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“SISINGAAN”: A LOCAL RESISTANCE EFFORTS OF COLONIAL IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

The transformation of folk art is rarely to research as communication study. Many folk art have to reconstruct their ‘art’ and compromise with audience needs. This research considers folk art position and pictures it as part of postcolonial studies. Using Susanne Langer Theory of Symbol and John Fiske semiotics theory, this research assumed that humans feelings mediated through concept, language, and symbol. Sisingaan as genuine folklore form Subang Region had meaningful symbols of Subang’s people struggled in colonial era. The aims of this research is to find out and explain those meaningful resistency symbol. Eventhough nowadays Sisingaan become popular art and there is a consideration that many people in Subang do not care about the philosophy of the resistency, they just using Sisingaan as common ceremonial in circumcison celebration. In fenomenology area of findings, this research gathered information from many sources, mostly from the actor and opinion leader of Subang traditional folk art. Analytical conclusion gathered from check and recheck validation. At the end, this research hopefully could provide information about nonverbal communication in communication action and show Sisingaan as art brought meaningful philosophy in the life of people from postcolonial study perspective.

Keywords: sisingaan folk art, nonverbal communication, symbol, postcolonial

I. INTRODUCTION

Colonialism as the root of human existence on the earth gives birth to imperialism oppression of the indigenous people of the region. One example is Australia. Australia is known as a colonized continent. The indigenous people of Australia are Aborigines, they have a policy of closeness to nature and life comes from nature. Since the arrival of the British, Australia turned into a continent belongs to the white man. Colonial policy has surrounded the Australian and Aboriginal life is changed. Its closeness to nature is seen as something wild and uncivilized. Another example is the Indian. The fate of Indian tribes in North and South America is dominated by the white. Up to now they are still isolated in the reservation in the name of Indian cultural heritage. The trading of slaves in Africa is another form of human resistance to nature. Their closeness to nature sidelined by a civilization that is considered better and advanced.

The closeness to nature is considered a form of "wildness" (wild, savage, and uncivilized) while mastering technology is regarded as the progress of civilization. Human has segregated his people in the name of technological mastery. This causes the East and the West perspective which has always opposed and considered as the two sides are always at loggerheads. West dominate the East, the West is more advanced and the backward East. West has always mastered while controlled. The position which West as the manufacturer and East as the consumer. West as skipper and East as laborers. Two positions seem to be maintained until today.

Many stories are told of how the workers have always experienced life unpleasant. In view of the postcolonial, the life history of many workers linked to the existence of forced labor. The abolition of slavery in 1860 did not eliminate the practice of forced labor on plantations. Economic factors that complicate the bumiputera at that time led to many families who are willing to perform forced labor or slavery. Even poor many parents are willing to sell his daughter to be a mistress for single European men.

At this time concubinage arise from a number of reasons; primarily frontier life does not work for white women. Another reason is the useful life with indigenous women before the white man married to a woman of his people. They can learn the native language of the women who became his mistress. Other consequences are often the fuss is the birth of the children from the marriage relationship without it. This position makes women remain marginal groups.

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The frontier's life open some jobs in colonial households. In the book by Baay (2010) explained that the ownership of native servants in white households are common. This condition is adopting the habit paka menak Sunda has many loyal followers (courtiers). According to Veth in "Het Leven in Nederlandsch Indie" these workers usually consists of *djongos*, *kebon*, *baboe*, *wasbaboe*, and *kokkie*. *Djongos* worked as the head of the household, taking care of all the needs of his white masters. Work began to dawn until late at night before his master bed. *Kebon* or we know as gardeners are people who do cleanliness job around home and gardens. *Djongos* and

kebon usually a job for men. The next job is *baboe*, usually women, because it deals with any job is usually done by women, the chores and caring for children. The washerman or *wasbaboe* is usually work in the back yard and washed all clothes from the big house.

Blue collar job always attached to the indigenous peoples in the Indies. Structural oppression is done starting with the class distinctions in terms of capital ownership and skin color. Then proceed to the function and social position. Therefore, as disclosed Baay (2010: 50) around 1890 there are approximately 20000-25000 European men living in concubinage. They were both living in army barracks and private groups such as the planters.

