

The beautiful discourse of Sundanese women in Bandung City

Diskursus cantik perempuan Sunda di Kota Bandung

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Abstract

Discourse is a system of thinking, ideas, or thoughts describing a culture or speech characteristic in a certain period. This article focuses on the discourse of beautiful Sundanese women in Bandung. This research is studied using Michel Foucault's theory of discourse, with the archaeological method of knowledge to determine the discontinuity between one knowledge and another. Data collection techniques with in-depth interviews and documentation study. The results of this study indicate that the discussion of beautiful Sundanese women in the city of Bandung is first, beauty is not only judged by physical appearance, but the assessment of beauty is based on behavior and thoughts; second, women are considered beautiful when they are grateful, confident, find their unique beauty, and love themselves; and third, there is no the same physical standard, however, Sundanese women in Bandung expect healthy and clean facial skin. This study concludes that the discourse of beauty in Sundanese women was formed as a form of expression to maintain and love themselves and not about specific predetermined standards of beauty.

Keywords: beauty; discourse; Sundanese women

Abstrak

Wacana adalah suatu sistem pemikiran, gagasan, atau pemikiran yang menggambarkan suatu budaya atau ciri-ciri tutur pada suatu periode tertentu. Artikel ini berfokus pada wacana perempuan cantik Sunda di Bandung. Penelitian ini dikaji dengan menggunakan teori wacana Michel Foucault, dengan metode arkeologi pengetahuan untuk menentukan diskontinuitas antara satu pengetahuan dengan pengetahuan lainnya. Teknik pengumpulan data dengan wawancara mendalam dan studi dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pembahasan perempuan cantik Sunda di Kota Bandung adalah pertama, kecantikan tidak hanya dinilai dari penampilan fisik, tetapi penilaian kecantikan berdasarkan perilaku dan pikiran; kedua, perempuan dianggap cantik ketika mereka bersyukur, percaya diri, menemukan keunikan kecantikan mereka, dan mencintai diri mereka sendiri; dan ketiga, tidak ada standar fisik yang sama, namun perempuan Sunda di Bandung mengharapkan kulit wajah yang sehat dan bersih. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa wacana kecantikan pada perempuan Sunda dibentuk sebagai bentuk ekspresi untuk menjaga dan mencintai diri sendiri dan bukan tentang standar kecantikan yang telah ditentukan sebelumnya.

Kata kunci: kecantikan; diskursus; perempuan Sunda

Introduction

Beautiful is not something that has an absolute definition but beautiful has become an endless discussion in Indonesian society and the world, especially among women. Most women try to be beautiful with the assumption that they will get attention, attaching new social labels, ease in establishing communication and intimacy, to help behind the scenes when organizing (Saputri & Pinem 2022). The desire to be beautiful is also supported by the role of the media in providing beautiful construction. According to Levine and Harrison, media often reinforces beauty ideals and socializes them, and then it is used by individuals when judging others (Swami et al. 2010). A beautiful label will be given to women if they have white, smooth, and firm skin and have perfect body curves (Sahan & Witarti 2021). A woman's body is no longer seen from a biological point of view but has turned into something that is given value (Irma & Hasanah 2014).

The concept of beauty itself, especially in Indonesia, has a change in knowledge in accordance with its socio-historical conditions. Before colonialism entered the beauty of Indonesian women was different in each ethnic group, for example, the Mentawai tribe of beautiful women was the one who had tattoos, long ears, and pointed teeth (Larasati 2018). The construction of beauty in Indonesia is based on colonial values which are rooted in the remnants of the perpetuation of colonial thought (Saputri & Pinem 2022). Saraswati in her book entitled *Seeing Beauty Sensing Race in Transnational Indonesia*

(2013) explained the changes in the beauty of Indonesian women in each era, in ancient times female beauty was depicted in Ramayana stories through the beautiful figure of Dewi Sita like a moon. The need for Sundanese women to be recognized as beautiful being is what then forms a distinguishing structure within the various layers that exist in society. A person with an attractive or beautiful physical appearance will be considered to have a good or smart personality. This is what makes it easier for those who have attractive appearances to get various accesses in work, politics, society, and others which then today's society calls, "beauty privilege" (Ciotti 2014).

