

Commodification of high heels against women's bodies on dancer Jathil Obyog in the Reog Ponorogo art show

Komodifikasi high heels terhadap tubuh perempuan pada penari Jathil Obyog dalam pertunjukan kesenian Reog Ponorogo

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Abstract

The performing art of Reog Ponorogo is a cultural heritage of the people of East Java which continues to experience development and several changes and progress. This study aims to identify the practice of commodifying high heels to complement the clothing of female dancer Jathil Obyog in the Reog Ponorogo art show. This study uses a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. The results of this study explain that the high heels of Jathil Obyog dancers have value in supporting the appearance so that the legs look level, as well as forming a sturdy and proportional body posture in protecting the feet of female dancers in outdoor performances. The high heel exchange rate on Jathil Obyog's dancer's clothing is to raise the social status to an economic aesthetic value, while the symbolic value of high heels is a marker of sexuality for the female dancer Jathil Obyog to convey aggressiveness and eroticism to the audience, especially men. The conclusion of this study shows that high-heeled shoes can increase the sexual attractiveness (female body) of Jathil Obyog dancers by using a combination of semi-transparent or see-through tops, as well as the use of short pants that will make the thighs and buttocks look slimmer.

Keywords: commodification; high heels; Jathil Obyog; Reog Ponorogo

Abstrak

Seni pertunjukan Reog Ponorogo merupakan sebuah warisan budaya masyarakat Jawa Timur yang terus mengalami perkembangan serta beberapa perubahan maupun kemajuan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi praktik komodifikasi sepatu hak tinggi menjadi pelengkap busana penari wanita Jathil Obyog dalam pertunjukan kesenian Reog Ponorogo. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi. Hasil penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa sepatu hak tinggi penari Jathil Obyog memiliki nilai guna dalam menunjang penampilan agar kaki terlihat jenjang, serta membentuk postur tubuh yang tegap dan proporsional dalam melindungi kaki penari wanita pada pertunjukan arena terbuka (outdoor). Nilai tukar sepatu hak tinggi pada busana penari Jathil Obyog adalah untuk menaikkan status sosial menjadi nilai estetika ekonomi. Sedangkan nilai simbol sepatu hak tinggi menjadi penanda seksualitas bagi penari wanita Jathil Obyog untuk memikat agresivitas dan erotisme terhadap audiens (penonton) terutama kaum laki-laki. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa sepatu bertumit tinggi dapat meningkatkan daya tarik seksual (tubuh perempuan) penari Jathil Obyog dengan menggunakan kombinasi pakaian atasan berjenis semi transparan atau tembus pandang, serta pemakaian celana pendek yang akan membuat paha dan pantat terlihat lebih ramping.

Kata kunci: komodifikasi; sepatu hak tinggi; Jathil Obyog; Reog Ponorogo

Introduction

Reog art is a traditional art that was born and developed in the Ponorogo district, East Java. According to the origin of the word reog from the word riyet or the condition of a building that is almost collapsed, so the sound of Gamelan rumbling in the reog art performance is analogous to the sound produced from falling bricks (Prihantono et al. 2009). In the community's argument, there is a statement that riyet or reyot is a manifestation of a condition or picture of the Majapahit Kingdom which, at that time, began to weaken before many areas of power broke away. In Arabic, the word reyog comes from the word

riyokun which means khusnul khatimah, this means the struggle of Raden Katong to get ridho (sincere) from God (Syah & Sumaryadi 2019:9). The spelling of the name reyog as reog is set as the motto and cultural identity of Ponorogo proposed by Drs. Markoem Singadimeja (Regent of Ponorogo 1994-2004). The arrangement of letters in the word REOG is used as the motto of the city of Ponorogo, namely Resik (clean), Endah (beautiful), Omber (rich), and Girang gumirang (full of joy) (Zamzam 2005:15). The mass dance of Reyog Ponorogo is performed in groups which include the leader of the group (Warok), giant dancers (Barongan), mask dancers (Ganongan), horse dancers (Jathil), Clana dancers, and Gamelan players (Gong, Kenong, wooden Slompret, Kendhang, and Angklung). According to Purwowijoyo (in Babad Ponorogo 1984), the history of Reog Ponorogo art is divided into three versions of the story. First, Klana Sewandana, the king of the Bantarangin kingdom, made a new model of gamelan and a tiger-headed human being one of the requirements for the application of the daughter of the king of Kediri, Dewi Sanggalangit. Second, Ki Ageng Kutu or Ki Demang Suryongalam who carried out a rebellion by making a Barongan game as a form of satire against King Brawijaya V or Kertabhumi who could not control the kingdom and was more controlled by his wife, who came from China. The lion's head is a symbol of the strength of king Kertabhumi, while the peacock feathers represent the strong influence of the Chinese who always control every movement of the Majapahit kingdom. Third, Raden Bathara Katong, ruler of the Wengker fief land, used Barongan art as a medium for Islamic da'wah after receiving orders from King Brawijaya V to defeat the Ki Ageng Kutu rebellion (Achmadi 2014:9).

