

# From Stage to Screen: Analysis of Women's Commodification in *Dangdut Koplo* via TikTok

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## ABSTRACT

*Dangdut* is a genre of music that has evolved into a cultural phenomenon within Indonesian society, particularly among the middle and lower socioeconomic classes. *Dangdut* music first featured lyrics with significant meaning and later evolved into *dangdut koplo*. *Dangdut koplo* is frequently linked to a rapid tempo and captivating vocalists. The objective of this study is to examine the commodification of female *dangdut koplo* singers within TikTok app. The research employed a visual ethnography approach to examine the commodification of female *dangdut* singers, focusing on their dress, cosmetics, and body motions that were captured in the video. The result of this study shows that there are elements or concepts of commodification of *biduanita* in *dangdut koplo* videos in TikTok. When performing on the stage, the singers generally utilized clothing, makeup, and body movements, to attract money or *saweran* from the crowds and increase popularity with their attractiveness. However, when the clip of the performance is used by unofficial accounts that do not belong to the artists or their production companies, it becomes a form of commodity for these accounts to acquire popularity on TikTok through likes and views. The bodies of *biduanita* then transform into commodity objects on social media platforms, promoting the sexualization and objectification of female *dangdut* singers.

**Keywords:** commodification, *dangdut koplo*, TikTok, women

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

*Dangdut* is a musical art or symphony that has filled the Indonesian music for decades. *Dangdut* is a highly popular music genre that has emerged as one of the most quickly expanding cultures in Indonesia, particularly as a component of the culture of the middle class to the lower-class communities (Sanita, 2023). A survey on the type of music favored by Indonesians showed that *dangdut* occupied the highest position with 58.1% of listeners, and 67.3% of those came from the education level of elementary school (Dihni, 2022). Almost everyone is familiar with *dangdut* which has a distinctive characteristic inherent in each song. This music's unique and easily memorable rhythms are fast-paced and captivating to all Indonesians. *Dangdut* music incorporates a diverse range of musical instruments including drums, flutes, tambourines, saxophones, mandolins, organs, and violins.

*Dangdut*, now widely recognized as Indonesian music, originally had a strong influence from many styles of Malay music. The origin of *dangdut* may be traced back to the 1940s with the emergence of several popular music genres, including gambus, which combines elements of Central Asian, Middle Eastern, and Malay music. It gained popularity through media influences such as radio (Muttaqin, 2006). It has a distinctive and unforgettable rhythm, and its lyrics are rich in meaning. Originating from the singer Ellya Khadam in the 1950s, *dangdut* music began to gain popularity and produced

numerous figures who later became famous stars in the Indonesian *dangdut* (Setyaningrum, 2022). Rhoma Irama is a renowned musician who popularized *dangdut* music during the 60s and 70s and earned the title *Dangdut King* or *Raja Dangdut*. The lyrics in Rhoma Irama's songs often have an Islamic foundation, such as one of his songs, "Taqwa." The messages conveyed through the rhythm of *dangdut* songs are diverse, ranging from feelings of love to profound messages about God and religion.

*Dangdut*, throughout the 90s and before, included lyrics with multiple interpretations, making them distinct and unique. During that era, the combination of poets' inventiveness in crafting lyrics and performing them alongside the sounds of *dangdut* instruments resulted in the popularity of the songs among people from many backgrounds. The King of *Dangdut*, who had dominated the *dangdut* entertainment for an extended period, was highly revered by many Indonesians. An article published by Pittsburg City Paper even reported the visit of renowned Indonesian singer Rhoma Irama, who would give a free concert to highlight Southeast Asian culture in Pittsburgh (Theiner, 2008). It is evident that *dangdut* has gained significant recognition internationally and is increasingly being acknowledged as a distinctive and independent music form.

*Dangdut Koplo* originated in the 1990s and gained popularity until approximately 2000 in the East Java region (Jurianto, 2023). The rise in popularity of "Goyang Ngebor", from being a regional sensation to a nationwide phenomenon, can be attributed to Inul Daratista's introduction of the song in 2003. Inul's performance featured explicit lyrics and provocative dancing steps that were deemed overly sexual. The introduction of *dangdut koplo* sparked significant opposition from *dangdut* enthusiasts. Enthusiasts of traditional *dangdut* failed to acknowledge *koplo* as an integral component of *dangdut* due to their belief that it had compromised the fundamental nature of the original genre, which emphasized the use of songs as a medium to convey religious messages through profound lyrics. Meanwhile, *dangdut koplo* tended to prioritize feminine sexuality by showcasing provocative attire of the *biduanita* (female *dangdut* singer).