According to Foucault, discourse is a system of thinking, ideas, or thinking that then describes a culture. Discourse is constructed by assumptions that then become characteristic in the conversation of either a group or a certain period. (Foucault 1972) Discourse can be interpreted as a new meaning formed through behavior, observation, or awareness. Beautiful can be seen as a system of thinking that controls society, especially women so that in each period women change or make themselves in accordance with the discussions that exist in society at that time. Farokhah and Wardhana found that Beauty discourse is the knowledge that defines beauty as the most important thing that women must have that contains power relations. The motivational action is to control women (Farokhah & Wardhana 2019).

Beauty has become an identity that will continue to be attached to the female body and will change according to the development of technology and its times, as well as beauty discourse in Indonesia will continue to develop. The western beauty discourse that has survived for three centuries is slowly being replaced with a Korean beauty discourse and it is very likely that the Korean beauty discourse will be replaced with a new discourse (Mahrunnisa et al. 2020). The discourse of beauty during the colonialism period was created depending on the party in power politically, but now the discourse can be created by the rulers of technology and informatics. The other party that created the discourse itself is the beauty product capitalist, capitalists have changed women in looking at the concept of beauty, and on the other hand, beauty product producers will follow the wishes of Indonesian women in achieving the concept of beauty (Puspitasari & Suryadi 2020).

Another view comes from the results of Dimulescu's study which states that beauty norms are constructed as socio-political instruments to perpetuate patriarchy. In contemporary popular culture, that beauty is one's choice and the practice of consumption is an act of empowerment, while in the view of beauty feminism it is defined as a human right. Based on these things, the discourse of beauty and the emancipation of women in terms of beauty became an economic project and brought the promise of corporate growth. Feminist views in the discourse of consumerism emphasize women's right to agency and freedom (Dimulescu 2015).

Sundanese women also have their own beautiful knowledge from time to time, in a book by Ajip Rosidi entitled *Manusia Soenda* (1984), one of the ancient women who was known to be beautiful was Purba Sari Ayu Wangi who was the youngest daughter of the Tapa Ageung prabu from the Pasir Batang Anu Girang kingdom. Purba Sari is said to be a beautiful woman physically as well as spiritually, but rather than physical depictions, ancient Sundanese women are more depicted through their nature. Sundanese women in ancient times are also depicted in Carita Ratu Pakuan who describes Sundanese women with sentences "*irung kadi pala kurung, panon kadi kaca cina, barentikna bulu panon, taktak taraju jawaeun, kambuy beutueung,*" (Ruhimat 2017), which means that Sundanese women have a nose like a pumpkin, sparkling eyes like Chinese ceramics, flexible eyelashes, sturdy shoulders like Javanese scales so it's good to use any clothes, and a little distended belly.

The beauty of Sundanese women is also depicted through other folklore such as the story of Dewi Sri Pohaci, Dayang Sumbi, or in history such as the beauty of Dyah Pitaloka during the Bubat war. There are several other proverbs that show the beauty of Sundanese women such as *héjo carulang*, which means that Sundanese women have white skin so that they look green veins both on their hands and calves, then *konéng umyang*, namely Sundanese women have yellow skin langsung so that those who see will feel at home, and *hideung santen* or sweet black (Ridwan 2019). Unlike L Ayu Saraswati's work which depicts white skin as positive, in Sundanese women of any color are considered beautiful and enchanting, so Sundanese women are not enough to be called *geulis* but there are other designations such as *geulis campernik*, *geulis kawanti-wanti*, or *éndah kabina-bina*. Sundanese women are not portrayed as beautiful based on the charm of skin color alone but Sundanese women also have a physical image *panon cureuleuk* which means beautiful eyes or *imutngirut* which meant his smile was alluring.

This study aims to explain; (1) the beautiful discourse of Sundanese women in Bandung City, (2) how Sundanese women perceive the concept of beauty, and (3) the formation of beautiful discourse formations in Sundanese women. The discourse of beauty in Sundanese women and how the formation of discourse formation is interesting to study in order to provide an understanding of how a concept of beauty is formed so that women avoid beautiful discourses that are not in accordance with their cultural characteristics. The formation of discourse on Sundanese women can find out how the beautiful discourse on Sundanese women is today. Besides that, it also provides insight to the community on how to construct a beautiful concept that suits their individual needs.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative approach, the method used is Foucault's archaeology of knowledge to find out how discourse is formed and the focus of this method is the discontinuity of knowledge history. Researchers collect data by interviews to obtain in-depth data and documentation studies such as in ancient Sundanese manuscripts, advertisements, or reportage as supporting data on the beautiful discourse of Sundanese women. In the process of interviewing and collecting data, this study interviewed 18 people with the criteria of those who understand or are involved in the world of beauty, namely Sundanese women, culturalists or cultural practitioners, communities or community members engaged in beauty issues, beauty influencers, and related medical parties.