In the Reog Ponorogo show, there is a Jathil dancer who plays the role of a cavalry soldier from the Bantarangin Kingdom according to the folklore version of Prabu Kelana Sewandana. Jathilan dance uses Jaranan props (*eblek*) which are clamped between the legs (crotch), made of braid (woven bamboo) and given certain ornaments or decorations. The word *jathilan* comes from *jathil* which means to cause reflex movements to jump or become a sign of getting happiness. At first, the Jathilan dancers were performed by men who were smooth, handsome, or had faces that looked similar to beautiful women, as a consequence the male Jathil dancers who were often held, *dijawil* (touched with fingertips) and even kissed by the audience. The belief in the myth that Warok has taboos for having sex with women to maintain the power of his magical knowledge is still rooted in society, so, according to stories that develop in society, it has given rise to a negative connotation of *gemblak* being a means of satisfying the lusts of a Warok. The existence of the male Jathil dancer who turned into a feminine one created a *gemblakan* tradition that was full of homosexual behavior, but the practice of *gemblak* in the art of Reog Ponorogo began to be replaced with female characters at the opening of the Jakarta Fair (PRJ) in 1980.

In this folk ballet, there is a Jathil Obyog art performance featuring a beautiful-faced female dancer with long hair wearing a modern *kebaya* that is tighter and short so that it becomes an arena for commodities and exploitation of the erotic female body to attract the attention of the audience, especially men (Wijayanto & Kurnianto 2018:79). *Obyog* or *obyogan*, according to the Javanese dictionary, is *bebarengan nyambut gawe* or in Indonesian it is defined as an activity that is carried out together (Kumorohadi 2004:23-24). The Jathil Obyog dance performance in Reog Ponorogo art does not use Jaranan (*eblek*), so the dance movements performed by female dancers Jathil Obyog tend to be more flexible and move the buttocks a lot. In the outdoor performance of Reog Ponorogo art, Jathil Obyog female dancers use footwear (shoes) to protect the feet from injuries that can be caused by collisions or friction with the ground, asphalt, or cement layers. High heels that are associated to women are complementary to the clothing of Jathil Obyog female dancers and can make a more attractive appearance to increase self-confidence, thus giving a big impact in shaping the dancer's posture so that it looks sturdy and proportional, and makes the legs look visible slimmer and leaner.

Based on the results of research conducted by Sunandar Macpal and Fathianabilla Azhar in *High Heels as an Agency for the Women's Body* (2020), it explains the use of high heels as an agency for women's bodies in the contemporary era, resulting in women experiencing anxiety because they are unable to own or change their bodies to acquire a more ideal body image. Research on the use of high heels shoes shows they can increase women's attractiveness to men according to Nicolas Guéguen in *High Heels Increase Women's Attractiveness* (2015), showing that men spontaneously approach women faster when they wear high heel, this can be seen from a survey on gender equality of women's shoe heel length

influenced by changes in gait, assessment of foot size, error attribution of sexiness and sexual behavior. The phenomenon of the popularity of Jathil Obyog female dancers in society has also been studied by Yusti Dwi Nurwendah in *The Body of Female Dancers in the Patriarchal Net (Study of the Existence of Female Dancer Jathil Reog Obyog in the Landscape of Muslim Society in Ponorogo)* (2021).