Several research have discussed women in *dangdut*. A study carried out by Bader and Richter (2014) challenges the idea that *saweran* is a way to negotiate sexual harassment and argues that these encounters are creative processes in which traditional values and behavioral rules are discussed and agreed upon. However, a recent case study conducted by Syahvira et al. (2023) that examined instances of sexual harassment encountered by female *dangdut* singers during their performances related to *saweran* practice through interviews revealed that *saweran* is an additional cost used as a means of negotiating for the sexual harassment experienced by *dangdut* singers. This is supported by another study conducted by Maulana (2020), which demonstrated a clear correlation between *saweran* and how female *dangdut* singers negotiate their bodies. This study highlighted that female singers possess a conscious understanding and deliberately utilize their bodily appearance as a commodity, demonstrating their authority over their bodies as women. As mentioned before, previous studies regarding female singers in *dangdut koplo* has shown commodification of singers' bodies in terms when performing on stage. Previous studies of commodification of female *dangdut* singers have not dealt with the digitalization of performances specifically on platforms such as TikTok.

Despite many discussions regarding the relation between negotiation of female *dangdut* singers' bodies and an act of *saweran* practice within the scope of stage performances, the commodification of these singers on social media platform TikTok remains overlooked. Due to the increasing prevalence of digitalization, performances traditionally exclusive to the stage are now accessible on smartphone displays. One of many media platforms that are used as a medium for these videos is TikTok. TikTok has gained immense popularity as a social media platform because it employs algorithms that generate personalized feeds for each user. The TikTok app gathers diverse data on user engagement with content they considered interesting, which is then analyzed and continuously

replayed to create a personalized content pattern customized to each user's interests.

Within the TikTok application, users can upload videos from any individual onto their account, regardless of whether they are featured in said video. Sharing videos created by others on TikTok does not infringe upon the platform's community guidelines. This facilitates users in acquiring views and fame, even by using the content of others. The duration of the videos often ranges from fifteen seconds to ten minutes. TikTok offers a continual stream of short, interesting videos that quickly attract attention of its users. Consequently, TikTok videos of *dangdut koplo* typically include a short clip of the singers. This study provides new insights into the phenomenon of videos featuring female *dangdut* singers performing on accounts that do not belong to the artists or the management in regards to the commodification of women in the *dangdut* industry and the social contexts that are contributing to the formation of this phenomenon.

## 2. METHOD

In this particular study, a qualitative research methodology was utilized. Bhandari (2020) provides a definition of qualitative research as the systematic collection and examination of non-numerical data, which may include text, pictures, and audio, with the purpose of gaining an understanding of abstract concepts, subjective perspectives, or personal experiences. The researcher will employ visual ethnography as a research method to investigate the commodification of women in *dangdut* performance art, namely *dangdut koplo*. According to Kharel (2015), visual ethnography is a research method that utilizes visual forms such as photography and film to study cultures. It is rooted in the idea that emphasizes a detailed contextual understanding of social actions and meanings through visuals. This study will involve analyzing *dangdut koplo* videos that are circulating on TikTok using the keyword *dangdut koplo*. The data for this research was extracted from four TikTok videos from four unofficial accounts. In this study, unofficial accounts are those that are not owned by the *biduanita* or the record label that manages them. Thus, the data sources used by researchers come from four TikTok accounts: @anatsiruddin; @timrandomofficial92; @ekocahyono2412; and @immajishuu. The researcher will analyze four videos of *dangdut* performance chosen based on the highest views and likes. The quantity of views and likes reflects viewer engagement, thus improving the popularity of these unofficial accounts. Ultimately, popularity becomes the exchange value of the commodity in this research. However, this research has limitations, among which are not conducting interviews with *biduanita* or the content providers. The first video will be by Dewi Persik, which has received 226.8k likes and 18 million views on the @anatsiruddin account. The second one will be from @timrandomofficial92 account that featured Arlida Putri and Dike Sabrina, which currently has received over 1 million likes and 20 million views. The next one will be from @ekocahyono2412 featuring an unknown singer that has 157.4k likes and over 12 million views. The last one is from @immajishuu with Anggun Cantika as the *biduanita*. This video has received 167,6k likes and over 6 million views. The researcher will do a semiotic study on the four TikTok videos, focusing on the intricate aspects of the subject's attire, makeup, and physical movements or choreography. The data were collected by watching the videos and taking screen shot of the video to provide visual analysis for the research.