This situation illustrates the colonial expansion into the bumiputera community life including their exploitation of the relationship between landowners and workers. In the life of the workers in Ciater, they hide many irregularities managerial practices in the management of the plantation. Subang alone would save a cultural resistance to colonial oppression. An impression of repressive condition. The indigenous of Subang are much more expressive to demonstrate their powerlessness through the arts than other plantation society. This special condition emerged when the Sundanese culture assimilated by Islam. Context of Islam teaches the equality of mankind motivated people Subang showed their feeling through art. They did this because realizing their shortcomings: capital and government support. The emergence of *sisingaan* and *gemyung* as local art; is a portrait of the history from the efforts of Subang indigenous resistance against colonialism. Based on these reasons, this research try to formulate the following research questions: first, how *sisingaan* present as cultural resistance to colonialism and second, as local art what is *sisingaan* meaning in term of philosophy for the indigenous nowadays?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Postcolonial Studies and Hibridity

Postcolonial studies in Communication Science is regarded as a criticism of colonialism. As with many theories of postmodernism and the use of the prefix "post-" other aspects need to be clarified and historical core issues that will be discussed: First, as postrukturalisme in general can be sought in the intellectual roots (rejection) structuralism, post-colonial and historical roots can be sought on colonialism, the rejection of colonialism. Second, as a postmodern theory, obviously they refuse the binary opposition. Binary opposition rejected in the post-colonial difference is diametrically between West and East.

Postcolonial theory basically considering their power. Authorization is the foundation of critical thinking. Marxist doctrine states that the development of human beings based on and divided by the force of economic and social forces. Therefore, the post-colonial position attached to the political and economic power. Littlejohn & Foss (2000: 344): "*Postcolonial critics recognize, however, that the answer to Western domination is not simply retreating into a pre-Western past or indigenous tradition in order to preserve some kind of native identity*". Western domination is not discussed as easy as pulling the conditions of the past to the culture and traditions of colonized people to relate to the purity of their identity, but of postcolonial criticize the possible emergence of a new culture as a result of unequal relations in the past. This condition allows studies using postcolonial understand the theory of the world between two cultures that came into hybridity concept.

Hybridity constructed of their concerns about the boundary created between communities, countries, and individuals. Beginning with the emergence of the concept of frontier (front line) at the time of colonization starts. The front line is a kind of markers that describe the extent of the limits of a state is created. This concept evolved from the concept Anzaldua Borderland (1987) in Ashcroft et al. (2000: 25) as a border region with a wild area and unopened for civilization, for agriculture or trading. *"The region which this aggressive diasporic movement of European settlers reached at any point became defined as the frontier"* (Ashcroft et al., 2000:25). The concept of borders is now a cornerstone in the concept of hybridity in postcolonial studies. This hybrid concept refers to the context of the creation of the forms transculture based on their contacts in the colonization (Bhaba, 1994; Young, 1995; Ashcroft et al: 2002). Hybridity is often used in post-colonial discourse which means a cultural exchange. A culture with an unbalanced relationship. To explain the existence of this hybridity is necessary to study aspects of the use of language in the local culture as well as the communication is done because, as revealed by Samovar, Porter & Jain (1981: 2):

"Culture and communication are inseparable because culture not only dictates who talks with whom, about what and how the communications proceeds, it also helps to determine how people encode messages, the meanings they have for messages, and the conditions and circumstances under which various messages may or may not be sent, noticed, or interpreted... culture and communications are so inextricably bound to one another".

Connectedness between languages with hybridity shows an overview of existing relations between the two cultures come into contact. In terms of Communication Science becomes interesting. According to Madison (2012: 57), he thinks because postcolonial addresses the profound importance of language relative to cultural identity and belongings as well as the multilayered implications when an imperial language displaces a people's native language". Hybridity condition may be apparent from the words used uptake. How far is the colonial languages dissolved into native vocabulary and how to maintain the native language in their daily lives. Hybridity of this language can be judged as a result of contact of the colonial period. Hybridity is further growing assimilation for photographing the inequality of knowledge and relationships.