This thesis describes how the Jathil Obyog female dancer in practice does subjectivization by operating autonomy over their bodies. Awareness of the body as an asset leads them to determine power and authority that is directed at the material but then has an impact on the shift in the dominant structure. This study uses the theory of commodification which, according to Karl Marx's view in *Kapital I: The Process of Capital Production* (2004), explains that, for every production of goods to be marketed, the value of these goods does not depend on the level of use, but on its ability to make changes. Commodification is the process closely associated with capitalism in which objects, qualities and signs are transformed into commodities (Fantini et al. 2021:9-22). A commodity is everything that is produced and exchanged with something else to obtain more value or profit. The theory of commodification, according to Vincent Mosco's view in *The Political Economy of Communication: Rethinking and Renewal* (1996), is a process of transforming use-value, which is a value based on the ability to meet the need for an exchange rate based on market interests. Jean Paul Baudrillard complements Karl Marx's commodity concept by examining the use-value of the social impact resulting from the consumption activity of a product or object. Baudrillard, in *Consumption Society* (1998), develops the concept of commodities into three, namely, use-value, sign value, and simulacra. Use value is a function of a commodity that is consumed. The value of the sign is a symbol attached to a particular commodity. Simulacra is a space that results from a simulation that contains pseudo realities. Based on the background that has been stated, the research question is how to commodify high heels on the clothes of the Jathil Obyog female dancer in the Reog Ponorogo art show. The purpose of this study was to determine the function of high heels as a complement to Jathil Obyog's clothing or dance costumes to protect the feet in outdoor performances, then also the symbolization of high heels as a marker of female sexuality, which has an impact on the formation of an ideal body image.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative research method with a phenomenological approach. Qualitative research positions the researcher as a key instrument by using data collection techniques that are carried out in combination and deductive data analysis (Sugiono 2010:9). Phenomenology is the study of knowledge that comes from awareness or the way we interpret objects and events that become a person's conscious experience (Littlejohn 1996:38). The qualitative approach is an emic perspective which means that data are not obtained as they should be, but what the researcher thinks (ethical perspective) based on what is happening in the field, experiences felt and thought by the data participants. The research location is conducted in Ponorogo Regency. Research considerations chose this location because it is the area of origin for the art of Reog Ponorogo, which includes the Jathil Obyog dance. The subject of this research focuses on high heels as a complement to Jathil Obyog dance clothes, while the object of this research is Jathil Obyog female dancers who have been actively involved in the Jathil Obyog art world for at least five years.

Data collection techniques used in this study include observation, documentation (photos and videos), and written literature, both printed and electronic. Observations were made by researchers to obtain the required information related to the study of the research object. In this study, this study used non-participant observation by not being actively involved in the life of the informant but only being an independent observer. Documentation studies are used to strengthen the results of observations that have been made by researchers. Literature to collect information relevant to the topic or problem becomes the object of research. This information can be obtained from books, scientific works (journals), theses, dissertations, encyclopedias, the internet, and other sources. This study uses data analysis through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation stage, and drawing conclusions.

Results and Discussion

Jathil Obyog dancer's safety foot function in open arena performances (outdoor)

Etymologically, traditional dance is divided into two, namely classical art and folk art. The art of classical dance was born and developed in the palace or government center, while the art of folk dance was born in the environment of the common people (marginal people). Folk dance is a simple dance with a relatively easy pattern of steps and body movements and has undergone choreographic cultivation according to the ability of the composer. Folk dance was born from the culture of rural communities or outside the walls of the Kraton and does not refer to the achievement of the highest aesthetic standards as classical dance (Humardani 1983:6). Reog Ponorogo is a folk dance which, according to the performance concept, is divided into two, namely Reyog Festival and Reyog Obyog. The performing arts of Reyog Festival are usually staged in official and formal events such as the National Reyog Festival (FRN), welcoming government guests and commemorating the night of the full moon, while Reyog Obyogan is usually held by individuals, families, or villages in special occasions such as weddings, circumcisions, *slametan* or village cleansing (Prihantono 2009). Jathil Obyog dance in the art performance of Reog Ponorogo is included in the form of folk dance using an outdoor arena or stage which is not permanent and has an environmental setting. Reog Ponorogo functions as a means of entertainment where the audience is circular or sitting around the open arena stage (without a roof) so that the art of performing folk dances is often hampered by climate change and hot or rainy weather. Arena performance venues are outdoor places that are generally in an open area, which can be in the form of a field, land, or grass (Hidayat 2005:56).

Use value is a value that naturally exists in the use of an object to meet human needs. When viewed in terms of function, high heels are a complement to clothing or costumes for Jathil Obyog dancers to support the physical appearance of women (body is straight and proportional) and protect the feet from injuries caused by skin friction with hard or dry ground surfaces, as well as with sharp or pointed objects (stones, nails, broken glass, and others) in the Reog Ponorogo art outdoor arena performance. Before birth, shoe products were designed specifically for outdoor activities. The type of shoe-making material used for outdoor activities is standardized with the level of durability and thickness of the material, as well as shoe design that adapts to the needs of the user. When viewed from the historical aspect, high heels have been used by women to protect the feet from sharp objects, dangerous substances, or disturbances when walking, such as sprains. In the IV century BC in Turkey, high heels with flat soles, known as chopines, served to protect the clothes or costumes used by women so that the bottom of skirts were protected from puddles and mud on the road. In 1600, in Venice, the chopine left a rigid shape by changing the shape of the bottom shoe (sole) which has a lower toecap than the heel. At the end of the 16th century, high heels were used by the cavalry of Shah Abbas (King of Persia) to help secure the feet when wearing iron footrests or stirrups. Historically, men in France who came from the aristocracy or aristocratic circles raised heels to make them look more masculine to show social status in contrast to people from the lower classes in the 18th century. High heels have a characteristic of a red heel at the bottom of the shoe as a symbol attached to the power of King Louis XIV (1638-1715) (Parmentier 2016:511-519).

