

The exploitation of women's body in the practice of *Warung Kopi Pangku*

Eksplorasi tubuh perempuan dalam praktik Warung Kopi Pangku

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Abstract

This study focuses on examining the exploitation of women's bodies in the social practice of *warung kopi pangku* in Jombang. A woman's body considered to be an object used to attract consumers, as evidenced by their appearance as a sexy maid, whether through the minimalist clothing worn or excessive preening. *Warung kopi pangku* also provides sensuality through the body of waitresses. Their activities include not only just making orders but also accompanying the consumers who are enjoying their coffee. The waitresses' body becomes a power regulation target, namely when they targeted for arrest during raids. *Warung kopi pangku* currently exists. Many visitors come to the shops and the women employed have not reduced in number. This study attempts to describe the forms of human exploitation that occur concerning the waitresses in the specific situation of *warung kopi pangku*. This study used a qualitative research method with a critical paradigm. Collecting the data was done through in-depth interviews to 14 informants consisting of waitresses, consumers and the owner of *warung kopi pangku*. To dismantle the problems, we used the theoretical perspective of Michel Foucault on the power of the body. The results of the study showed that the bodily exploitation of waitresses could occur in various situations. The appearance of the waitresses is the most visible aspect that involves exploitation. It was proven through the beautiful body image of waitresses being used to provoking consumer sexual desire. Bodily exploitation was also done through the control of the work activity of the waitresses. They have to provide an entertaining atmosphere while accompanying the consumers. The exploitation also occurred in the covert prostitution practice. There were sexual transactions conducted in *warung kopi pangku*, so the waitresses' bodies were reduced to a satisfaction tool for sexual needs. The bodily exploitation of the waitresses was a powerful strategy to condition the body as an effort to support the existence of *warung kopi pangku*. The waitresses' bodies were controlled through discursive practices; therefore, the exploitation was not considered to be a problem.

Keywords: body exploitation; women waitresses; *warung kopi pangku*

Abstrak

Studi ini berfokus untuk mengkaji eksploitasi tubuh perempuan dalam praktik sosial *warung kopi pangku* di Jombang. Tubuh perempuan terlihat menjadi objek untuk menarik konsumen, dibuktikan dengan penampilan seksi pelayan perempuan, baik melalui pakaian minimalis yang dikenakan ataupun cara bersolek yang berlebihan. *Warung kopi pangku* juga menghadirkan nuansa sensualitas tubuh pelayan perempuan, aktivitas mereka tidak sekedar membuatkan pesanan melainkan juga mendampingi konsumen yang sedang menikmati kopi. Tubuh pelayan perempuan juga menjadi sasaran pengaturan kuasa, yakni ketika mereka menjadi target penangkapan saat terjadi razia. Sampai sekarang *warung kopi pangku* terus bertahan, pengunjung masih ramai berdatangan dan perempuan yang dipekerjakan juga tidak berkurang. Studi ini berusaha menguraikan bentuk eksploitasi tubuh yang terjadi terhadap pelayan perempuan dalam situasi spesifik *warung kopi pangku*. Studi ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan paradigma kritis, penggalan data dilakukan melalui in-depth interview kepada 14 informan yang terdiri dari pelayan perempuan, konsumen, dan pemilik *warung kopi pangku*. Untuk membongkar permasalahan, digunakan perspektif teori Michel Foucault mengenai kuasa tubuh. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa eksploitasi tubuh pelayan perempuan dapat terjadi dalam berbagai situasi. Penampilan pelayan perempuan sebagai aspek yang paling terlihat mengalami eksploitasi, dibuktikan melalui pembentukan citra tubuh sensual pelayan perempuan agar membangkitkan hasrat seksual konsumen. Eksploitasi tubuh juga beroperasi melalui kontrol aktivitas kerja pelayan perempuan, yakni adanya keharusan untuk menyediakan suasana menghibur saat mendampingi konsumen. Bentuk eksploitasi atas tubuh bahkan terjadi dalam praktik prostitusi terselubung, yakni adanya transaksi hubungan seksual di *warung kopi pangku*, tubuh pelayan perempuan direduksi menjadi alat pemuas kebutuhan seks. Eksploitasi tubuh pelayan perempuan merupakan wujud dari strategi kuasa untuk mengondisikan tubuh sebagai upaya menunjang eksistensi *warung kopi pangku*. Tubuh pelayan perempuan dikuasai oleh berbagai praktik diskursif yang membuat terjadinya eksploitasi tidak dipahami sebagai permasalahan.