The selection of informants is carried out purposively based on predetermined criteria. During the interview, the interviewees conducted questions and answers according to the questions asked, and the answers related to this study were processed by using appropriate theories that supported this study. After the data collection, the author reduces the data during the research process lasts until the study is completed, the data that has been reduced will be presented and then conclusions drawn. To check the validity of the documentation data, the researchers used triangulated data to support research data and books related to Foucault's Archeology of Knowledge.

This research was conducted in the city of Bandung. The reason for choosing Bandung as a research location is that the majority of the population in this City is Sundanese, it is also a fairly advanced place in the development and consumption of beauty products. When compared to other cities in West Java, Bandung has various accesses in getting to the desired beauty, both beauty product stores, beauty clinics, and shopping centers that are widely spread in the city. As a capital city of West Java Province, the people of Bandung city are greatly affected by various knowledge about beauty, as well as by various beauty products.

Results and Discussion

Women nowadays are identified with the word beautiful, a creature that has a beauty that tends to be seen through the physical. Therefore, women will use various ways to get beautiful. An article from psychology today entitled *The Surprising Power of a Beautiful Face* says that physical attractiveness gives a strong first impression, the effect is called the halo effect where an appearance (beauty) seems to affect other traits (Ciotti 2014).

Indonesia with various ethnic groups in it has various types of beautiful depictions of women, and from there also arise various stigmas and restrictions regarding beautiful women in one of the tribes. One of the tribes that are famous for its beautiful women is the Sundanese tribe. From ancient times until now Sundanese women are known as beautiful women (Hamidah 2016). An example of a Sundanese woman who is famous for being beautiful is Dyah Pitaloka, a princess of the Sundanese kingdom, and the son of Prabu Mundingwangi. Dyah Pitaloka is a woman who is blessed with the revelation of Sang Hyang Prajna Paramitha. Her beauty was famous until the Majapahit kingdom and managed to capture the heart of King Hayam Wuruk through paintings. Her love journey failed due to the *bubat* war, from there the story of Dyah Pitaloka and her beauty as a Sundanese woman or princess of the Sundanese kingdom is known by many people (Heryadi & Mutiara 2020).

The concept of beauty among Sundanese women has undergone significant changes from time to time, especially with the existence of globalization which opens up cultural barriers for both fellow ethnic groups in the country and cultures between world communities. The change and development

of the concept of beauty affect the development of access or facilities to achieve a beautiful concept. The beautiful concept understood by Sundanese women is also supported by the current social conditions of the city of Bandung, with its status as the Provincial Capital, Bandung is one of the cities that has/ provides a variety of access and facilities to realize the concept of beauty. These accesses and facilities such as beauty care places, large malls that provide beauty and fashion products, to product shops scattered everywhere. Although Sundanese women in Bandung have long been known to be beautiful and fashionable (Jo 2016), the beauty of Sundanese women has experienced discourses from time to time which will be discussed in the next discussion.

The beautiful Sundanese women

During the colonial period, Bandung women were known for their beauty which makes Bandung known as the City of Flowers. The book Bandung Flash of Events (Jawaami 2017) explained that there is a second hypothesis behind the nickname Bandung Kota Kembang because of the Bandung woman herself. Bandung during the time of Priangan Resident Assistant Pieter Sitjhoff was entrusted to hold a sugar businessman association in 1896. The condition of Bandung at that time was a slum set on a plantation, which made Pieter confused to provide services to congress participants. An idea arose from William Schenk to bring in a Bandung woman from the South Bandung area to be a comfort woman for the congressional participants. Since then, Bandung women have been famous for their beauty and the practice of prostitution has become a new construction in the wider community (Jawaami 2017).