High-heeled shoes of the type of low pump heels are used as a complement to the clothing or costumes of the Jathil Obyog female dancer in the Reog Ponorogo art show. Low pump heels are a fashion item that is widely used by modern women in all activities involved in professional activities (business or office), such as teachers, secretaries, flight attendants, sales promotion girls (SPG), and so on. According to historical records, pump heels were created by Roger Vivier, a designer from France who had worked at the Christian Dior fashion house in 1954. In 1953, Vivier also designed high heel shoes or high heels for coronation events, such as Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain. In general, low pump heels have the same shape and model as other types of high-heeled shoes, such as not using a tongue component called a striped (straight) tongue, which is located on the back of the foot. The tongue is part of the shoe component that crosses between the side (quarters) and eyelets (shoelaces) which serves as a protection for the instep from friction with shoelaces (Azzuhdy & Muchlis 2017:2). High heels also do not use a strap component as the main fastener for the upper part of the shoe, which serves to provide security and

safety when walking or running. On the side (quarter) of low pump heels shoes they have a low cut or low top quarter which is located below the ankle joint.

Figure 1 shows the type of low pump heels as a complement to the clothes or costumes of the Jathil Obyog female dancer, which has heels measuring approximately 5 cm (1.9 inches). Based on the size of the heels, the shoes are divided into three parts, which are less than 6.35 cm (2.5 inches) called low heels, while medium heels have a height limit of 6.35 cm to 8.89 cm (3.5 inches). Thus, high-heeled shoes measuring 8.89 cm are included in the high heels category. In the main component, the high heels used by Jathil Obyog female dancers have cone heels or chunky heels. When viewed visually, cone heels are a type of high heels that are conical in shape from the heel seat to the lower end of the heel or are called top lift (top piece), while chunky heels have a high heel box-shaped and thick to the top of the lift that is in direct contact with the ground. The main component in the top piece (top lift) in high heels is usually made of rubber because it tends to be stronger and softer when rubbing against any type of ground surface. Heel seats made of mahogany, iron, epoxy resin and other materials are part of the components of high heels which are located below the heel on the sole of the human foot to the top of the lift. Judging from the mention of cone heels on the heel of these high heels, when viewed at a glance they have the same shape as an ice cream cone, which was first produced by Italo Marchiony in New York City in 1896. In cone heels, there is a size reduction at the lower end of the heel, so that, at a glance, the breast has the same components with stiletto shoes. The breast is the part of the heel that faces directly into the arch of the sole or faces the front of the shoe. Low heels that are thick in size from the breast to the top lift (top piece) can support the body's burden against the effects of excessive pressure on the soles of the feet. Thus, low pump heels in the form of cone heels or chunky heels, apart from being a fashion item to support a woman's physical appearance (bodied and propotional), can also increase the range of leg movements performed by Jathil Obyog dancers on the outdoor stage performances.



Figure 1.
Low pumps heels of Jathil Obyog female dancer
Source: Personal documentation (2020)

Based on the concept of Javanese ethics regarding the history of the use of footwear in traditional dance fashion, Soedarsono, in *Wayang Wong Gaya Yogyakarta: Masa Gemilang and Fading* (2000), explains that Dutch people are allowed to enter the palace by wearing clothes and wearing shoes, while the nobles and courtiers or anyone who enters the palace must be shirtless (male only) and barefoot. The ritual of dancing barefoot has an inherent meaning to be studied in more depth; it is related to beliefs (teachings) or traditional ceremonies in a traditional community tradition in the form of worshiping ancestral spirits that form a cultural identity. In traditional Javanese dance performances, dancing barefoot, apart from being able to maintain body balance and form a strong dancing foundation, can also make it easier for a dancer to perform beautiful and rhythmic movements to the accompaniment of music from a set of Javanese Gamelan and songs. Therefore, it can be said that high heels are rarely found to complement the clothes or costumes of dancers in traditional Javanese dance performances played by women. In

traditional dance performances in Indonesia, the ritual of dancing barefoot (without footwear) has a sacred nature and should not be done carelessly because it involves extreme movements, such as stepping on coconut shell coals by dancing barefoot spread on an open arena show stage in the Sang Hyang Jaran (Bali) and Sere Api (Bugis) dances.