Kata kunci: eksploitasi tubuh; pelayan perempuan; *warung kopi pangku*

Introduction

A woman's body is seen as a tool to attract consumer attention in the social practice of *warung kopi pangku* in Jombang. In each stall of the cafe, there is provided one or two women. Most of them are still adolescents. In each work activity, the waitresses always have a sexy appearance, either through their tight clothes or excessive preening. *Warung kopi pangku* also provides a sensual atmosphere from the waitresses' body. It is proof of the role of the waitresses who serve not only the food and drinks orders but who also accompany the consumer while they are enjoying their coffee. The body of the waitresses also become a power regulation target, namely when the authorities target them. Based on the information collected, when the raids occurred targeting the *warung kopi pangku*, the waitresses became injured, and their bodies were always targeted. As reported by one of the online media outlets, Jombang District Police raided a *warung kopi pangku* in the Mojoagung Market area in June 2018. In operation, the officers secured 20 women wearing sexy clothes (Agustina 2018).

Warung kopi pangku uses women's services as waitresses. At night, this place is still crowded with visitors. The women who are employed are also not reduced in number. Attention needs to be stressed, even though some time ago, it was under control, but this place seems to be perpetuated. It is related to the facts in the field where the owner of *warung kopi pangku* has never been caught in the police raids. Thus the practice of *warung kopi pangku* business can continue to survive. In this condition, the waitresses are in the public spotlight, as if the nightlife of *warung kopi pangku* is only centred on the waitresses even though many people do not understand the true nature of the activities of the women who are in *warung kopi pangku*.

The social practice of *warung kopi pangku* is a complex problem because the activities involve the aspect of sexuality. In this context, the woman's body is like an object of power through the various actors involved. In the writings of Listyani (2016), it also states that a woman's body is one source of power. The woman's body contains the attraction of sexuality that can control a man's libido. Therefore there are many interests at play concerning the woman's body. In the context of the social practices of *warung kopi pangku*, the women's bodies also used to support the interests of the actors involved. It means that there is an intervention into the private areas of women in which the women's bodies are formed and presented to the male consumers.

The waitresses' bodies also considered having become the target of the operation of discursive practices. It develops in a specific situation at *warung kopi pangku*. In this case, the work activities of the waitresses appear to be controlled in strategic relations involving the actors outside of their bodies, such as the consumers or owners of *warung kopi pangku*. Michel Foucault (1997), in *Discipline and Punishment*, describes that the conception of the body is a central part of the operations of power. The mechanism of power that touches the body can manifest as disciplinary power. The power that leads to disciplining the body is a control mechanism that seeks to manipulate the naturalness of the body. Through the disciplinary mechanism, the body is continually trained to become an obedient and useful body (Suyono 2002). The study also attempts to explain that in a specific social context such as the practice of *warung kopi pangku*, the power of discipline can manifest in the exploitation of the body in various strategic relations, especially those involving the body of the waitresses.

Exploitation can be interpreted as a transactional relationship between two uneven entities. In Ayub's research (2015), they explain that in the context of the exploitation of women's bodies, the industry makes transactional relations with the women and they use their bodies to achieve a profit. At the same time, women become stagnant and even suffer. Based on Pratama's research (2014), the exploitation of the body means that the women's body not displayed in the ordinary sense. It is formed or constructed according to the market tastes. Novianti (2015) also explains that exploitation is an action with or without the victim's consent which includes prostitution, forced labour, slavery, oppression, physical and sexual use, or the use of someone's energy to achieve material and immaterial benefits through the other actors. The women's body has the potential to be exploited because the women's body has a high economic value.