## 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 Results

#### 3.1.1 The Value of *Biduanita* in Clothing

As per the Merriam-Webster English definition, clothing refers to an item often composed of fabric that is intended to be worn for the purpose of covering the body. This aligns with the definition of clothing by Döring (2024) which states that a variety of objects manufactured from natural and

synthetic materials that are intended to cover different body areas are collectively referred to as clothing. Based on two definitions before, in this context, clothing refers to the garments that individuals wear on a regular basis to provide bodily coverage and serve practical purposes or to fulfill a trendy need and serve aesthetic purposes.

First one will be the definition of functional clothing. In short, the functional purpose of clothes is to provide coverage for the human body and to adapt to the surrounding environmental circumstances. According to Gupta (2011), there are six classifications for functional clothing such as, (1) protective functional, (2) medical functional, (3) sports functional, (4) vanity functional, (5) cross functional assemblies, and (6) clothing for special needs. Gupta (2011) argues that the protective-functional category is the most diverse within functional apparel. Protective functional clothing is defined as attire that offers protection against UV radiation, specific meteorological conditions, and biological dangers. This style of apparel enables individuals to operate in adverse circumstances and enhances their quality of life. For instance, individuals wear hats during extremely hot weather. Hats are utilized in this context to shield the facial skin from direct exposure to sunlight or UV radiation. For people with sensitive skin or people with rare genetic condition such as albinism, direct sunlight can result in sunburn if not covered carefully. In this context, the hat's purpose is not merely for aesthetics but to protect humans from the sun's heat, making it functionally valuable.

A separate category of functional clothing is medical functional attire. According to Gupta (2011), medical attire, including doctor scrubs, gloves, and surgical gowns, is categorized as protective functional apparel. Gupta (2011) asserted that contemporary medical functions encompass a broader range of advanced applications, including therapeutic, biosensing, emergency care, and rehabilitative activities. Next classification is sports functional clothing which is a term that describes clothes that enhance performance and allow athletes to compete at the best possible level of performance within their sport (Gupta, 2011). The fourth one is vanity functional. In her research paper, she described that vanity functional clothing was worn to improve or enhance the appearance of the body. For instance, the use of push-up bras to enhance the fullness of breasts as desired by the user. Cross-functional assemblies on the other hand serve the purpose of more specific functions such as military clothing and space suits (Gupta 2011). The final category pertains to specialized apparel designed to improve the quality of life for a certain demographic. Individuals such as disabled persons, pregnant women, the elderly, and children are encompassed within the category of clothing for special needs.

Functional garments can also serve aesthetic objectives when individuals utilize them as a means of self-expression or to adhere to current fashion and trends in society (Sharma, 2024). For instance, when an individual puts on branded attire to adhere to current fashion trends or because the clothing is stylish, despite its functionality being identical to clothing without famous brand names, the practical purpose of the garments shifts towards aesthetics.

Clothing frequently serves as a means of conveying one's self-identity. As previously said, clothes that serve to display self-identity or convey personal expression are those that possess aesthetic purposes or seek to attract attention and enhance the user's confidence in oneself. Individuals may choose to wear vibrant attire to convey their friendly and warm nature, whereas others could go for gothic fashion to signify their association with the goth subculture. The utilization of religious symbols can be classified as a type of attire that represents one's self-identity, such as the usage of hijab by Muslim women or the wearing of long dress garments and veils as a symbol of self-identity for nuns.

Female *dangdut* singers, specifically *dangdut koplo biduanita*, are commonly associated with form-fitting and revealing attire in the public's perception (Novitasari & Handoyo, 2016). Following the

huge popularity of the *dangdut koplo* video featuring Inul Daratista, there has been a tendency to associate provocative attire with *dangdut koplo* performers. The attire typically worn by female vocalists tends to exhibit a wide range of styles and variations. Occasionally, they also use traditional kebaya attire for their stage performances. Nevertheless, a majority of the female *dangdut* singers frequently chose form-fitting attire that accentuated and drew attention to their physique.

