

Ronggeng as Identity in *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* Ecranization

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Abstract. The transformation of *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk's* novel into the film *Sang Penari* is essential as an identity represented in the novels and film. *Ronggeng*, in the context of the novel, is not just a dancer. There is a distinctive culture attached to the concept of *ronggeng* dance and dancers. This identity indicates a difference in the transformation. The changes are also closely related to the planting of different ideologies in the film. This study uses descriptive qualitative data in novel text quotes, film dialogue quotes, and scenes from the film. The transformation of the novel into the film illustrates the concept of true *ronggeng*, namely *ronggeng*, who gets the revelation of the *indang* spirit, not from learning outcomes. The film, presents a depiction of *kewahyon* by borrowing a hand. Ideologically, the transformation of the novel into the film shows the problem of the body and sexuality. In addition, in the depiction of novels and movies, *ronggeng* has finally become an economic commodity built by the *ronggeng* shaman who, without explicitly appearing, has become a kind of 'pimp'. In addition, there is a *ronggeng* stigma for his involvement with the communists.

Key words: ecranization; transformation; ronggeng; ideology; identity.

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INTRODUCTION

Ronggeng is one of the traditional arts that is very closely related to the people of Banyumas, especially Cilacap, as described in the novel trilogy of *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* by Ahmad Tohari. Being a *ronggeng* dancer is a matter of pride for the local community because she is chosen by the *indang* or ancestral spirits. *Ronggeng* is an identity for the Paruk hamlet.

The novel trilogy of *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* by Ahmad Tohari has become a creative work that records and perpetuates the story of *ronggeng*, who once lived among the local community. The novel mirrors *Ronggeng's* life in his time, presenting entities and patterns of community structure complete with all conditions and social activities. That is correlated with what Fananie (2002:73) stated that literary works are a social phenomenon and product. What is seen in literary works is a moving community entity, both related to patterns, structures, functions, activities, and socio-cultural conditions. As the background of people's lives at the time, the literary work was created.

Damono (1979: 1) states that writers create literary works to be enjoyed, understood, and utilized. Literary works are designed for communication, namely communication between writers or authors and the community. In this context, literary works have an essential role in society. Damono (1979:1) also mentions that literary works are social institutions that use

language as a medium and are created to communicate with the reading community. Literary works display a picture of life, and life itself is a social reality. In this sense, life includes relationships between people, between people and people, between people, and between events that occur in a person's mind.

The birth or creation of a literary work is not in a vacuum. That means that work has been created with a specific purpose. In *Sociology of Literature*, Ian Watt (1964:312-313) states that literary works have a social function. Among these functions are reformers and reformers. That has the understanding that the creation of literary works intentionally also aims to reform and remodel society, both its social order, views, mindset, and so on; the society in a broad sense and applies to a particular group of people.

In addition, literary works also have a function as a medium or tool for propaganda and criticism. Criticism conveyed through literary works is essentially an ideological voice from a group of people or specific circumstances. The presence of the film *Sang Penari* as an adaptation of the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* trilogy novel indicates a new perception, new representation, and new conception of the concept of '*ronggeng*' itself. The presence of '*ronggeng*' in the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* novels and 'dancer' in the film *Sang Penari* is essential to be discussed and researched to find out the existence of *ronggeng* considering that the universe of the presence of

novels and movies is very different.

In the transformation of the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* novel and 'dancer' in the film *Sang Penari*, it is essential to see how the concept of *ronggeng* in the novels is transformed into a film. In the context of the novel, *ronggeng* is not just an ordinary dancer in Javanese tradition, such as *Serimpi* dancers, *Gambyong*, and others. There is a distinctive culture attached to the concept of *Ronggeng* dance and dancers. Moreover, in the film, the title has changed to *Sang Penari*, not *Sang Ronggeng*. This identity indicates a difference in transformation. Of course, the changes are also closely related to the planting of different ideologies in the film.