Based on the problematic life of women in the *warung kopi pangku* practice, this study is interested in reviewing the problem. The focus of this study is to dismantle the exploitation of waitresses in the specific situation of *warung kopi pangku*. Using Michel Foucault's theoretical perspective on constitutional power, this study also conducts to provide critical analysis to reveal the power relations that occur between waitresses and actors outside their bodies, discursive practices that develop in them and lead to forms of exploitation that make the body of the waitresses the target object.

There are many types of research on the waitresses at *warung kopi pangku* that have been conducted previously. However, this study takes a different focus, namely from the perspective of the exploitation of the waitresses' bodies. Several previous types of research regarding the waitresses at *warung kopi pangku* include the research conducted by Fatmawati et al. (2017). They studied women's economy and sexuality, which looked more at the symbolic interaction between economic conditions and the emergence of *warung kopi pangku*. Triastanto (2015) added that the low education aspect was also a factor for the women being affected by the work in *warung kopi pangku*. Wulandari (2016) examined the issue of women who work in the *warung kopi pangku* from a psychological perspective, namely interpersonal conflict when mastered by the waitresses and their aspects of self as individuals who have freedom. Therefore this study wants to show that there is another aspect that is also important in the practice of *warung kopi pangku*, namely the powerful strategy that exploits the body due to the relationships involving the waitresses and other related actors.

Research Method

This study is a type of qualitative research using a critical paradigm, to give an in-depth review regarding the types of exploitation toward women's body in *warung kopi pangku*. This study was conducted from August to December 2018 in Mojoagung market of Jombang District. The data obtained through the in-depth interviews conducted face-to-face with the 14 research informants, including eight informants who were waitresses, three consumers as informants, and three informants who were the owners of *warung kopi pangku*. The data analysis technique used was collecting the interview data, followed by transcribing and categorising data. The next stage to interpret the data that had been categorised according to the issues that were focused on in the discussion. The interpretation referred to the theoretical concepts used—the data has been presented in the form of snippets from the interviews or narrative descriptions.

Result and Discussion

Sensuality exploitation: Formation of the waitress' body image

The bodily exploitation formed from the power relations between the waitresses and owners of *warung kopi pangku* implemented through control provisions. It is evidenced by the intervention in the women's private areas in their work activities, such as the way that they look using tight clothing and excessive preening in order to make them look sexy. The results of the interviews with several waitresses as informants showed that their sexy appearance did not just become a subjective motive of the women. It also influenced by related external factors, such as the provisions of the owners of *warung kopi pangku*.

The provision of the clothes that they wore proved the involvement of the owner concerning the control over their bodies, even though it mentioned that only some of *warung kopi pangku* applied the body-related regulations. In this situation, the power operating in the relationship between the owners and waitresses was the power to exploit body sensuality through the formation of the women's body image. It was undeniable that the body image of women had become a profitable commodity in the social practices of the *warung kopi pangku* that was visited by many men. Power is a practical problem that occurs in a particular scope, such as where many relationships continue to cross over (Wiradnyana 2018).

The exploitation of sensuality leads to the use of the physical images of women's bodies to achieve more benefits in various activities. The beauty of the woman's body used as a production tool to produce a sign that has selling value (Raditya 2014). The sensuality of a women's body considered

to be capable of arousing libido that can be traded. Provisions on how to dress for the waitresses are a form of sensual exploitation proven in the following data excerpt:

“I have been a long time here. So I know little bit. The stalls in the corner over there, in the darkroom, she is usually asked by the owner to wear certain clothes. The owners are fussy” (YI 2018).