In the Javanese tradition, barefoot or not wearing footwear is an activity that is esoteric (*bathiniah*) or spiritual (belief). Barefoot, in Javanese called *nyeker*, is a manifestation of humans as social beings who are gentle (*lembah manah*) toward other human beings. In the community belief system, stepping on the earth (soil) without using footwear is a form of respect for the spirits of the ancestors to worship the Creator or the Supreme Divine. Going barefoot has become a custom that has been practiced by people in Indonesia for generations; this can be observed from the taboo or prohibition on wearing footwear in places or locations that are considered the most sacred, such as entering a mosque or temple where you are required to take off your footwear to maintain the sanctity of the place of worship. Land or the earth in ancient literature is identified with women or mothers, so that, according to the Javanese people, carrying out activities related to stepping on the ground (earth) is interpreted as an expression of human gratitude to god the creator. The land is the footing of all living things on earth as a source of life for humans. In public belief, humans who have died will be returned to their origin in the form of land because humans were created from an essence (derived) from the soil. The ritual of stepping on the ground barefoot in Javanese society can be found in the traditional Tedhak Siten ceremony.

Forms of acculturation of Javanese European culture in Jathil Obyog dancer costumes

The use of high heels to complement the Jathil Obyog dancer's clothing is likened to a cavalry troop or a person riding a horse (jockey). Jathilan dance is a folk performance that depicts groups of men or women riding horses carrying weapons used for training or rehearsals for soldiers (Sutiyo 2009:117). In Javanese art, *eblek* (Jaranan) is called *jaran* braid which is shaped like an artificial horse made of woven bamboo or other materials with an additional decoration in the form of artificial hair made of plastic rope or the like which is coiled or braided. *Eblek* or Jaranan is a property used by Jathilan dancers as a tool when dancing. From a historical point of view, Valerie Steel in *Shoes: A Lexicon of Style* (1998), explains that boots are known to be closely related to horse riding activities or the cavalry corps (special equestrian troops). In the early modern era, cavalry in European feudal society occupied a higher status as an elite force tasked with breaking down enemy lines quickly and deadly. In the Jathil Obyog dance performance in Reog Ponorogo art, female dancers in addition to wearing the main clothing attached to the body, also wear high heels to support the appearance of aesthetic value (beauty) and increase self-confidence to look more attractive to the audience. Costumes are a supporting element in a dance performance to distinguish players from one another, as well as describe the character or characteristics of a character that will be played by the dancer. In the Reog Ponorogo art show, changes in values and shifts in the fashion style of Jathil Obyog female dancers can also be influenced by various factors originating from outside the artist or the art community by creating a traditional art form in the context of new (modern) creations. The use of high heels as a fashion item that is identical to women in clothing or costumes for Jathil Obyog dancers is the result of creativity and innovation from artists to maintain the existence of traditional dance arts amid modernization.

Costumes are used by dancers from hair to foot to clarify the form of artistic expression. The word clothing comes from Sanskrit which means *bhusana*. Costumes are one of the most important supporting elements in performing arts, including dance. In dance performances, clothing, usually called costume, becomes an inseparable coherence because these elements have mutually supportive functions in a dance performance. Within the scope of the world of dance, costumes can be said as everything that covers the dancer's body (Soedarsono 1978:34). Costumes can increase and maximize the aesthetic value in a dance performance and have an aesthetic representation function that is used as a medium for implementing regional identity. The clothes used by Jathil dancers include *iket*, long-sleeved white hem, *kace* necklace, *dingkikkan* pants, *jarik parang barong*, *boro samir*, *cakep*, *cinde* belt, *epek timang*, red and yellow *sampur* and *binggel* (Rizqiyah 2018:52). In the Jathil Obyog dance performance, dancers wear tops of the kebaya made of semi-transparent or translucent brocade which shows the shape of a woman's body, as shown in Figure 2. At present, artists or the art community are becoming more daring by shortening the size of the *grombyang* or *tayet* pants used by Jathil Obyog female dancers to increase

sexual attraction in the Reog Ponorogo art show. Therefore, the size of the tight shorts in the Jathil Obyog dance costume makes the thighs and buttocks look slimmer so that when these parts are covered with a *jarik* cloth, it is as if the female dancer is not wearing pants. In terms of function, the use of shorts in the art performance of Reog Ponorogo also affects the level of the movement range of Jathil Obyog dancers to become more free, dynamic, and energetic.