B. Ideology, Identity and Culture

According to Althusser (2008) everyone has a role in the spread of the ideology and making the people ideologically. Ideology can be fostered through many communication channels, either through myth, folklore, family communication and communication in the work environment. Ideological assumptions according to Althusser (2008: 34-54) such as: First, ideology produces a framework for understanding (Thornam, 2010: 96), through this framework the person's subjectivity is formed. Second, ideology has a material existence (quoted from Hawkes, 2004: 118), the apparatus and practices until in it ideology can live. Because the ideology necessary believed, understood and reproduced in the lives of its people. Ideology exists in and through institutions. The apparatus is the material existence of ideology (Althusser, 2008: 43-47). In this study, we see plantations as the region of living and work organization which has perpetuated the colonial mechanism. Thirdly, ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to the real conditions of the imaginary. For Althusser (in Jackson & Jones, 2009: 369) ideology is characteristic needed by society or community where the community can give meaning to shape and change the existential conditions of its members. Community hides ideology as an element

and atmosphere indispensable for the breath and life of their history. Therefore it will form a map of the world community to understand the meaning of estates and organizes social relations in tea plantation.

Fourth, ideological thinking is shaping individuals into subjects. Unconscious ideology of human form, through the process of interpellation subjective. If the tea pickers do not feel the interaction with the foreman is ideological, it's where the power of ideology. Ideology is present in a state of unconsciousness, like the concept of psychoanalysis. Thus, the relationship between supervisor and a tea picker at the plantation ideological communication. Mandor as deputy ruler perkebuan in the garden and tea pickers are workers who work as needed ruler. The condition is said to be the practical ability of the ideological character. In the ideological apparatus worked, producing subjectivity and confirms the identity of who we really are. all the mechanisms that work in the subconscious of the individual. Ideology worked nirsadar become a part of life and everyday lifestyle (Althusser, 2008: 47- 49).

In the life of tea plantations colonial ideology has been embedded since the 18th century when the estate was opened. The arrival of the colonists had planted and produced a new ideology for life of the colonized. This ideological concept works to explain how the relationship is unbalanced birth and shaping the lives of oppression for women tea pickers. Double oppression in the lives of women tea pickers present for their ideologies that helped perpetuate the marginal position of women tea pickers in the plantation environment. At the end of this ideology settled in their identity, inherent and inheritable through generations. According to Berger & Luckmann (1966: 194): identity is a key element of subjective reality and are in a dialectical relationship with society. Identity shaped by social processes. Once formed, the effort to maintain it, modify it and even reshaping depends on social relationships.

According to Castells¹ refers to the identity of social actors and is a source of meaning and experience. Identities organize meanings, the role of organizing the function. Identity is not the same with the role. Identity is also obtained from dominant institutions. Castells believes that all of them may be only if the social identity of the actor internalize it, construct meaning around the internalization process. Identity is formed from history, geography, biology, institutions that produce and reproduce, from a collection of memory, from personal fantasies, the apparatus of power and religious revelation. Therefore the social construction of identity has always characterized the relations of power.

1. *Identity-Management Theory* dari Tadasu Imahori & William Cupach

Imahori dan Cupach² argues that identity is formed, maintained and changed through relationships. Both researchers are seeing the identity of the socio-cultural traditions. This theory emphasizes the existence of cultural differences in human relations. They found negotiation is not just about what the partners may want for themselves and for relationship, though this is always part of it, but about support and or threat to cultural identity as well. So what happens is their intercultural communication and communication intracultural even interpersonal communication in regulating a person's identity. This theory is expected to explain how cultural differences and local cultural organizations in the form of hybridity might even be intertwined. Including marital relationship happening. In this theory, there are three stages of identity formation, namely as:

¹ Castells, Manuel. 2004. *The Power of Identity* 2nd Edition. Hal. 6

² Littlejohn, Stephen & Karen Foss. 2008. *Theories of Human Communication*. Hal.205-206

- a. Trial is the stage where an exploration of cultural differences. Cultural differences are not an obstacle in this relationship stage.
- b. Emeshment is the stage where people related share symbols, rules and meanings that have a common understanding of each other.
- c. Renegotiation is at this stage the relationship has always had a strong bond after it was built so long.

Having traversed the stage of interpersonal communication there is usually also the cultural challenge and the need to understand a few concepts as follows:

- a. Identity freezing: occurred at the beginning of a relationship in which there is a tendency to not so ignore cultural differences.
- b. Nonsupport problem: when in a relationship there is indifference realized it would appear the tension in relations between cultures.
- c. Self-other face Dialectics: occurs if there is a desire to support one culture but wished his native culture also participate on natural conditions.
- d. Positive-Negative Dialectics: This stage occurs when there are tensions between cultures that exist.