Foucault (2002) created the concept that power can be used to obtain access to an individual's body, including the actions and attitudes that they show every day. In the context of the power strategy that shapes the body image of the waitresses at *warung kopi pangku*, this means that the physical aspects of their body appointed as the locus for the operation of the power mechanisms that try to manipulate the naturalness of the woman's body. The provisions to shaping this body image were not initially realised as coercion because the power manifested itself softly. The exploitation of the body in the form of the appearance of the women turned out to be enacted automatically without a direct order from the owner. In such situations, the power can be said to touch the body effectively because, by itself, the waitress internalises in her awareness that she has to do something that is an environmental habit of where she works. This condition was relevant to what Foucault (2002) said, in that if the power becomes strong and more inherent in our subjectivity, then it is because the power produced an influence on the level of consciousness.

The power which could affect consciousness, as stated by Foucault, was proven by the information provided by two of the waitresses as informants, WN and DE. The way to look sexy as a waitress was not on the order of the owner. Women who entered the business of *warung kopi pangku* would instil their awareness of adjusting to the appearance of the other waitresses such as the wearing of miniskirts and tight shirts that show the body's elegance and shape. Here, the power manifested itself without the presence of the subject who commanded it. It meant that even though there was no explicit regulation related to their bodies on how to look, the waitresses had been controlled by their desires and awareness, such that by being in the neighbourhood of *warung kopi pangku*, she had to look in accordance with the standard and style of dress that had become an identity in that location.

The descriptions of sensuality exploitation through body image in terms of the appearance of the waitresses cannot be separated from the forms of discursive practice that control the knowledge of each actor involved. Foucault (2009) explained that discourse is also a way of producing knowledge, along with the accompanying social practices. Discourse can form subjectivity. In the end, the relationship between knowledge and social practice contains power relations. The knowledge that forms the power also rouses the awareness of the waitresses regarding the various things that exploit their bodies. In this case, they were not aware that there was a discourse that constantly used their bodies for the benefit of the other actors.

Knowledge controlled the awareness of women. For example, there is the “construction of beautiful women” in their work activities in order to attract the consumers' attention. The construction controlled the awareness of women as a form of demand for the function of women's bodies in order to display a body image that is in accordance with the imagination of male consumers. As Synnott (2002) explained, beauty is a social product. The meaning of beauty is significant because it affects many aspects of life, including one's social status. The social construction of a beautiful woman's body, in turn, also results in the exploitation of the body through sexy clothes or excessive preening. Male-dominated work routines made the waitresses seek to make their bodies display sensuality. The effect of the exploitative power of the beauty construction is then considered fair by the women who work in *warung kopi pangku*. The discursive device that controlled the body, as evidenced by an interview quotation as follows:

“About two years ago, they (waitresses) wore sexy clothes. But after there was raid, they were afraid. Now they still wear sexy clothes but not as much as before. I think it is for fun because cafes compete to get many customers. Most of the customers are men, so it is interesting for the cafe to have beautiful waitresses. The waitresses must use makeup if the owners want the customers to be happy” (LA 2018).

As treated by the informant, there was the form of discourse that normalised the exploitation of women's bodies. In this case, there was an assumption that working in a place such as a *warung kopi pangku* had become commonplace for women, in addition to wearing sexy clothes such as hotpants, tank tops and miniskirts. The goal is to foster interest and power in order to attract consumer attraction. In this situation, it could be said that the women's body has a sign value which lies in its ability to produce meaning. Thus the woman's body is identified with sensuality, elegance, sexiness and beauty (Raditya 2014: 200).

The system of values and stereotypes about women is one of the factors that influence women's position in their daily lives (Saptari & Holzner 2016). The waitresses know that their body was used as a machine that can encourage the desire of men. However, they had not fully realised that what experienced as a consequence of the relationship between knowledge and power over the exploiting body. The effectiveness of the power strategy touching the body made its existence in "fairness", as well as the formation of the body image of the waitresses in the activities of *warung kopi pangku*. It is where everything became a routine driven by a set of disciplinary formations. From the presentation of waitresses, it can be understood that the act of dressing up to beautify themselves as well as the wearing of sexy clothes to attract consumers not derived from the knowledge that is free from subjectivity. What they did was more visible as a result of the internalisation of knowledge that formed the power over the body.