Figure 2.

High heels in Jathil Obyog dancer costume
Source: Personal documentation (2020)

When viewed from history, the Jathil dance in the art of Reog Ponorogo is played by a handsome-looking man who is usually called *gembla*, *Jathil lanang* dancers still exist today even though it is often connoted with homosexual behavior in the *gemblakan* tradition. Wasrinda Kanni Adelita in *The Phenomenon of Gender Switching in Jathil Dancers* (2017), explained that the practice of *gemblakan* is a situation where Warok uses a *gemblak* to accompany him in performances or outside Reog Ponorogo art performances, even a *gemblak* is also asked to serve the Warok to satisfy his sexual desire. The phenomenon of gender transition in *jathil lanang* dancers (male) is replaced by *jathil wedok* (female) dancers to describe a strong feminine impression in the Reog Ponorogo art performance, this can also be the background why high heels have become a costume for Jathil Obyog female dancer. In the view of the people in Indonesia, the style of dress of men who use high heels is still linked with the tendency of transgender behavior (sissy) and gay or homosexual sexual orientation. The concept of dress style by borrowing women's attributes such as make-up and clothing in the world of fashion and pop culture is called androgyny. The androgynous style that combines masculine and feminine both in the way it behaves and looks becomes a form of individual deviation that causes pros and cons in Indonesian society. Therefore, the *jathil lanang* dancer at the Reog Ponorogo open arena show does not wear high heels but uses footwear in the form of sandals combined with long socks below the knee to protect the parts of the feet against friction with the hard ground surface.

If you look at dancing using high heels, you can find it in many European cultures, such as Flamenco, a traditional dance originating from Andalusian, Spain. In Flamenco performances, female dancers perform rhythmic fast foot movements (*zapateado*) by wearing high heels, interspersed with clapping and snapping of fingers to the rhythm of the song played by a guitar picker. The use of high heels to complement the clothing of female dancers can also be found in a waltz dance performance that began to develop in the cities of Austria and Bavaria (Germany) in the 17th century. Waltz is a type of ballroom dance and folk dance in 3/4 beats which is performed mainly in closed positions in pairs (male and female) or in groups. The use of high heels that are boxy and thick can also be seen from one of the types of traditional dances in the Central European region, namely polka. Historically, the polka dance originated from East Bohemian farmers (Czech Republic) and was performed in pairs (male and female)

with a rhythm of 2/4 and a rather fast dance tempo. High-heeled shoes as a complement to clothing are also used by female dancers in dance performances originating from Latin America, such as salsa and Argentine tango dances.

The acculturation process of Western culture toward the use of high heels in traditional dance clothing in Indonesia has been influenced by the arrival of the colonial nation (invaders) to the archipelago which lasted for a relatively long period of time. The use of high-heeled footwear or *hakjes* (sandals with heels) is a complement to clothing that has been found since the 18th to 19th centuries, this can be seen from the mixing of dress culture between the Dutch community and the people of the island of Java. The newspaper *De Courant*, which was published on January 16, 1926, explained that the tropical conditions of Batavia made European women begin to adapt in terms of clothing to adapt to the hot climate. Western women's clothing fashion in the 20th century experienced a social revolution that voiced women's rights to liberation, this was then translated by women's fashion designers through a style of dress that did not restrict movement, by eliminating long dresses to show women's ankles or arms. In the photo, the newspaper article shows the fashion of European women in Batavia who wear high heels as a complement to the dress for the dinner party. After the end of the Diponegoro War in 1830, a wave of migration of European women to the lands of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) determined the color of a new culture which became known as Indis culture. *Kebaya* is no longer a Javanese women's clothing but also a European immigrant women's clothing that is combined and matched with high heels.

During the era of Indonesian independence, the style of dress by combining high heels with *Kebaya* was widely worn by women who occupied a high social class or bourgeois society in official and state events. Based on the explanation and results of data analysis above, the use of high heels in clothing or traditional dance costumes of *Jathil Obyog* shows the influence of European culture which has been assimilated with local culture. Changes in the exchange rate of high heels on clothing or costumes for *Jathil Obyog* dancers from the function value or use value of goods (products) to increase social status to the economic aesthetic value which aims to meet market needs in the creative performing arts industry. Traditional art has become a cultural product that is mass-produced by the industry for economic gain. Traditional art that used to act as the subject of knowledge, policies, and local wisdom of the community, then becomes an object in the form of objects that are traded through the process of cultural production. Commodification is defined as the production of cultural objects (music, film, fashion, art, and traditions), mass-produced by the culture industry, which produces cultural products that are not authentic or fake, manipulative, and standardized (Adomo & Horkheimer 1979:123).

