnic Arts: Concept, Practice, and Criticism. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 421(Icalc 2019), 151–171. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200323.020>
- Simmel, G. (1997). *Simmel on Culture: Selected writings*. In D. Frisby & M. Featherstone (Eds.), *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. Nottingham: SAGE Publication.
- Stallybrass, P., & White, A. (1986). *The politics and poetics of transgression*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Supriyanto, H. (2016). *Kedudukan dan Fungsi Pesinden Wayang Malangan di Keluarga, Komunitas Seni Pertunjukan dan Masyarakatnya*. *Studia Philosophica et Theologica*, 6(2), 169–186.
- Suratno, P. (2013). *Masyarakat Jawa & Budaya Barat*. Yogyakarta: Adi Wacana.
- Susman, W. (1979). *Personality and the Making of Twentieth Century Culture* (J. Higham).

- Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Sutton, R. A. (1984). Who Is the Pesindhèn? Notes on the Female Singing Tradition in Java. *Indonesia*, 37(37), 118. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3350938>
- Walton, S. (2007). Aesthetic and Spiritual Correlations in Javanese Gamelan Music Published. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 65(1), 31–41. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-594X.2007.00235.x>
- Walton, S. P. (1996). Heavenly nymphs and earthly delights: Javanese female singers, their music, and their lives. The University of Michigan.
- Weintraub, A. N. (2004). The “Crisis of the Sinden”: Gender, Politics, And Memory in the Performing Arts of West Java, 1959-1964. *Indonesia*, 77(April 2004), 57–78.
- Weiss, S. (2006). Listening to an Earlier Java: Aesthetics, gender, and the music of wayang in Central Java. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Wouters, C. (1986). Formalization and Informalization: Changing Tension Balances in Civilizing Processes. *Theory Culture & Society*, 3(2), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863870092005>