This paper describes the existence of two works, namely novels and films, resulting from their transformation, by examining them using an ecranization approach to reveal how the ideological transformation from novel to film. The selection of the film *Sang Penari* as an adaptation of the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* trilogy novel as the object of this research is based on the phenomenon of literary adaptation that occurred in this latest development. Some of the things discussed are (1) the transformation of the *ronggeng* concept in the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* trilogy novel to the *Sang Penari* film and (2) the ideological transformation in the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* trilogy novel to the *Sang Penari* film.

Method

Research Approach

This study also uses a qualitative approach, namely, a study that does not use calculations (Krik and Milter in Moleong, 1999: 2). The use of a qualitative approach is because the data studied are in the form of literary text discourse and audio-visual media in sentences and not in the form of numbers. This qualitative nature leads to the transformation of the *ronggeng* concept, and the ideology behind the adaptation is carried out by *ronggeng* from novels to films. This qualitative research is descriptive so that the data analyzed and the analysis results are in the form of descriptions. There are three stages carried out to solve the research problem, namely: (1) providing data, (2) analyzing data, and (3) presenting the results of data analysis (Sudaryanto 1993:5).

This study also uses ecranization as an approach. Ecranization is used to see the changes that occur in the transformation from novel to film. (Eneste, 1991). The analysis is not just

looking at the elements but also at the content, namely how and why it happened.

Data Source

Sources of data in this study are the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* trilogy novel by Ahmad Tohari published in 2003 by Gramedia Pustaka Utama and the *Sang Penari* film, as an adaptation of the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* novels, by Ifa Isfansyah released on 2011. These research data are story elements that show the representation of Islamic boarding school ideology and Islamic boarding school counter ideology both in novels and films.

Data Collection Technique

The data were obtained from the novel trilogy of *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* and the *Sang Penari* film. Data has been collected through documentation and data recording for further analysis.

Data Analysis Technique

Data analysis in this study was carried out through two procedures, namely (1) analysis during the data collection process and (2) analysis after data collection (Miles and Huberman 1984: 21-25; Muhadjir 1996:105). The first procedure is carried out with the following steps: (1) data reduction, (2) data presentation, and (3) conclusion drawing. The second procedure was carried out with the following steps:

1. Grouping the data according to the problem.
2. Analyzing the transformation of the *ronggeng* concept represented in the novel *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*.
3. Analyzing the ideology behind the *ronggeng* transformation represented in the *Sang Penari* film.
4. Conclusions about the transformation of *ronggeng* and the ideology of the transformation represented in novels and films.

Data Presentation Techniques

The results of data analysis in this study were presented with formal methods and informal methods. Formal methods are used to deliver the results of data analysis in the form of sentence quotes and dialogues, and image clips that show the representation of the transformation of the *ronggeng* concept and ideology from the *ronggeng* transformation. While the informal method is used to present the results of data analysis in the form of word exposure (Sudaryanto 1993:145).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Ronggeng Concept in the Ecranization of Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk to the Dancer

The transformation of the concept of *ronggeng* from novels to films, in general, has similarities. However, several changes are essential to discuss. To be more precise will be described as follows. *The True Ronggeng is not the Result of Learning*

In the transformation of this concept, it is still firmly believed that a true *ronggeng* is not a *ronggeng* dancer who has *ronggeng* dance skills from the results of his learning somewhere and to someone. A true *ronggeng* dancer is someone who has been possessed by *indang*, namely *wangsit*. She is, of course, the person chosen by the ancestors of Paruk hamlet. Thus, a true *ronggeng* dancer, of course, is not random. The following is a quote in the novel that is also strongly presented in the story in the film.