The utilization of revealing clothes is more about drawing attention to the naked body than hiding it with seductive intention. Tightness and stretchiness to show off body shapes, sheer materials for see-through, and smart cuts to show off important parts of skin are some of the most important features of revealing clothes (Döring, 2024). Novitasari and Handoyo (2016) identify two categories of revealing attire utilized by *biduanita*. First one is moderate revealing or sexy clothing. The term "moderately tight clothing" refers to a kind of sensual garments that are tight and show a little bit of skin. Within the context of entertainment, the utilization of this kind of clothing is given a high level of importance. With the concept of yet being able to look seductive and acceptable to the public, the choice of this kind of outfits is common around female vocalists. Some examples of these choices include leggings and balloon skirts. The second one is the extreme type of revealing clothing. This term refers to provocative attire that is form-fitting and exposes specific areas of the body. This seductive persona would likely enhance the singer's performance in their *dangdut* performances on stage. Certain garments classified as extremely provocative encompass the following features: exposure of the legs up to the thighs, bare arms, visible cleavage, abdomen, and navel, or minimal coverage of the breasts and portions of the thighs, along with other body areas that can be accentuated (Novitasari & Handoyo, 2016).



Figure 1 Dewi Persik  
(Source: TikTok account @anatsiruddin)

Figure 1, Dewi Persik was seen singing "Rungkad" in a fitted outfit that followed the curves of the famous female *dangdut* singer's body. The outfit was a denim jumper pattern spandex with a skin-colored base, giving the illusion that Dewi Persik was only wearing a denim jumper with a white bra. The skin tone color and the form-fitting stretchy material nevertheless gave off a seductive appearance and highlighted the singer's figure, despite the fact that the dress essentially covered her entire body. This aligns with Novitasari and Handoyo's (2016) description of extremely revealing clothing. While essentially extremely revealing clothes expose some parts of skin that are often sexualized in women's bodies, in this singer's case, the garments are made to resemble her real skin,



making it an extreme type of revealing clothing.



Figure 2 Arlida Putri and Dike Sabrina  
(Source: TikTok account @timrandomofficial92)

A video featuring two *biduanita*, Arlida Putri and Dike Sabrina, performing "Ikan Dalam Kolam" was uploaded by the @timrandomofficial92 account. In this video, Dike Sabrina was shown wearing a loose blue and black shirt paired with a short black pleated skirt. The garments worn by Dike Sabrina do not belong to the category of revealing attire, despite the skirt being positioned above the knees. The garments she wore were not constrictive nor provocative and therefore can be categorized as moderate daily wear. However, in contrast to her clothing, Arlida Putri was wearing what can be described as extreme revealing clothes, those images can be seen at Figure 2. As previously explained by Novitasari and Handoyo (2016) on characteristics of extremely revealing clothes, Arlida Putri accentuated her allure by wearing a black top cut out at the chest area, making the cleavage visible to audiences. In this instance, Indonesian cultural standards about clothing required women to cover highly objectified and sexualized body parts like the chest.



Figure 3 Unknown biduanita  
(Source: TikTok account @ekocahyono2412)

In the Figure 3, which was uploaded by the @ekocahyono2412 account, the singer was seen wearing a tight-fit white button-down short sleeve and a black short tight skirt. According to the research conducted by Novitasari and Handoyo (2016), these garments are classified as moderately revealing clothing. The tightness of the type of clothing itself is the basis for the category of clothing that may be considered moderate but still revealing. It also demonstrates how culturally, societal standards in Indonesia determine whether women's parts are regarded proper or not. In this case, skin above the knees falls into inappropriate category in Indonesia's cultural norms. These types of clothing are frequently worn by *biduanita* for entertainment purposes because they are still considered acceptable to the public or audiences due to their ability to conceal and cover the body but still provocative enough to generate income from saweran and boost popularity.



Figure 4 Anggun Cantika  
(source: TikTok account @immajishuu)

This video uploaded by the @immajishuu featuring a *biduanita* named Anggun Cantika, can be seen in Figure 4, who was performing a song titled "Anak Lanang". In the video, the singer was shown wearing a form-fitted black dress with spaghetti straps or really thin shoulder straps. In accordance with the attributes that were described by Novitasari and Handoyo (2016), the dress that the performer was wearing is classified as extremely revealing clothing. The accompanying image illustrates that the black dress revealed the *biduanita's* bear arms, cleavage, and thighs. The provocative attire in this case was utilized to enhance her performance on stage and to gain more financial income through *saweran*.