Body control in the work activity of the waitresses

Talking about control over the waitresses' body, it could be related to the concept of disciplinary power. In this case, Foucault (2002) stated that power could manifest itself as a disciplined order. This mechanism of the body regulated in such a way that it makes the waitresses accustomed to carrying out useful activities. The control of their activity, in this case, had implications for the formation of regular rhythms, in which each individual forced to master certain activities (Hardiyanta 1997). In the context of the social practices of *warung kopi pangku*, control of this activity could be identified in the mechanism of service provided by the waitresses to the consumers. The form of body control that can be seen as exploitation is the necessity of the waitresses to accompany every consumer who is enjoying their coffee.

The power strategy in the form of bodily control in relation to the service activities for the sake of the consumers also involves external relations that make the women's body the object of exploitation. The waitresses, LA, DE, and EL as informants indicated that there was a provision from the owner to accompany the coffee drinkers. This mechanism was also considered to distinguish ordinary coffee shops/cafe from *warung kopi pangku*. There were even learning regulations related to assisting the consumers in accordance with the standards determined by the owners of *warung kopi pangku*. One of the informants stated the following:

"If there is a new waitress, she must be given the information that she will accompany the customer. I know about this because I have worked here for long time, I know what to do without being asked. If there is a new waitress, then the owner always asks her to accompany the customers in a good way so then the stalls will crow" (LA 2018).

In the service mechanism given by the waitress in *warung kopi pangku*, it is obvious that the women's bodies continuously are the target of power that is being exploited, especially in order to maintain the competition of *warung kopi pangku*. The control of the service activities for the sake of the consumers is a form of strategy that reinforces and emphasises power at the same time, with it manifesting as a discipline held the body that takes place within the relations between the owners and waitresses.

In many cases, women's bodies become helpless due to exploitative controls. The study conducted by Lestari (2012) regarding the exploitation of the body of Sales Promotion Girls who were selling cigarette products shows one form of exploitation experienced by the Sales Promotion Girls. It is when they have to work in a crowded place until late at night. They must be willing to accept sexual harassment, be it verbally or physically when serving the consumers.

The strategy of bodily power within the context of the control of consumer service activities also turned out to run automatically without the presence of a governing subject. In this situation, the waitresses internalised the knowledge that she always had to be ready to welcome and accompany every visitor to the *warung kopi pangku*. Thus, the effectiveness of the power also resulted in the spontaneity of the waitresses when carrying out activities to assist the consumers who were enjoying coffee without having to wait for an order from the owner. It is proven from the following interview snippet:

“Yes, it is. Even though they are not asked, the service works that way. If there is a customer, I accompany him. If it is for a short time, it does not matter. I try to accompany the customers in the same way, so then they like to enjoy their coffee here” (WN 2018).

If there was a more significant power effectually touching the waitress so then actions could be conducted and not only exploitation, it included when they made the program within their consciousness where they had to show their willingness to accompany the consumers. At this level, Foucault (1997) stated that the power of life could create “the body as a machine”, which is the power to present itself as an instrument that enhances the body’s ability to train and even seize the energy to enable the body has maximum obedience and efficiency. The study conducted by Tahir & Dewi (2019) on the exploitation of women’s bodies in the *Bigo Live* application also shows that unwittingly, the women create an exploitation machine for their bodies. Female *Bigo Live* users are encouraged to expose their bodies while live streaming in various erotic scenes in order to get many benefits, even though this is an objectification of the female body.

Unwittingly, the waitresses had created machines in order to shape the workings of their bodies. The necessity of the waitress to accompany the consumers was a powerful strategy that touched the body in detail. It meant that the control of their service activities was also followed by other forms of special action when the women conducted their role in *warung kopi pangku*. The form of action was very detailed as it had been programmed into the consciousness of each waitress. The eight waitresses explained that for every consumer who came to *warung kopi pangku*, one woman approached them to ask them for an order, to let them know when a drink or food dish was ready, and so the women began to accompany the consumers. Where the assistance activities with the consumers took place, the waitresses are still required to provide an interactive atmosphere by inviting them to talk or joking with them.