As a result of culturalists' study of ancient Sundanese texts, Sundanese women have a distinctive physical depiction from top to bottom. Women have three skin colors, namely yellow *langsat* (*konéng umyang*), greenish-white (*héjo carulang*), and sweet black (*hideung santen*). Our informant also explained that although have three characteristics of Sundanese women's skin, they are always expected to have yellow skin. The *kuning langsats* itself comes from the color of rice because for the people of Sunda rice has the meaning of life. The expected hair is straight or wavy black (*galing muntang*) although Sundanese women should not be flowing down their hair. The eyes are attractive (*ceureuleuk*), eyebrows like dead jellers with larger fronts and small backs (*halis lir jéler paéh*) or crescent-like eyebrows (*halis bulan sapasi*), face shape like betel leaves, clean shining forehead (*taar téja mentrangan*), around the jidat there is no fine hair (*bulu sinom, bulu kalong, atawa amis cauna dibersihkeun*) cheeks like half a coconut shell (*damis katumbirian*), chin like a half egg (*gado endog sapotong*), lips like orange (*lambey jeruk sapasi*).

Sundanese women also to be said to be beautiful have physical depictions of sturdy shoulders such as Javanese scales (*taktak taraju jawaeun*), hands such as arrows (*leungeun gondewa*), slender fingers (*ramo siga pucuk eurih*), slim (*cangkéng léngkah lir papanting*), slightly distended belly (*kambuy beuteung*), buttocks like violins (*imbit dampak biola*), and slightly burly calves shaped like banana hearts (*betis babalimbangan jaksi sajantung*). According to ancient Sundanese manuscripts named Carita Ratu Pakuan, Sundanese women are not too short nor too tall (*lenjang*), while according to other culturalists Sundanese women are no more than 170 cm tall and if they are more they are not of native Sundanese descent. Sundanese women have an ideal body shape between weight and height (*sieup*).

The ideal depiction of Sundanese women lasts for quite a long time, especially perpetuated by many myths or folklore whose main characters are Sundanese women (Heryana 2012). Stories that are legendary and still perpetuated today, for example, the story of Dayang Sumbi or Dewi Sri Pohaci who is always described as beautiful. The physicality of Sundanese women in folklore or myths has changed during colonialism. When colonialism entered Indonesia, the physical depiction of Sundanese women followed European or western standards.

Women who have white racial characteristics have privileges in the social environment so women at that time in addition to following beautiful standards as a good appearance also pursued a social right in society to be equal to white women (Saraswati 2013). White at the time of Dutch colonialism was not the standard but it was already the norm. Indigenous women successfully belonging to the white race can have the same rights as women who come from the Netherlands. The knowledge of beauty, which is white as Europeans, lasted for a long time until the 19th century. Sundanese women, especially in the city of Bandung, slowly left knowledge about the beauty of Sundanese women in ancient times in folklore and myths and then followed knowledge according to her time.

Sundanese women's views on the concept of beauty

Ciotti says that beauty depends on who sees it or in other words that beauty is relative (Ciotti 2014). It is also what we often hear among Indonesian people as well as among the Sundanese women of Bandung City that beauty is relatively dependent on their respective judgments and tastes. Today's Sundanese women view that beauty has not only one definition but that beauty today has many meanings and many physical depictions. Beauty today does not have to have white skin or yellow skin, it does not have to be tall, it does not have to be thin, etc. as it has been instilled in the knowledge of Sundanese women since ancient times. The beauty embedded in the knowledge of Sundanese women today is not much different from the beauty understood by other Indonesian women. The construction of beauty in Indonesia is based on colonial values which are rooted in the remnants of the perpetuation of colonial thought (Saputri & Pinem 2022).

Today's Sundanese women view beauty as not like the beauty standard that is often glorified. Prianti research found that the beauty of women should also be defined in various ways (Prianti 2013). Beauty standards here are slim, tall, white, straight and black hair, and so on. Sundanese women nowadays view that white or black women's skin is still beautiful, women's curly or straight hair is still beautiful, women's smooth or acne-prone skin is still beautiful, and thin or fat women are still beautiful. The beauty described by the Sundanese women of Bandung City today is not only physical but thinking and attitude are also included in the assessment of beauty. Women are seen as beautiful when they feel beautiful and that is enough, beautiful is when the woman becomes herself and when the woman is confident. According to Black (Millard 2009), each person defines beauty differently. One of the informants, NAU said that beauty is not just physical, being smart and good attitude gives surplus value to Sundanese women.

"Beauty is not just physical, thoughts and attitudes are also included in the concept of beauty. A beautiful woman is one who can interpret herself as a smart woman, good at talking, open-minded, able to work, and does not distinguish caste" (Informant NAU).