### 3.1.2 The Value of *Biduanita* in Makeup

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, cosmetics refer to compounds applied to the face or body with the purpose of enhancing one's look. According to Elianti and Pinasti (2017), the definition of the term makeup means using cosmetic products to apply makeup with the intention of sculpting the face that the user wants and masking skin imperfections that the user does not want to reveal. In addition, some study reveals that makeup has a close connection with societal beauty standards and social expectations regarding the way women should look (Loegel, et al., 2017; McCabe, et al., 2020).

The use of cosmetics, with the aim of applying makeup products, has long been used by women and even men to beautify themselves. In fact, experts found that women in ancient Egyptian

civilization used almost the same cosmetics that we can find in modern times such as eyeshadow, lipstick, and kohl. In ancient Egypt, both women and men utilized cosmetics on their faces not merely to enhance their look but also as a component of ritualistic and symbolic significance (Wolkoff, 2020).

As previously mentioned, in the classification of functional clothing, clothing serves a vanity functional purpose (Gupta, 2011). The essence of vanity functional lies in its intent to elevate one's beauty, either in the perception of others or for personal satisfaction. Makeup serves the same function as vanity practical clothing. Cosmetics and makeup in general were used to enhance a woman's appearance and are a manifestation of her self-care routines (Cabahug, 2018). However, there are four reasons why women choose to use cosmetics according to research done by Robertson and Kingsley (2021). The four main reasons or motivations for cosmetics usage are: (1) multiple selves, (2) enhancement and confidence, (3) fun, creativity, and well-being, (4) and the last one is signification and identity.

The scope of the subject multiple selves, according to Robertson and Kingsley (2021), includes judgment, conformity, and impression management. Many individuals employ cosmetics to manage the impressions they make on others and conform to societal beauty standards. This is indicative of a wish to be regarded favorably in social interactions. Such as being seen as professional at work, trying to attract possible partners, or even creating a public image can be done by using cosmetics.

In enhancement and confidence motivation, cosmetics are frequently used to improve physical attractiveness, which can increase self-esteem. The process of wearing makeup can result in a more positive self-image and higher self-esteem, helping people to feel more empowered in a variety of settings. Robertson and Kingsley (2021) argued that cosmetics serve both physiological and psychological purposes, since they are employed to alter one's appearance to a more appealing form and to mitigate negative self-perception and control social anxiety.

Another case is fun, creativity, and well-being as motivation of cosmetics usage. Some people see cosmetics as a means of self-expression and creativity. Applying cosmetics may be both fun and therapeutic, promoting general well-being. This motivation emphasizes the joyful and artistic aspects of cosmetic use. Meanwhile, the signification and identity motivation, as suggested by Robertson and Kingsley (2021), refer to cosmetics as medium for people to convey their identity and personal meaning. Individuals can use makeup to express aspects of their personality, cultural heritage, or social identity, making it a tool for self-representation. This drive encompasses various dimensions, including ceremonial practices, identity formation, and age transition.

Nevertheless, culture significantly influences the portrayal of women in society. As noted by Hapsari et al. (2020), in Javanese society in the colonial period, women were shaped to perform domestic tasks like cooking, dressing up, and giving birth. The expectation for women to engage in activities such as dressing up remains prevalent in contemporary society. While makeup might be a form of creativity to explore artistic skills, local values that have been integrated for hundreds of years set an expectation for women to dress well and present themselves aesthetically.

Upon examining the four videos utilized as data sources by the researcher, no distinctive or exceptional characteristics are observed in the appearance of the female singers. In most cases, the cosmetics that these female *dangdut* singers utilized consist of the use of fundamental and basic makeup products such as eyebrow pencil, lipstick, foundation, blush, eyeshadow, eyeliner, and mascara. The appearance of these female *dangdut* singers is also more natural looking and improving their beauty, which is the effect that they are attempting to achieve with these makeup products. With that being said, *dangdut* female singers use cosmetics as a technique of enhancing their beauty



and appeal in front of audiences when they are performing. Based on the researcher's observation of the three TikTok videos, using four motivations suggested by Robertson and Kingsley (2021), it can be concluded that the four female *dangdut* singers exhibit the characteristics of multiple selves and enhancement and confidence through their usage of makeup. They enhanced their beauty through cosmetic products whenever they go on stage. These female *dangdut* singers utilize cosmetics to maintain their public image, projecting professionalism and captivating audiences through visual appeal. Hence, the application of makeup is likewise acknowledged as a commodity that helps to improve the marketability of female *dangdut* singers.