Di pedukuhan itu ada kepercayaan kuat, seorang ronggeng sejati bukan hasil pengajaran. Bagaimanapun diajari, seorang perawan tak bisa menjadi ronggeng kecuali roh indang telah merasuk tubuhnya. Indang adalah semacam wangsit yang dimuliakan dalam dunia peronggengan. (Tohari 2007: 13)

Indeed, there is an unwritten requirement that one be a *ronggeng* and must be a virgin. However, what makes it eternal and accurate is the *indang* spirit. That is what ultimately makes the authority and strength of the *ronggeng* attached to the *ronggeng* dancer. That is the sacredness in the world of *ronggeng* Paruk hamlet. In this reasonably large community belief, people can't pretend or claim to have the spirit of *indang ronggeng* and then declare themselves to be a *ronggeng*. People will eventually find out. Because of this incredible and firm belief, the people of Paruk hamlet do not play with *ronggeng*. They know very well that

sacredness in the world of *ronggeng* is closely related to Ki Secamenggala, the ancestor of the hamlet, who is highly respected and sacred. The film visualizes the presence of *indang* with the symbol of a small *keris*, heirloom *ronggeng*. Whoever has this *keris* then he can be and dance *ronggeng* well. In this case, the film's story Rasmus becomes the central figure in presenting the *keris*, apart from Srintil.

In this case, there is another kind of depiction in presenting the concept of the spirit of *indang ronggeng*. Logically, the spirit of *indang*, which in the idea of the novel version of *ronggeng* becomes very sacred, comes from the ancestors of the hamlet, but in the film it is more 'symbolized' in a more simple and faded way. There is a more uncomplicated logical depiction of a loving relationship between two people. There is an intense desire from Srintil to become a *ronggeng*, but there is a profound objection from a Rasmus to give it up. Allowing Srintil to be a *ronggeng* meant letting her go into the arms of all the men who could afford her more money. If so, then the loss of Srintil is insight.

In this case, the film uses another logic that Rasmus' willingness to Srintil to become a *ronggeng* plays a role. That is where the concept of the fall of *indang ronggeng* occurs. Rasmus, who found the '*keris*' *indang ronggeng*, finally gave it to Srintil. After that, Srintil played a natural or perfect role as *ronggeng* after receiving *indang ronggeng*.

In the film's story, initially, Rasmus did not want Srintil to become a *ronggeng*. However, he finally melted down after Srintil insisted that he wanted to become a *ronggeng* because of his heart's calling, to atone for his parents' mistakes who had caused the death of the people of Paruk hamlet. That is the following logical reason presented by the film. With this explanation, Rasmus finally melted. That is where he finally looked for a *keris penganggo ronggeng* and gave it to Srintil. Here is a snippet of the image on the film.



The pictures above show how the *keris* as a symbol of *indang ronggeng* was finally owned by Srintil. The ownership eventually became a symbol of evidence that the *indang* had arrived. From there, Srintil's irritability began.

The Form of Devotion to Paruk Hamlet

Both the novel and the film still have the same concept regarding Srintil's passion and drive to become a *ronggeng*. In addition to the soul's calling because the spirit of *ronggeng indang* has entered, devotion to Paruk hamlet is a strong motivation behind Srintil.

There are some urges that Srintil always expresses, even when the man she loves, Rasmus, refuses to become a *ronggeng*. The first reason is that being a *ronggeng* is Srintil's world. Srintil stated this during their meeting at the river, where people usually bathe and wash. Srintil and Rasmus talked at length about Srintil's desire to become a *ronggeng* and Rasmus' refusal. Another reason is that Srintil's becoming a *ronggeng* is a form of 'penance' for Srintil's father and mother, who have been considered the cause of the *wuru bongkreng* disaster.

Alam membisu mendengar ratap Sakarya. Dukuh Paruk bungkam. Hanya kadang terdengar keluh sakit. Atau tangis orang-orang yang menyaksikan saudara meregang nyawa. Bau bunga sedap malam dikalahkan oleh asap kemenyan yang mengepul dari semua rumah di Dukuh Paruk, pedukuhan yang berduka ketika Srintil genap berusia lima bulan.