Markers of sexuality on the female *Jathil Obyog* dancer

The public's perception of the *Jathil Obyog* dance performer also gets a negative stigma from the community as a female commercial worker, such as the *Ledhek* and *Ronggeng* arts which are associated with the practice of prostitution. The performing arts of *Jathil Obyog* have given rise to unfair treatment of women, which leads to discriminatory and exploitative treatment (Kurnianto & Wahjuni 2007:37). These forms of treatment include sexual harassment at the time of *saweran*, coercion to submit to men through *edreg* (*egol bokong*) movements, attachment of cheap women because they use make-up models with thick or heavy preenings or *menor*, and wearing sexy clothes with a *Kebaya* that is too tight and transparent, and wearing shorts to show the thighs of female dancers. *Jathil Obyog*'s fashion appearance is also equipped with high heels to add to the dancer's posture to make it look more level. High heels are also considered a strong symbol of modern female sexuality to increase the attractiveness of women. High heels become a symbol of fertility (reproductive organs) and a marker of female sexuality, which aims to attract the aggressiveness and eroticism of men. Women wearing high heels automatically makes the chest become firm, so the body will look a few centimeters taller. At the level of the physical category, of course, the use of high heels in the long term can trigger changes in the shape or position of the bones, while the psychological level will have an impact on increasing self-confidence. Nicholas Gue'guen in *High Heels Increase Women's Attractiveness* (2015) explains that, psychologically, women are more confident by using high heels than wearing flat shoes.

High-heeled shoes that can boost the ideal female body posture to make the legs look longer and increase self-confidence for the wearer, then become a commodity-value object (product) that crawls up and

soars high toward a symbol of society with an upper social class. If viewed from a historical point of view, high-heeled shoes were first made by Leonardo Da Vinci to fulfill an order from Catherine de Medicis (a French nobleman) in 1533, this was done by Medicis to cover dissatisfaction or lack of confidence because of having a petite body for Europeans. Therefore, the size and the height of the heels is used by women to show their attractiveness, level of fertility, and sexual maturity to the opposite sex. Symbols are signs or cues used to represent something else, such as meaning, quality, abstraction, ideas, and objects. Frederick William Dillistone in *The Power of Symbols* (1986) explains that symbols are powerful tools to broaden the vision, stimulate imagination and deepen human understanding. An object has a symbol value and a signed value by emphasizing the relationship between subjects in which there is a relation of meaning or meaning that will be conveyed from the communicator (message sender) to the communicant (message recipient). The symbol is a product of social interaction that has been collectively agreed upon based on the observations and experiences of each individual or community to apply a certain meaning or meaning to the symbol (sign). If viewed from a historical point of view, the use of high heels became a symbol of prostitution aimed at identifying female prostitutes in the Roman and Ancient Greek eras. According to the provisions in force at that time, every prostitute (comfort woman) was required to wear high heels to complement the dress to show her profession.



Figure 3.
Movement of Edreg (Egol Bokong) female Jathil Obyog dancer
Source: Media Ponorogo (2019)

In the Reog Ponorogo art show, the Jathil Obyog female dancer not only has a beautiful face, ideal body weight, and proportional body shape, but is also able to perform dance movements that are carried out more by moving the hips or buttocks, called *edreg* (*egol bokong*). Dances with erotic movements that lead to the sensual realm, such as shaking the upper and lower parts of a woman's body, such as the chest (breasts) and hips (buttocks) become the meaning and function of sex symbols for the audience of the show, especially men. *Edreg* (*egol bokong*) is a dance movement that describes the flexibility of a Jathil (female) dancer by performing a motion scene (gesture) with both hands holding the *sampur*, then the right foot behind and the left foot on tiptoe with the toe of the foot in front, followed by the buttocks shaken to the right and left. The *edreg* movement (*egol bokong*) is performed by the dancer three times by facing three different directions, namely right, front, and left (Apriani & Sutiyono 2018:1-8).

In the *edreg* (*egol bokong*) movement, the Jathil Obyog female dancer approaches Dada Merak or Bujang Ganong who plays male dancers or the audience at the show. In this special attraction, the Dadak Merak dancer or Bujang Ganong removes the mask by kneeling facing the Jathil Obyog dancer and spreading his arms wide. The game of seduction is often featured in the Reog Obyog show and is constantly seen as a sign of femininity. Figure 3 shows that Jathil Obyog dancers will dance with graceful movements without carrying an *eblek* (Jaranan) while shaking their hips (buttocks) to the rhythm of the music. The use of high heels combined with tight clothing and pants, as well as the *edreg* dance movement (*egol bokong*) became the object of a sign as a commodity to increase the sexual attractiveness (female body) for the audience of the show.