In addition, another informant, TIA said that women should love themselves more than pursue beauty because by loving themselves they bring out the beauty from within themselves.

"Although it is said that women who change themselves either by using make-up until she has surgery, it can actually be said that they also follow what society wants, but here what needs to be underlined is that as long as she is comfortable with herself and she likes herself, it means she already loves herself. Their actions are actions that may be carried out because of community pressure, perhaps also because of a societal demand for what they should look like. but if they really like what they do it means they love themselves." (Informant TIA).

The knowledge about this new beauty comes from various parties, whether from the family, friendly environment, social media, influencers, or other wider communities. A more open family and environment of friends in providing a beautiful concept that is not compartmentalized encourage a person not to have a narrow sense of beauty. Social media, which is indeed the longest place of interaction, certainly greatly affects the knowledge of beautiful Sundanese women, almost all of the informants answer that the reference or party that affects beautiful knowledge is the media. The media influences such beautiful knowledge either in physical images or in consuming beauty products. The other party in influencing the knowledge of Sundanese women is the producer itself or through beauty influencers who in recent years have been developing. The results of this study support the research findings of Kaur et.al, which is shown that the use of models or well-known local or international celebrities is also another technique for manipulating women. These celebrities seem to reflect power over others and are successful. The ideology of power is depicted by the celebrities in the advertisements (Kaur et al. 2013).

The notion of beauty based on the physique is already very diverse, it cannot be confused between one individual and another. Sundanese women are no longer limited to yellow skin color as in the ancient Sundanese script Carita Ratu Pakuan, folklore, or in myths, but there is one knowledge that is currently the same among Sundanese women. The knowledge is about inner beauty, that a physique that meets the standards is not enough, there must be beauty from within both towards oneself and towards others. Beauty from within for the woman herself, for example, with confidence, gives a positive aura event to oneself, is grateful for what is given by God, and others. Physical beauty is not the main thing that women should pay attention to, but women must be able to have an open and intelligent way of thinking and be able to work, and others are more appreciative of a woman's personality.

Rules of the formation of beautiful discourse in Sundanese women

Discourse is seen as a system of thought that is in a certain region (given domain) and at a certain time (given period). Discourse not only becomes a translator of existing reality into a language, but discourse forms a way of looking at reality. Discourse is something that creates the world, and gives birth to knowledge, and truth (Pinem 2014). A discourse is formed through its own forming structure that is different from other discourses, this structure is then called the rules of formation. The concept of beauty which is actually a social construction that is actively shaped by individuals through their ways of formulating sexuality is not only a context but also offers implications for the structuring process through stimulative discourse tactics (Farokhah & Wardhana 2019). The rules of formation that exist in the formation of this beautiful discourse of Sundanese women can be described by the formation of discourse objects, modalities, concepts, and strategies.

At first rules, the formation of beautiful discourse in Sundanese women shows that objects in the discourse are named, described, analyzed, then reactivated, redefined, refuted, and eliminated. On the aspect of Mapping the surface of emergence, the surface of the emergence of discourse is not the same in every society, at different times, and in different forms. The surface for the emergence of this beautiful discourse of Sundanese women comes from the family, social media, advertising from capitalist products, and the community of mental health and self-acceptance movements. The family becomes the surface of the emergence of the closest discourse of an individual in looking at beauty. Today's society can be said to be a society where most of its time is spent through the media, individuals can easily get a discourse from social media which can include advertisements for beauty products, women's communities, or communities engaged in beautiful issues. In the modern paradigm, beauty is an image represented by the media and tends to disguise beauty from various aspects in the form of a slim body shape, tall height, clean white skin, long hair, big eyes, and sharp nose (Chervenik 2015). The mass media symbolically constructs the meaning of the ideal beauty on the bodies of women in the beauty queen event or in advertisements featuring women who are considered beautiful (Marsya 2019). As a result of standardization, one of our informants, SYI says she has been a victim of bullying from people who think they are beautiful.

“I used to be a victim of bullying, and the culprit was a beautiful person, from there it proves that those who are beautiful do not necessarily have a good attitude, when someone looks beautiful but behaves badly, the value of beauty is also reduced” (Informant SYI).