Malapetaka itu masih diingat benar oleh semua orang Dukuh Paruk. Seorang nenek telah belasan

kali menceriterakannya kepada Rasmus, cucunya, Tentu saja nenek itu adalah nenekku sendiri karena di Dukuh Paruk hanya ada seorang bernama Rasmus yaitu diriku. (Tohari 2007: 36)

He heard stories about the *wuru bongkreng* disaster from folklore or stories from his grandparents. He had never seen such a terrifying event. He was only five months old at the time. That, of course, is the story that has colored and burdened every day of Srintil's life over the years. So in his determination, if he can become a *ronggeng* in Paruk hamlet, he can atone for his parents' sins. The Paruk hamlet has had no *ronggeng* dancers for years. By becoming a *ronggeng* dancer, he will revive life in Paruk hamlet. The Paruk hamlet without *ronggeng* is not Paruk hamlet.

Symbol of Strength and Pride

There is a belief shared by the entire Paruk hamlet community and becomes their strength in the *ronggeng* cultural tradition. *Ronggeng* belongs to the community and is the pride of the Paruk hamlet community. That is, anyone who can become a *ronggeng* means she is the chosen one. The person who was appointed and received revelation from Ki Secamenggala as the ancestor of Paruk hamlet.

The residents of Paruk hamlet own the pride of being a *ronggeng*. For them, Paruk hamlet is alive and happy when there is a *ronggeng*. That is also closely related to their ancestors Grandmother Secamenggala. If there is no *ronggeng*, then Grandmother Secamenggala

could be angry. That is also a disaster for Paruk hamlet. Therefore, being a *ronggeng* is also a matter of pride and honor for Srintil. He was honored to be the person chosen by the ancestors of Paruk hamlet. Being a *ronggeng* means being in high and proud society with respect and dignity. He will always be in the spotlight and praise. All eyes of humanity will be on him. He will also always be the one to take care of his life. In addition, he will always be waiting for his presence in dancing.

Not only that, the pride that seems strange but occurs in the world of *ronggeng* in Paruk hamlet is a feeling of pride when you can 'sleep' with Srintil or *ronggeng*. That feeling is shared by men and by wives if their husbands have the opportunity to 'sleep' with *ronggeng* Srintil. People believe that if her husband can sleep with *ronggeng*, his strength will come back, and fertility will come back. *Ronggeng* is a symbol of strength and fertility for the people of Paruk hamlet. Therefore, the opportunity to be able to 'sleep' with *ronggeng* is highly anticipated. That is also a myth created by men.

Ronggeng is Everyone's

An upheaval of feelings occurred in Rasus. On the one hand, he is a resident of Paruk hamlet who understands that every virgin who has been *kewahyon* or has received the spirit of *indang ronggeng* cannot refuse not to become a *ronggeng*. Likewise Rasus, had to accept the fact that Srintil had to become a *ronggeng*. However, his love for Srintil could not get this. As explained above, being a *ronggeng* is a calling from the soul, as a form of Srintil's devotion to Paruk hamlet and redemption for his parents who (considered) caused the death of all members of the Paruk hamlet community in the *tempe bongkrek* tragedy. By becoming

a *ronggeng* dancer, he felt he had made an effort to atone for his sins and showed his devotion to Paruk hamlet. However, when someone becomes a *ronggeng* then he has become everyone's property. Whoever has money and can pay more, then he can 'own' the *ronggeng* that night. In such a reality, Rasus does not accept or is unwilling if the person he loves has to be in such a condition. Finally, Rasus chose to leave the Paruk hamlet because he was powerless and did not have the money to pay Srintil.