It is hoped this theory can help explain how culture and interpersonal relationships together form the identity of indigenous in tea plantation

2. *Communication Theory of Identity* dari Michael Hecht

Michael Hecht³ in this theory discusses that the identity of a joining point for culture and community. This theory is expected to peel the sides in private life, based on the experiences, thoughts and hopes of the women tea pickers. This concerns the differences between women and men. Once again, this theory is based on socio-cultural sphere viewed women as communicators in the communication process. There are three cultural contexts namely: Individual-Society-Community.

Hecht identified that the dimensions of identity consists of three things like:

- a. Feeling is dimensions of one's affection
- b. Thoughts or mind is the person's cognitive dimension
- c. Action or behavioral is dimensions of a person.

In addition to the three dimensions above Hecht believes there is a transcendental or spiritual dimension in the formation of a person's identity. But it does not mean once formed, the identity will be forever so, "Identity is never fixed but always emergent". Therefore identity is divided into personal identity and inherent identity. Both of these identities interact with four layers of identity. Identity layer is divided into:

- a. Personal Layer: juice containing personal about themselves in certain social situations. Contains a full identity feelings and ideas about our personal.
- b. Enactment Layer: a symbol of the deepest aspects of our identity and understood and translated by others.

³ Op.cit Hal. 89

- c. Relational Layer: This is a reference to the identity of us with another individual. Identity is constructed through interaction with others around us. Our identity is also connected with another person's identity.
- d. Communal Layer: identity inherent in the culture and the larger group. As in the context of the culture in Asia, usually someone sees another person based on who his parents, his position in society and the level of education and the status of the work achieved.

In the view of culture, identity is constructed by culture. Identity formation can not be separated from their historical and social forces that support the culture. Life in the tea plantations would produce its own culture that is different from other life. Moreover if it can be explained the phenomenon, there were traces of colonial in their culture. Traces of a colonial explain their unequal relationship between indigenous people and the colonial rulers of the plantation.

The word "culture" comes from the words "Buddayah" plural of "Budhi" meaningful sense. Culture can be defined as all human activity to process and manipulate nature for survival. Culture becomes a system of concepts inherited and expressed in symbolic forms by which man preserve himself to communicate and develop knowledge about life and attitudes toward life, mainly in the tea plantation life. Having been isolated for years made indigenous in tea plantation built their own social order based on the relationship with the colonials.

In the cultural structure composed of the relationship between science, namely sociology, biology, ecology and culture of its own. Jalaluddin Rahmat⁴ states that "the DNA structure storing all biological inheritance received votes from their parents". Thus communication can also be inherited. A way of perceiving, decipher the message and accept a relationship with another culture is a legacy way of communicating. Communication enables the interaction between the physical and social. Thus the emerging of ecology as a constituent element of culture builder became necessary. Ecology consists of the social environment and the natural environment. Man can not deny the presence of natural elements in developing culture. Geertz in his "Interpretation of Cultures" expressed a need to translate texts as part of a cultural nature. Culture is the text that should be read, translated, and interpreted. It is therefore necessary to understand the cultural elements that translate text into a map in culture

III. METHOD OF RESEARCH

This research used discourse analysis to uncover representation of unbalanced concept in plantation society. This research saw *Sisingaan* as art is colonial period legacy. Research viewed *Sisingaan* as representation of colonial communication process. The art was created to give society communication channel to show their disappointed feeling of colonial ruler. Lasswell (1946) in Titscher et.al (2000) in Mulyana⁵ stated in content analysis we look upon statements and signs as raw materials to be summarized in order to bring out either (1) the impact of content upon audience, or (2) the influence of control upon content. *Sisingaan* as art is a text that become our subject of analysis.

⁴ Psikologi Komunikasi, cetakan ke VIII p.

⁵ Metodologi Kualitatif Komunikasi, 2013:

If in some sense before the word “discourse” has limit to the definition. It always referred to unit of language, statements, thoughts or grounding determination and understanding of the facts. In the concept of Foucault, discourse implies the existence of power and the power behind these statements. We believe that the power relations in society influencing and shaping the ways we communicate and how the knowledge were created. In this research we analyze relation between indigenous and the colonizer were unbalanced. The symbols, spaces, and artifacts were giving information which group dominated other. Since the spaces and symbols used Dutch style, we know that indigenous people never had a chance to build bottom to top communication. All communication seem one way, from top to bottom, from colonizer to indigenous. Even the organization structure in plantation still used the same structure and named the position in Dutch. The language also showed this unbalance relations. Sundanesse absorbed Dutch to enriched their language, like “enteh” for tea, “kopi” for coffee. In previous research (Wulan, 2016) tea plantation area using Dutch words in their daily life and felt these words as their native words. Dutch words more powerful than local.