The emergence of objects needs authority. Authority making its impact towards the surface of emergence. Beauty as one of the meanings of health is not only a culture but has become a lifestyle and is a separate industry in modern life (Hidayat & Abdullah 2014). The authority in beautiful discourses examples we can find such as dermatologist medicine or reconstructive and aesthetic plastic surgery. Another authority is psychology which provides limits on knowledge or even expands knowledge regarding the concept of beauty of self-acceptance. Beauty product companies are also the authority that provides limits on knowledge about Sundanese women's beauty. According to Urairak, nowadays, changes towards mainstream beauty values follow the creation of beauty discourse by businesses (Urairak 2018).

After the communities engaged in beautiful issues become parties that provide boundaries or breadth of knowledge about beauty and then analyze the network specifications. Analyze the network specifications i.e. systems that are divided, contested, connected, regrouped, classified, and taken from other systems as discourse objects. A woman's face is classified as beautiful and not pretty. The face is a part of the body that can be easily seen even the first time seen by others with the peculiarities of each individual. Faces can give a first impression and initial assessment of a person which is then called the halo effect. A woman's face has always been a part of a woman's body that is expected, portrayed, and demanded to have a beautiful face. The requirement to be beautiful is a girl. Beauty is described as tending to the physical but nowadays many people also judge beauty not only from the physique which is then called dinner beauty as NAU said:

“I am more open-minded and often share my thoughts with friends, every story they vilify themselves and I realize that women will not be satisfied with their physique, and with that physical is not everything. While pursuing validation I realized by many people that being physically beautiful is not the most important thing” (Informant NAU).

In the second rule, the formation of discourse requires a way to deliver modalities and to know how the laws apply and where they come from. One of our informants who works as a beauty doctor said the size of each part of the face in medicine does not determine whether a woman is beautiful or not. Those who have a different size in the medical world are not necessarily beautiful in the eyes of the public, as what can be explained from the medical side about being beautiful itself are those who have body parts that are mutually harmonized and have healthy facial skin. Rather than the role of doctors who are more vocal in voicing the concept of beauty are beauty product manufacturers through various products created. In addition, there is also the role of beauty influencers who massively transfer knowledge about beauty on social media. Social media has a very big influence on the formation of a place of discourse where various actors form beautiful discourse knowledge. Its reach is very wide, spreading widely to almost all Indonesian women including Sundanese women. One of the problems of a woman is about her physical experience, this is because of the existing beauty standards. Campaigns such as self-love or the different physical conditions of women are normal for women to think more openly with new knowledge.

In the third rule, the formation of discourse requires a concept. Concepts are ideas that are often used in discussions in the discourse itself, everyone thinks, speaks, and writes about the concept. Concepts in the beautiful discourse of Sundanese women contain a form of succession composed of the arrangement of the series of submissions, types of statements, criticisms, and rhetorical schemes. This form of succession can come from statements agreed upon by most societies such as, "beautiful women are not necessarily good". The area of presence of this discourse arises from the statements that beauty standards are no longer valid and all women are beautiful. This area of urgency exists when many women and psychologists support the statement, and by manufacturers of beauty products, for example, the white standard which then undergoes a discourse so that the color of women's skin is also outside of beautiful white. They support beautiful women not just those who are white, spread out until all agree on it, and discuss it. Then came beauty products that not only campaigned for white skin but also turned into healthy and clean, supported by beauty influencers from the women's group or by doctors or experts. The concept itself is not only discussed, accepted, and determined as the truth but changes the way one views reality which then breaks with the previous beautiful discourse.

In the fourth rule, the formation of discourse requires a strategy formed from objects, modalities, and concepts. The strategies to deliver the beautiful discourse of Sundanese women require a diffraction point consisting of an imbalance point, an equivalent point, and an interconnected systematic point. A balance point between two objects, concepts, or conveyances that likely appear in one discourse but not in the same statement. Sundanese women these days have the concept of being beautiful is not enough with a physique because it requires beauty of the heart or inner beauty, then another concept is that women are said to be beautiful with any kind of physique, black or white, tall or short, fat or thin, and others that women are beautiful if the woman loves herself. These concepts appear in one discourse, beauty that is not only judged by the woman's physique alone and the broader beauty is not limited to one ideal concept. Then the equivalent point was between a woman who seeks to love herself and a woman who applies a standard of beauty is also a heart and behavior not comparable element but has an identical condition, namely beauty. The last point is the systematization point, the different concepts are then interconnected and form discontinuities in beautiful knowledge. The previously described discourse must be within the territory of non-discursive practices, judging by their relationship beyond the theoretical. This beautiful discourse of Sundanese women through how we see beautiful conceptions with everyday and non-theoretical things.