After Srintil becomes a *ronggeng*, he too will belong to anyone. After dancing, on that night she will belong to a man who can give more money. He had to serve whoever had the extra money to

pay for it. Then after that, he will sleep with the man. This explanation shows how to be a *ronggeng* is to belong to the public. Even a Rasus who loves and wants to own Srintil knows that it is impossible because he knows what a person going to be a *ronggeng* dancer must do from the *malam bukak klambu*. That's why he hates the *malam bukak klambu* so much. For him, the *malam bukak klambu* is like a form of the massacre of women's virginity.

Bagiku, tempat tidur yang akan menjadi tempat pelaksanaan malam bukak-klambu bagi Srintil, tak lebih dari sebuah tempat pembantaian. Atau lebih menjijikkan lagi. Di sana tiga hari lagi akan berlangsung penghancuran dan penjagalan. Aku sama sekali tidak berbicara atas kepentingan berahi atau sebangsanya. Di sana, di dalam kurung kelambu yang tampak dari tempatku berdiri, akan terjadi pemusnahan mustika yang selama ini amat kuhargai. Sesudah berlangsung malam bukak-klambu, Srintil tidak suci lagi. Soal dia kehilangan keperawanannya, tidak begitu berat kurasakan. Tetapi Srintil sebagai cermin tempat aku mencari bayangan Emak menjadi baur dan bahkan hancur berkeping.

Membayangkan bagaimana Srintil tidur bersama seorang laki-laki, sama menjijikkannya dengan membayangkan Emak melarikan diri bersama mantri itu. Aku muak. Aku tidak rela hal semacam itu terjadi. Tetapi lagi-lagi terbukti seorang anak dari Dukuh Paruk bernama Rasus terlalu lemah untuk menolak hal buruk yang amat dibencinya. Jadi aku hanya bisa mengumpat dalam hati dan meludah. Asu buntung! (Tohari, 2007: 53)

Ronggeng Children versus Adults

There are different constructions between novels and films in presenting the concept of *ronggeng*. The novels tells of Srintil being crowned a *ronggeng* when she was a teenager. That shows how *indang ronggeng* has an essential role in the history of *ronggeng* in Paruk hamlet.

Banyak perempuan dan anak-anak memenuhi rumah Kartareja. Mereka ingin melihat Srintil dirias. Sepanjang usianya yang sebelas tahun, baru pertama kali Srintil menjadi perhatian orang. Dia tersipu. Terkadang tertawa kecil bila dia mendengar orang berbisik memuji kecantikannya. Mulutnya mungil. Cambang tipis di pipinya menjadi nyata setelah Srintil dibedaki. Alis yang diperjelas dengan jelaga bercampur getah pepaya membuatnya kelihatan seperti boneka. (Tohari 2007: 18)

Lebih baik sekarang kuhadapi hal yang lebih nyata. Srintil sudah menjadi ronggeng di dukuhku, Dukuh Paruk. Usianya sebelas tahun. Aku empat belas tahun. Kini Srintil menjadi boneka. Semua orang ingin menimanginya, ingin memanjakannya. Aka tahu sendiri perempuan Dukuh Paruk berganti-ganti mencuci pakaian Srintil. Mereka memandikannya dan menyediakan arang gagang padi buat keramas. (Tohari 2007: 36)

However, the film constructs differently. In the film, when Srintil does the *malam bukak klambu* and becomes a *runggeng*, she has become an adult. However, there is no verbal stating this. It's related to 'sleeping' with men, which is carried out by *runggeng* both in the context of the night of *bukak-klambu* and sleeping with men after the *runggeng* show.

Here is a visual depiction of Srintil in the film.



The first picture shows that Srintil will dance in front of Paruk hamlet residents accompanied by *calung*. The second picture is a scene in the story of the night of *bukak-klambu*. With the visualization of the characters as above, the characters depicted in the film are adult characters.

Ideological Transformation in Trilogy of Novel *Runggeng Dukuh Paruk* into Film *Sang Penari*

This section explains various things about the ideological transformation from the novel to the film. Three things that will discuss are body and sexuality, *runggeng* and economic issues, and *runggeng* stigma.