### 3.1.3 The Value of *Biduanita* in Body Movement

During a stage performance, singers usually avoid staying still and fixed in one spot. From time to time, they shift positions and incorporate choreography during their stage performance to keep it from becoming dull. In accordance with the definition provided by the Cambridge Dictionary, dancing is described as the act of moving one's body and feet in a rhythmic manner in response to music. Additionally, the hands and feet are included in the movements that are being addressed. Dancing often acts as a way to express thoughts or feelings, reduce stress, or simply enjoy physical movement (Mackrell, 2023). The art form of expressing one's views and ideas through dancing is one that has been practiced up till the present day. There is a significant amount of modern dance that uses body movement to express thoughts. Additionally, narratives are also incorporated into traditional dances in Indonesia, such as Tari Kecak, which serve to guide the entire performance.

When it comes to *Dangdut Koplo*, on the other hand, *biduanita* frequently engage in unplanned or impromptu dance and movement rather than dancing in accordance with a choreographed sequence that has been prepared and made with careful consideration. There is a general consensus that these movements are deemed erotic and vulgar. The movement is typically composed of hip swaying and provocative hip thrusts. Additionally, these female *dangdut* singers do not hesitate to bend down in order to display their chests in front of their audiences. Such parts of female body is often sexualized by the public and by the female themselves (Choi & DeLong, 2019). In most countries, religion plays a big part in shaping culture and values of the people of a country (Elsayed, Lestari, & Brougham, 2023). Islam is the predominant religion in Indonesia. This religion shapes the norms and values of general society in Indonesia. The sexualization of body and showing it off in public is against the religion and cultural values the society have, making it considered inappropriate and vulgar.

From musical aspects, the female *dangdut* singers engage in singing and body movement while being supported by tambourines and drums that are played in accordance with the rhythm of the song. In order to showcase the attractiveness and attraction of their physical bodies, the female performers moved smoothly in a number of various directions. Based on the analysis of the four TikTok videos utilized by the researcher as data sources, it was found that the female *dangdut* singers predominantly employ a dance characterized by the circular motion of the hips and buttocks. The breasts, hips, thighs, and buttocks are some of the body parts that are typically highlighted in the dances. These are the regions that are considered to be the most sensuous and attractive in a woman.

The fact that these sexually suggestive and vulgar dances are able to capture the attention and desire of males, hence generating revenue, has made them an extremely valuable asset for female *dangdut* singers. In proportion to the attractiveness of their dancing abilities, males are more likely to be drawn to their *dangdut* performances. This, in turn, leads to an increase in popularity for these female singers as their audience grows.

### 3.2 Discussion

#### 3.2.1 Commodification of *Biduanita* in TikTok

Commodification, as defined by the Cambridge Dictionary, refers to the process of viewing and treating something as a commodity. Therefore, the commodification of women refers to the process of treating women as objects or commodities that can be bought, sold, or traded, rather than as individuals with their own identities and rights (Serttas, et al., 2023). Cultural values also contribute to how a woman is perceived and treated in media or real life. During the New Order period, women were largely devoid of autonomy in decision-making, with such choices predominantly lying in the hands of their husbands (Hapsari et al., 2020). This power imbalance between men and women leads to women being perceived as an object with the purpose of pleasing men because they lack decision-making authority.

The TikTok account responsible for uploading the *biduanita*'s video does not belong to the singer themselves. Video with the highest view is of Arlida Putri and Dike Sabrina, famous *biduanita* in *dangdut koplo* music genre, which received an impressive 20.8 million views and 1.3 million likes was uploaded by @timrandomofficial92. This account is not affiliated with the official *dangdut koplo* management or orchestra group; rather, it serves as a collection of random content collected from various individuals' videos. A video featuring Dewi Persik, a highly recognized Indonesian musician, was uploaded by @anatsiruddin and received 18.1 million views and hundreds of thousands of likes. This video was uploaded by an account that uploads a variety of music performances on stage or at concerts. This was followed by a video featuring unknown female singer, uploaded by @ekocahyono2412 and gained 12.9 million views and 157.4 thousand likes. This is a personal account that uploads various content but primarily focuses on music event content. And the last one is a video of Anggun Cantika, whose video has received 6.8 million views. This video shared by @immajishuu also received a significant number of likes, surpassing tens of thousands. For the most part, this account focuses on *dangdut* female singers who are dressed in incredibly revealing attire and perform sensuous dances. However, it does publish a variety of stuff, including short anime clips.