Foucault views discourse as not just a series of words that explain reality, but as how individuals perceive that reality. Discourse is a system of thinking, ideas, or thinking that then describes a culture in a particular region or period. The discourse is seen as another disposition of the discourse so that it has cracks that then make the discourse discontinuous. Discourse does not originate from distant origins but discourse appears at a certain age in a particular society, in the archaeological view knowledge of discourse is not deliberately found out but studied when the discourse appears. The discourse in the archaeological view of knowledge does not seek to determine the thoughts, representations, images, themes, and purposes of thinking that occur or appear in the discourses, but archaeology wants to determine and define the discourse itself.

New discourses can emerge with changing times which affect human knowledge as well. Discourses also vary in different regions. Of course, the beauty of Sundanese women in ancient times was different from the beauties of other tribes in the archipelago, the entry of colonialism into the archipelago provided new beautiful knowledge which Sundanese women were not missed, considering that the

city of Bandung became one of the centers of colonialism and a great social place between Europeans and indigenous peoples. During colonialism, whites became ideal skins for society at that time, especially in 1920 when the Dutch carried out racial projects to strengthen the status of white races (Saraswati 2013).

White skin during colonialism was not only limited to depicting the beauty of skin color, but white skin at this time was a strong sign of the European race, instilling knowledge in the indigenous people about the superiority of the white race. In ancient times, Sundanese women wanted yellow skin because it was the standard for women's visualization, but during the period of white colonialism, it was seen as an opportunity to obtain economic, social, and legal waivers. At the time of the racial project, the prevailing laws and also the opportunities that existed tended to be greater were given to European nations. This white racial project is not a grouping of people by skin color, but a grouping of people by which ancestry whether European, Indo, or Indigenous.

The indigenous people at that time tried and competed to enter the white race in various ways, one of which was by trying to be *nyai*. They will beautify themselves trying to be visually idealized by Dutchmen, and then they will get a variety of benefits economically, socially, and legally. If they have children and are recognized by their Dutch father then they can enter into a white racial society. Beautiful women in colonial times would not be far from the ideal standards of Dutchmen. From the discourse between the ancient Sundanese women and the colonialism period, we can see the differences in this discourse, the knowledge of ancient Sundanese women because it did pursue beautiful visualizations such as folklore or myths that they considered ideal, and in the days of colonialism beautiful was seen as a tool for the pursuit of various conveniences in the economy, social, and law.

At the end of the colonialism period, and the beginning of globalization makes the discourse of beautiful knowledge began to be different. The West will be seen as a source of modern culture or alternative culture that is then proud of (Suharni 2015). Beauty and fashion standards will also follow the west, especially in America, one of the magazines that support western-style beauty trends is cosmopolitan magazine. This standard lasted for a very long time from the time of Suharto's leadership began until the 2000s (Saraswati 2013).

Globalization breaks down national boundaries as well as cultural boundaries, so it is not surprising that Sundanese women began to have new knowledge about beauty. Technology is growing, the internet is getting more and more accessible, and human life in different countries can be easily seen. Beauty trends are getting easier to enter one by one, starting from western, Korean, or Japanese trends. When looking at the many meccas of female beauty today, the author initially assumes it will be difficult to find which one is the most powerful to be the source of women's knowledge today, but such new knowledge exists, or that discourse exists when a discourse in society is very strong compared to other discourses.

Based on the results of this study, it was not found which beauty is stronger, whether Korean beauty, Japanese beauty, or western beauty, there is no ideal standard for beauty. The power of today's beautiful discourse is from no ideal standard itself. Today's Sundanese women view that all women are beautiful, there is no limit to what kind of beauty, and there is no ideal of beauty like the ancient Sundanese script Carita Ratu Pakuan describes, unlike Dayang Sumbi, nor like European women. There are no rules for women should have a kind of face or body, but Sundanese women view all women are beautiful when they feel beautiful, when they are confident, and when they have beauty from within. One of the informants says that beauty starts from confidence, and not caring about the perception of the other about herself.

“With confidence we can focus on showing what we like, my mother used to help me in finding the concept of beauty. I was never taught to change but to care. When we love ourselves, we will be beautiful by ourselves” (Informant ATA).

The finding of this study strengthens the finding of Rahmawati research that says the messages conveyed in visual signs were everyone is beautiful in their own way with what is God already given. There's no concrete standard for beauty related to skin tone and hair. Natural makeup always makes someone more gorgeous (Rahmawati 2019).