In the analysis of disciplinary power, Foucault (2002) also showed that there was the close relationship between the exercising of power with the existence of knowledge that increasingly and intensively touched both the individual and her body. The relationship between power and knowledge could also be used to analyse the exploitation of the body in the working activities of the waitresses at *warung kopi pangku*, especially as a service mechanism for consumers. The strategy of power over the body of the waitresses could be said to be a form of discipline built by discursive practices that increasingly impact the waitresses. The operation of this form of discourse was, for example, related to the understanding built by the owners about the attitude that had to be shown by the waitresses while interacting with the consumers, namely by being active, friendly, and willing to get along with the consumers who visited *warung kopi pangku*. In this case, the role of women is not only defined as workers who have to serve every consumer, but they also need to be able to provide a comfortable and entertaining experience that is full of sensuality in accordance with the wishes of the male consumers. An excerpt from an interview with one of the *warung kopi pangku* owners is as follows:

“The point is making the customers happy. The waitresses must be able to provide a fun atmosphere even when the cafe is crowded. One of the ways to do this is by accompanying the consumers in a calm situation. My waitresses are good at attracting buyers. They must be active and willing to join the customers. If they do not do that, then we will lose out in the competition with other cafes” (DI 2018).

The interest in the existence of *warung kopi pangku* and the profits made for the owner become the basics of the operation of discursive power that places the women’s body as the object of exploitation.

The discourse is controlled by the understanding of the owners turned out to also be justified and controlled by the awareness of the waitresses. Foucault (2009) said that the knowledge is always in its own regime of truth and power. In the relation of the waitresses to the owners of *warung kopi pangku*, there are a set of discourses considered to be the truth by the waitresses. The waitress direct themselves by giving their loyalty to the consumers. This results in a more pleasant coffee atmosphere. This belief was an implication of the operation of discourse that effectively controls the women’s body. They were not made aware that what was done was a form of exploitation that made them more submissive to the need to accompany consumers and to provide the sensual nuances desired by the consumers. In this case, discourse is a language and social praxis than can discourage individuals away from a certain form of truth (Kali 2013:86).

Based on the results of the collected data, the relationship that built between the waitresses and consumers during the accompaniment activity at *warung kopi pangku* is dominant. This form of dominant relationship suspected due to the existence of a discourse tool where the consumers visit *warung kopi pangku* not only to enjoy the coffee dishes but also to enjoy the sexuality reflected through the bodies of the waitresses. The more that the waitresses constructed using the dominant knowledge, the more that their bodies exploited. In this situation, the body is not just a subjective entity – it is also a social one.

The research on the power relations in the practice of *warung kopi pangku* involves a specific situation that distinguishes it from other formal institutions. Therefore, the control procedures that occur cannot be generalised uniformly. This research seeks to dismantle the micro relations that indicate the exploitation of the body of the waitresses. In this context, this demonstrated through the mechanism of consumer assistance provided by the waitresses, including the operation of the discursive practices that control the body.

Covert prostitution: Exploitation of the women’s body for the satisfaction of sexual needs

The power of exploiting a waitress’ body can occur in specific situations, even where the power of the body is not only a matter of body imaging and the control of their work routines. It turned out that at night in the *warung kopi pangku*, it also carries out the practice of covert prostitution. It means that the women’s body not only functions as an invisible waitress and companion but also as a satisfying tool for a man’s sexual needs. In his description of the commodification of the body, Raditya (2014) explained that women’s bodies are often exploited through several aspects, one of which is as a prostitute.

Based on the information that was obtained, there is a mechanism for sexual intercourse transactions in *warung kopi pangku* that involves the consumers with the waitresses, although it was mentioned that only part of the practice takes place in the shop. Unlike prostitution which is where consumers are overtly sold sex services by the peddling of the women’s bodies, in *warung kopi pangku*, this conducted in a more hidden way. The informants recognised this covert prostitution activity:

“Yes, it is true. There are a kind of stall/cafes. But not all stalls are like that. Not all people know that because the place is not openly shown as it is. I mean, as a prostitute cafe” (AY 2018).