The traditional art of Reog Ponorogo is entertainment for the lower middle-class community which presents the movement of shaking the hips (buttocks) of Jathil Obyog female dancers by wearing high heels as a simulation, which leads to the encouragement of sensuality and eroticism. The element of sexuality is related to women, it culturally displays the body image of women as commodities or goods of commercial value. Jathil Obyog is almost the same as Tayub, only his packaging is with Reog Ponorogo, while his attire is the same as Tayub's which is tempting in the eyes of men (Soedarsono 1998:102). Tayub initially functioned as a means of fertility rituals and was a social dance centered on female dancers, who have several terms such as Ronggeng, Taledhek (Tledak or Ledhek), and Tandhak, then metamorphosed into a performing art product of the grassroots society that displays symbols of vulgar sexuality.

In the simulacra concept, Jean Baudrillard developed Sigmund Freud's understanding of the value of (sexual) temptation contained in objects to understand the subject's desire for circulating objects as a sign of the breadth of consumption activity. Simulacra is a lie in the form of a sign or image that is built by someone who has properties in its content that are far from the person's original reality (Goodman & Ritzer 2004:643). These markers of sexuality in a patriarchal culture based on the concept of male superiority have given birth to gender discrimination against women. The use of elements of sexuality through the features of women's bodies becomes a form of the commodity in the world of capitalism to create illusions and manipulation is a way to dominate people's tastes. All forms of interpretation of a woman's body from head to toe become a problem that is related to physical appearance. The features of the female body are positioned into the sign system in the communication of the capitalist economy, such as lips, eyes, cheeks, hair, thighs, calves, hips (buttocks), stomach, and breasts. By definition, sexuality is words, images, rituals and fantasies concerning the body (Weeks 1985:3).

Roberta Honigman and David J. Castle in *Living with Your Looks* (2007) explain that body image is a person's psychological impression of body shape and size based on perceptions and evaluations of other people's judgments about body size and shape. Sexuality is not inherently impulsive or biological, but a form of behavior and thought that is shaped by power relations and aimed at certain interests. Sexuality is a term that has a meaning that is often still considered shallow in the traditions of society, so that it becomes a commodity that is described with a biological aspect. Irwan Abdullah, in *Sex, Gender and Reproductive Power* (2001), explains that etymologically sexuality has several meanings, which are related to gender and pleasure. This statement is also reinforced by Sylvia Walby in *Gender Transformations* (1997) who underlines that patriarchy as a positioning system for men dominates, oppresses, and exploits women collectively in the public sphere. A patriarchal culture places men's social strata higher than women's, so it is natural for men to have attitudes and behaviors that demean women in a biological context. Talking about a woman's body is often described as a sexual object or a sex symbol, an object of fetishes, an object of affirming a patriarchal work pattern, an object of harassment and violence, always being blamed and passive, and carrying out functions as a consumer of goods or services and as a means of persuasion (Sunarto 2009:4).

Conclusion

The use-value of high heels in the Jathil Obyog costume is to protect the feet from injuries caused by friction with a hard or dry ground surface, as well as with sharp or pointed objects in an outdoor performance of Reog Ponorogo art. The use of low pumps heels with large and thick heels in the form of cone heels or chunky heels to complement clothing of the Jathil Obyog female dancer is the result of the acculturation of European Javanese culture which has been going on since the arrival of the colonial nation (colonizers). Changes in the exchange rate of high heels on Jathil Obyog's dancer's clothing seek to raise the social status to an economic aesthetic value that aims to meet market needs in the creative performing arts industry.

The value of the high heels symbol is a marker of the sexuality of Jathil Obyog dancers which aims to convey aggressiveness and eroticism to the target audience, especially men. The use of high-heeled shoes is to support the appearance of women so that the legs look long, and form a sturdy and proportional body posture. High heels further add to the sexual appeal of the Jathil Obyog dancer by combining semi-

transparent or see-through tops that show the female body and wearing shorts that make the thighs and buttocks look slimmer. The high heels used still have a formal shape with a color (black) that seems plain and simple, so it must be considered visually to make it more attractive, such as custom shoe designs and certain motifs or ornaments that can add to the aesthetic value of an object or fashion product.

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