Beautiful is indeed considered as something pleasing to the eye or that has the value of beauty subjectively, but beauty today is not understood as a physical depiction alone but is known for its beautiful behavior as well as beautiful thinking. Beautiful behavior and thinking are interpreted as beautiful thoughts

and behavior both in oneself as loving oneself, or in others such as speaking a good word or treating others well, which became known as external beauty and inner beauty (brain, beauty, and behavior). Beauty is indeed seen as an important thing for women, especially important for appearance and self-confidence, but Sundanese women today do not see beauty as the main thing.

Beautiful women are not necessarily good, competent, or professional, beautiful women do not necessarily have various conveniences in life although it cannot be learned that appearance determines the first judgment in a person so that those who have a good appearance will get good behavior as well. A beautiful woman when is a woman who is confident judges herself beautifully and loves her. This is supported by various movements on social media, whether from psychology, mental health volunteers, or beauty influencers, regarding the importance of loving yourself first before pursuing beauty, so that women will know where their needs are either in pursuing beauty or buying beauty products.

Today there is no standard beauty, no demands of women should be what it should be. Women are not obliged to be white, not obliged to be tall, not obliged to have a high nose, or tapered cheeks, and others that have been perpetuated for a long time. Knowledge exists when women discuss with each other beauty standards that cannot be equalized when they realize that beautiful women are not necessarily well-behaved or competent. This knowledge arises when women discuss the concerns of being a woman and realize that women should not worry about the standards of beauty that exist. Those typical talks that then spread made the women open and did not apply the standard of beauty, making beauty a broad understanding.

The current discourse of beauty although saying that beauty also radiates from the heart does not mean that women today do not focus on physical appearance. Returning to the statement of the Sundanese women that beauty is important but not the most important, the breadth of the meaning of beauty is not limited to just one qibla, not just to one ideal of beauty that wants to be achieved like white. The beauty that every Sundanese woman aspires to differs according to the needs and desires of the woman herself. There is no benchmark for who or how, but what the woman thinks is good then she will do, if white is considered good then she will pursue white, if black skin is good then they will not pursue white, women nowadays mostly aspire to healthy and clean skin instead of white. The findings in this study support the research results conducted by Larasati. Larasati found that women can negotiate beauty standards for autonomy and free choice because they have different standards for beauty (Larasati 2018). In this case, all of the informants agreed that a woman's beauty should be determined by themselves, not by certain standards.

This knowledge then affects the practices in everyday life. Discourse affects women in how to take care of themselves, if in ancient times Sundanese women took care of themselves in a natural way now Sundanese women follow the development of technology and are not dependent on nature. Knowledge of diverse beauty with diverse needs makes women increasingly learn about how the characteristics of their body skin, what ingredients are good to use, what kind of results they want, and what products they buy, in other words, women are increasingly selective in consuming a product. Women who have a beautiful discourse today value or are said to be "open-minded", do not do racial descriptions, and value their differences.

Conclusion

The conclusions in this study suggest that Sundanese women no longer have the beautiful knowledge of ancient Sundanese women because the times are growing, technology is increasingly sophisticated, and globalization has penetrated into Sundanese women in Bandung City, so they follow the beauty that prevails today. Beauty is still an important thing for women but beauty is not the main thing because judging beauty is not enough from the physique. Brain, beauty, and behavior are important aspects in judging a woman, those who are physically beautiful are not necessarily beautiful in behavior and thinking. Women are judged to be beautiful when they are confident, find beautiful value in themselves, and when love themselves.

Sundanese women strive for beauty not solely because of a social standard but because they love it, love themselves, and are grateful for what they have so they take care of it. In the beautiful knowledge of the Sundanese woman of Bandung City, what is considered right is in the absence of wrong and right, what the woman wants to be like. Those who are beautiful according to standards are not the right ones, and those who do not conform to the standards do not become the wrong

ones, but in this discourse, those who are right are the ones who look at beauty from the inside and outside so that women are free to express themselves. Women are free to choose what they want to be like, what products to use, according to what they like as long as it can make them confident and love themselves even more. Such knowledge affects the association in the practice of daily life, how they perceive themselves, perceive other women and appreciate every difference, women today will be more concerned about the needs of their bodies than about what society demands, and they will also be more selective in consuming beauty products.

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