From the explanation of the waitresses as informants, the term ‘*esek-esek*’ cafe was not a secret in their society. This condition causes there to be an assumption in the community that all women who worked in *warung kopi pangku* are also commercial sex workers, even though people do not necessarily know the details of the actual practices. Covert prostitution involving consumers engaging with the waitresses can be categorised as a form of oppression experienced by women. According to Beegan & Moran (2017), from the perspective of the male domination of women, oppression occurs in various social roles and in the daily interactions that women undergo.

Not only in *warung kopi pangku*, but the exploitation of women’s bodies to fulfil sexual needs can also occur in various forms. In the digital era, the problem of prostitution has also shifted to a virtual transaction space. Laksono & Magfiraini (2014) reviewed cyber prostitution, which makes the exploitation of women’s bodies increasingly out of control through the sophistication of internet technology. Many sites provide commercial sex services by displaying erotic women.

The mechanism of sexual intercourse transactions in *warung kopi pangku* also arranged systematically, starting from the visiting of the consumers to *warung kopi pangku* to the picking up of the waitresses who had been ordered. The data that obtained related to sexual relations transactions showed that after the transaction at the *warung kopi pangku*, the women ordered would be picked up by the consumers concerned. The pick-up time also established, and it was often the case that the consumers took the women when it was nearing the end of their working hours or after the coffee shop had closed.

A critical review needed in order to give us information about the power that underlines the consumer behaviour towards the waitresses. In this context, the nature of the women's body explicitly reduced to bodies that could be used to release the overflow of consumer sexual desire. The study of prostitution by Farley (2017) also proved that the actions taken against women in prostitution activities makes them degraded objects. The nature of their bodies is reduced to tools, such as the vagina and breasts to satisfy sexual needs.

Women's body reduction can also occur in many contexts. In the study, Benedicta (2011) examined the body power of sexual dancers in the night entertainment industry. They also explained that the exploitation of the dancer's bodies represented through the use of minimalist clothing. The women's body reduced to an object that can be controlled for the man's pleasure. It indicates that someone who visits the *warung kopi pangku* was also able to find a solution to their lack of pleasure by trying to seduce the waitresses. Foucault (2002) emphasises that the strategic relationships that continue in various contexts of individual situations resulting in power are always rooted strongly. It becomes difficult to avoid its influence. In this situation, we can see how the continuous relationship between the waitresses and consumers at *warung kopi pangku* produces a form of power that exploits the body of the women waitresses, through sexual transaction activities.

The transaction mechanism for booking the women in *warung kopi pangku* also expanded to when the women are not engaged in work activities. It means that the consumers often ask for more services even when the waitresses are not working in the coffee shop. One form of service outside the work activities of the waitresses in addition to sex is accompanying consumers on the karaoke. The waitresses revealed that the consumers often asked for the service of accompanying them in karaoke. In this context, the power can present itself through the form of pleasant activities without realising that the women body is increasingly the object of consumer exploitation. Kamahi (2017) explains that if the form of power is not visible, then the operation of power becomes unconsciously made by the individuals as a practice that controls the body. One of the data sources regarding karaoke activities as follows:

“Singing is when I try to find another fun thing so as not to be bored, but you should not think negatively. I do not have sex in the karaoke room, just accompanied singing. I actually do not like it, so I often refuse if the customers ask me to” (EL 2018).

The waitress did not realise that the activity of accompanying the consumers on the karaoke was one of the ways that the consumers could exploit their bodies. Foucault (1997) said that through an evolving power strategy, this could lead to exploitation through diverse techniques up to the point of controlling individuals and obtaining compliance from their bodies. In this connection, the transaction activities for sexual relations were a form of control resulting from the power relations between the consumers and waitresses.