IV. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The History of Sisingaan from Subang

The uniqueness of the *Sisingaan* began when sisingaan become a symbol of the people's resistance Subang like Ludruk in East Java. The inability to fight openly made the Demang Ciherang used art and the artists. They chose to satirize or mock the authorities and built movement awareness to the public about colonialism. Naming *Sisingaan* art taken from the main tool of this art, namely "sisingaan", notching wooden doll decorated in a way that resembles the form of a lion. The word "sisingaan" itself is a word invented in Sundanese word is basically a "lion", then given the suffix in the form of the prefix "si" and the suffix "an". In Sundanese, derivatives are formed by repetition of syllables beginning of a basic word and given the suffix "an" has the meaning resemble. For example: "me-meja-an", "bu-buku-an", "a-anjing-ness", "ma-manuk-an", "ku-kuda-an", "si-singa-an", which means essentially a imitation of the word or kind of not the actual object.

So in *Sisingaan* art, which emerged is stuffed lion imitation made of wood. Selection of the animals the lion is loaded with symbolism to the colonial cause in any area of West Java had never found any lions. In the legend of King Siliwangi was described as having a white tiger is not a lion. The lion is native to the African continent. Lion used as a symbol by the kings in Europe since the Roman times gladiatorial games usually featuring a battle between lions and the gladiators and slaves who disobey. Therefore many kings in Europe use the lion symbol to show its strength in the banner of the war including VOC. VOC used the lion symbol in their stamp and official seal. Uniquely lion as symbol was also used by the British Empire in expanding its colonies. This could be read by the creators of *Sisingaan*, that the colonists symbolized by the lion. This is certainly also read by Raden Saleh famous painter who painted "The Lion and the Bull" an iconic painting depicted Indonesian people's struggled against colonialism in archipelago. Actually in Subang society in general had many names given to this art. Some are calling it art *Gotong singa*, *kuda Ungkleuk*, or *singa Ungkleuk*, *Odong-odong*, *Singa Depok*, *Pergosi*, and *Sisingaan*. The names are indeed referring to the elements that stand out from the appearance of the arts: the replica of the lion and the motion carried. In the colonial period, the landlord and his family if not riding then they will be on crutches or carried by the workers

employees. This is the background to do with the action carry the *sisingaan* on shoulders of the dancer.

At first the naming or the term for the arts is still confusing, so Regent Subang Ir.Sukanda Kartasmita (1978-1988), held a seminar instructs one of whose objectives is to look for consensus and standardization of the name of this art. Based on the results of the seminar held in 1989 in the town of Subang, the official name of the performing arts is *Kesenian Sisingaan*⁶.

Another ideas about the origins of *Sisingaan*, led by Mas Nanu Munajar⁷, an artist and academician from Subang. In his opinion, *Sisingaan* born from *Odong-odong* art. *Odong-odong* has ritual function. Furthermore Mas Nanu Munajar said that long before the major religions entrance, local communities in Subang have a tradition related to agricultural activity, which is the tradition of "Odong-odong". The tradition in question is the belief that adores and glorifies rice as an incarnation of Goddess Sri and gratitude to the ancestors and the supernatural forces that closely premises Hindu beliefs. This tradition is also became the birth of *gemyung*.

Odong-odong tradition is usually carried out by way of parading some object shaped like a particular animal and accompanied by the sound of "Surak" (rhythmic hand clapping). Mimicking the shape of animals is an expression of confidence totemism (the belief and the breeding of certain animals). Cow is one animal that is revered in Hinduism. One testament to the strength of Hinduism in the Subang area is the discovery of a statue of Nandi in Sagalaherang region. *Odong-odong* is usually performed in the context of the ritual, such as agricultural ritual or ceremony Ngaruwat better known as Earth. This ceremony is still doing by the indigenous in Subang, especially in the area of Sagalaherang, Cisalak, and Jalan Cagak. In this ceremony the indigeous usually paraded around the village and brough village agricultural produce in edible cone. It would shared to the entire village after the ceremony. After some prayers led by religious opinion leader as village elder.