After conducting an analysis of the evidence and the content of the videos that were uploaded by these four accounts, it becomes evident that women, and *biduanita* in particular, have certain advantages when it comes to promoting these accounts. These advantages involve raising the number of followers they have, increasing the number of views their videos receive, and accumulating likes. It is very apparent that the performances of *biduanita* are being utilized as commodities in order to boost the popularity of these TikTok accounts. These four videos are the ones that have received the highest views and likes from each account.

Furthermore, treating women as commodities might lead to the objectification of women. Rather than being seen as individuals who have their own power and talents, women are frequently reduced to their physical appearance and treated as objects to be viewed. Among these include the use of sexually suggestive visuals and the emphasis placed on certain portions of the body in a sexual manner. Thus, instead of gaining popularity through their voices, female vocalists can achieve recognition and popularity through their physical attributes such as attractive faces and seductive bodies. The third video uploaded by @ekocahyono2412 provides clear insights on gaining public recognition and popularity only through the physical attributes of the singer. The video achieved remarkable viewership, surpassing 12 million views, despite the fact that the female singer does not perform any vocals. When this occurs, women are regarded more as objects than as individuals who possess capabilities such as singing.

When these female *dangdut* singers are objectified, their narratives frequently become constrained to stereotypes, such as the concept that *biduanita* are sexual commodities whose sensual bodies are marketed rather than their singing abilities. It is because of this limited portrayal that the variety of *biduanita*'s experiences and contributions is restricted, which ultimately results in a lack of representation in roles that are more complicated. Thus, TikTok serves as a platform that promotes the commodification and objectification of the *biduanita* by presenting short video segments designed to capture audience attention. These short videos featuring *dangdut* female singers often grab viewers' attention with their bodies and beautiful appearance.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

After doing an in-depth analysis and discussion of the commodification of women in *dangdut* performance art on TikTok, the researcher came to the conclusion that female *dangdut* singers have been turned into a marketing tool for *dangdut koplo* music groups and unauthorized accounts on TikTok for the purpose of gaining views and engagement. *Dangdut* singers often dress themselves in provocative attire to accentuate their body, employ makeup to enhance their features, and engage in sensual choreography throughout their stage performances, all to attain recognition and financial fulfilment. The singer's performance on stage, which is accompanied by obscene movements, revealing costumes, and cosmetics, is transformed into commodities that are traded through the process of buying and selling.

In essence, clothing that often serves a functional purpose of concealing and protecting the body is transformed into a decorative purpose that is utilized to earn money or as a commodity for female vocalists. The *biduanita* wears functional clothing that can be categorized as vanity clothing, aimed at enhancing body appearance. Revealing attire, employed by the majority of *biduanita* in the four TikTok videos, functions as a means of self-promotion. Self-promotion involves highlighting traits that are most appealing to prospective partners, therefore the enhancement of appearance by revealing attire, which showcases both a toned physique and sexual purpose, can be perceived as a self-promotion tactic predominantly employed by women to allure men (Döring, 2024) or in this context, their audiences. These female singers also applied makeup to their faces to enhance their beauty, just like other women typically do in their daily lives. However, instead of just wearing it to enhance their beauty, it also has the purpose of increasing their value as *biduanita*. By utilizing makeup, these *dangdut* singers might enhance their appearance and captivate the attention of men, transforming themselves into appealing objects of beauty that would pique the interests of multiple viewers. Previous studies have also established that the goal of the female *dangdut* singer's sensual dance when performing on stage was to generate financial gain such as the act of *saweran* (Bader & Richter, 2014; Syahvira et al., 2023; Maulana, 2020).

Contrary to the live interaction between the female *dangdut* singer and the audience on stage, which enables the singer and her *dangdut koplo* group to earn money through *saweran* or payment from the individuals who hired them, social media platforms like TikTok exploit these singers as commodities to promote accounts and boost popularity. The researcher concluded that female *dangdut* singers were seen as objects of commodification for these accounts to increase the number of followers and likes. However, it is crucial to consider the singer's perspective regarding the unauthorized uploading of her videos by accounts that do not belong to her. Whether she believes her videos are being uploaded on fan accounts or if her videos are being exploited for commercial purposes to promote these accounts should be taken into consideration. Because this research is

limited on visual analysis without interview with related parties, additional research might delve into the viewpoint of the *biduanita* or content creators by conducting comprehensive interviews.

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