One of the consumers, DS, surprisingly also explained that he had used the sexual services of a waitress in *warung kopi pangku*. Based on the experience of the DS consumers, women who worked in *warung kopi pangku* used as sexual objects that could entertain and be used for sexual purposes. Such thinking has become the basis for a power operation that has continued to exploit the women's bodies in the practice of *warung kopi pangku*. It means that the knowledge that used to objectify a woman's body is part of a discursive structure that places the women body as something for sexual pleasure.

The transaction to control the women's sexuality is not only based on the relation between the consumer and waitress. Some of the hidden activities also involve the owners of *warung kopi pangku*.

The involvement of the owner was because more benefits could be obtained from the results of the hidden transactions for sexual intercourse. Naik (2018) showed that commercial sexual exploitation in India is overgrowing because it produces many material benefits which can improve the living standards of the parties concerned. Regarding the involvement of the owner in the practice of the transaction of covert sexual intercourse, it increasingly emphasised that power could present itself in various relationships. The existence of a beneficial relationship on the part of the owners in sexual relations transactions is not only motivated by economic relations but a power that extends beyond the original scope.

The involvement of the *warung kopi pangku* owners in covert prostitution is as shown by the informants who were WN and UT waitresses. They provided information on the consumers who wanted to order one of the waitresses, and where they often also provided additional money to the cafe owners. Obviously, what the consumer was doing was an effort to expedite his desire to use the sexual services of the waitresses. The acknowledgement of WN as a waitress regarding the benefits received by owners from the transaction is as follows:

"Sometimes, the owner knows. The customer also gave money to the owner for cooperation. If it comes to me, I do not want to know. If the waitress works in the cafe, she has to work until the cafe closed. I do not allow the waitress to go outside, as I cannot handle the customers. So usually they go after the cafe is closed" (WN 2018).

It emphasised that the original transaction in *warung kopi pangku* is an exploitative power strategy operated on the body of the waitress. The body is controlled and subdued behind the ongoing power relations. In this situation, women are the victims of power because of their bodies and consciousness shaped by the interests of the actors outside of their bodies. Even so, there are still many people who do not see the nature of this reality. Thus, it still places the women as actors where guilty of covert prostitution.

Conclusion

Some of the previous studies about women in *warung kopi pangku* have not discussed bodily exploitation; therefore, the results of this study are useful as new references. Previous studies have shown that the involvement of women in *warung kopi pangku* is related to aspects of economic limitation or low education level, thus placing the women in a disadvantaged position in terms of employment choice. To reveal the existence of *warung kopi pangku*, this study provides another review. The social practices within *warung kopi pangku* also increasingly place women in contradictory situations. It is because there is an exploitation of the women's bodies for the benefit of the actors involved.

The exploitation of the waitress's body in *warung kopi pangku* is a manifestation of a powerful strategy used to condition the body to support the economic interests of the owner or the consumers' sexual needs. The body as an object of exploitation evidenced by the formation of the body image of the waitress where a sexy appearance is attached to the body of the waitress (how to dress and the face) in a manner that is not merely a subjective reality but as a social formation. Waitresses are controlled by discursive practices to display a sensual image using their body in a way that can generate the interest of the consumers, most of which are men. In this condition, the exploitation of the women's body not recognised as a problem. Its existence has become a natural habit.

Bodily exploitation is also reflected in the control of the work activities of the waitresses in *warung kopi pangku*. Their bodily functions not only defined as a waitress who takes orders, but they must also be loyal and assist each consumer according to the standards applied. The discursive practice that develops in the mechanism of service creates power in the form of automatism as a machine, in which the waitresses unwittingly internalise the knowledge that they must always provide the sensuality of the type of coffee shop desired by both the consumers and owners of *warung kopi pangku*.

The relationship between the waitresses and the other actors turned out to also result in the expansion of power as an exploitation of their body for prostitution, namely due to the existence of sexual

relations transactions in the practice of *warung kopi pangku*. The nature of a woman's body reduced to a satisfaction tool for sexual desire. Thus, the woman's body unwittingly experiences exploitation and objectification. Therefore, the women's body is not only displayed as a focus of attraction in *warung kopi pangku*, but it also directed as a commercial object within the covert prostitution practices.

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