According to era of life in plantation, *Odong-odong* was undergoing development and delivery forms of the performing arts and *helaran*, such as *Mamanukan*, *Kukudaan* or *Kuda Semprani* (replica of a horse by the wing), and *Sisingaan*. *Mamanukan* is better known and liked on the northern coasts, while the *kuda semprani* preferably in Jalan Cagak because the influence of *Kuda Ronggeng* from Sumedang region.

Resistancy on tea plantation worker life

Silence became a symbol of resistance. They fight without complaining. But overall this plantation society gave birth to a material culture that shows the resistance. It was *sisingaan*. *Sisingaan* as a symbol of resistance born during the second British colonization while initially *gemyung* as art is a mysticism art. After Islamic came to Subang region finally gave religious change to *gembyung* art.

⁶ <http://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/bpnbbandung/2015/05/29/sisingaan-kesenian-tradisional-kabupaten-subang/>

⁷ *ibid*

Sisingaan as a symbol of resistency in P& T Lands

As evidence of the Subang people's resistance Sisingaan formation shows the symbols of the domination of colonial rulers. Based on the book titled "History of Subang district", the formation of four dancers as carrier of *sisingaan* organized and commanded by a leader. Initially through cue leaders, the carrier of *sisingaan* began to make a dance formation to carry *sisingaan*. They divided themselves into two groups, each group consisting of four carrier dancer. In this show, while doing dance movements, each group approached *sisingaan* to be carried. They began to make movements and acrobatic attractive as she began lifting *sisingaan* and put it on his shoulders. Each group carries a *sisingaan* and ridden a child on each. This child is a symbol for the indigenous leader complete with traditional Sundanese costume.

The composition of the dance movements performed could be different if this art is performed in a parade (procession) with performances on stage. The composition of parade dance movement of *sisingaan* displayed when circumcision party. Ketuk Tilu consisting of movements of *kuda-kuda*, *jurus*, *ngayun*, *minced*, and *gurudugan*. These movements are accompanied by trumpet in the overture *arang-arangan* and *gurudugan*, complete with musical accompaniment. The next movement is *ancang-ancang* and *najong* in a rotating body position. This movement is accompanied by the rhythm of the Gurudugan song. Then followed with *eway*, *minced*, *solor*, *minced* movements accompanied Kangsreng song. The next round is performed acrobatic attractions along the way with the music in a dynamic rhythm. The composition of dance and song in Sisingaan which staged on stage is *arang-arang* overture delivered through the trumpet and Gurudugan, next is the *Kidung* song to accompany the movements: *bankaret*, *gebrig*, *bajing luncat*, *masang/ancang-ancang*, *depok*. In general, Sisingaan's songs are songs that accompany the Jaipongan dance. Further attractions are acrobatic like: *putar katak*, *gendong singa*, *kait suku*, *melak cau*, and *nincak acak*. All these aspects indicate metaphor to colonial party. Mainly because of the acrobatic dance the riders of Sisingaan always hold tightly the lion hair. Symbolic meaning for this action is one day of the era our indigenous leader will control the colonials.

When Islamic period began to enter public life Subang, *sisingaan* was becoming a symbol that the child has been Islamized. Therefore after circumcision, the children will be paraded around the village to show his courage and his all Islamic motivation strengthened. Islam eventually became a strong feature of Subang community life although the identity of the workers still lingering in Subang people's lives.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the research finding and analysis, the researchers have concluded that there was information about nonverbal communication in plantation communication. The indigenous people used *sisingaan* as mockery to colonial ruler. All the *pencak silat* moves showed body exercise to fight. The music rhythm was dynamic. Sisingaan put acrobatic moves for entertainment. Over all, this art was meant for fight.

Sisingaan as art brought meaningful philosophy in the life of people from postcolonial study perspective. Postcolonial pictures the marginal life of plantation by the colonial ruler. The lack of communication channel, the fearness of colonial ruler, and stereotypes in plantation, made

indigenous people struggled through *sisingaan*. There is no art like *sisingaan* grew in other plantation in West Java. *Sisingaan* emerged in the past not only as entertainment for indigenous people but reminder for them to keep fight to the colonial ruler. Nowadays even commodification shows in *Sisingaan*, people in Subang seem *Sisingaan* as their heritage from their ancestor to their young generation. As in cultural communication study assumptions, culture pervades almost all aspects in people's daily life. *Sisingaan* become symbol of Subang Region and printed out in their regional clothes called Batik *Sisingaan*.

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