Body and Sexuality

The construction of novels and films or in the construction of society, *runggeng* symbolizes two sides of a coin, namely dancing vs. sexual merit. At the same time, that is a social issue that is then attached to the construction of *runggeng*. Of course, that's not entirely true in the sense that not all *runggeng* dancers do so. Or there is no absolute requirement that states so. That is the view of some members of the public.

The construction of the *Runggeng Dukuh Paruk* novels and the *Sang Penari* film shows a dialogical structure between dance, body, and sexuality. A *runggeng* does not just dance on stage but also belongs to all Paruk hamlet. As Nyi Kartareja said, being a *runggeng* is not just a matter of dancing but includes cases of

mattresses, kitchen, and wells.

“Runggeng itu bukan cuma perkara nari, tetapi juga urusan kasur, urusan dapur, urusan sumur”-Nyai Kartareja (dalam Film Sang Penari)

Being a *runggeng* means being ready with all the risks that must be faced, including serving the lusts of every man who 'wants it.' Indeed, the rule is that to become a *runggeng*, and one must be willing to give up his body to become public property. *Runggeng* is revered for the power of his mangosteen, but he has never had rights to his body and is ready to willingly give his body to anyone who can pay for it.

Becoming *runggeng* is a life choice that Srintil makes, even though she is forced to serve her hamlet. Many things then he had to live before he was crowned as *runggeng*. One of the rituals is "*malam bukak klambu*," where he will auction his virginity in this ritual. Whoever can buy at the highest price, then he gets the purity of Srintil. Not only that, but "*malam bukak klambu*" is also a search for identity by men in Paruk hamlet. Because the person who gets the virginity of a *runggeng* means that he has power, so not only over the body of the *runggeng*, he has power but also shows his abundant wealth.

In several film scenes, it is depicted how Srintil serves men after she dances. There are at least two things that he does, first is related to the construction of the magical power of *runggeng* so that it makes many men want to sleep with her

and even is supported by his wife, which is everyone's pride and dream. The second is the economic problems.

Ronggeng and Economic Problems

In the world of *ronggeng*, there are economic problems. There is a selling factor of women or women's bodies there. As was done by the *ronggeng* shaman, setting a 'fare' for anyone who wants to sleep with Srintil (read: *ronggeng*). In this context, the *ronggeng* shaman is like a pimp. There it's told that to become a real *ronggeng*. The *ronggeng* candidate must go through several stages. One of them is the night of *bukak-klambu* tradition. That is a contest for anyone, a man, who has property and can submit a certain amount of money as determined, then he has the right to take virginity for the *ronggeng* candidate.

Bukak klambu adalah semacam sayembara, terbuka bagi laki-laki manapun. Yang disayembarakan adalah keperawanan calon ronggeng. Laki-laki yang dapat menyerahkan sejumlah uang yang ditentukan oleh dukun ronggeng, berhak menikmati virginitas itu." (Tohari, 2007: 51).

The virginity of a *ronggeng* which is considered very valuable, is a golden opportunity for several parties. The greediest in reaping the benefits of Srintil's body, namely Kertareja and his wife (pimp). They are both caregivers as well as money collectors from the sexual trades carried out by their *ronggeng*. Thus, the tradition of *malam bukak-klambu* as a ritual for the coronation of a *ronggeng* candidate to become a *ronggeng* is the first way for the *ronggeng* shaman to act as a pimp and work to reap the benefits of the *ronggeng* candidate.

Furthermore, it did not stop there; the continuation of the practice of pimping in the world of *ronggeng* in Paruk hamlet was seen at night when Srintil appeared a *ronggeng*. After that, he also opened opportunities for men who wanted to 'sleep' with Srintil. By a big reward, or who can give the biggest prize, then it is the right. Here, *ronggeng's* exclusivity is maintained, and his body is traded and sold by the pimp, *ronggeng's* shaman himself.

Ronggeng Stigma

Moving on to the early 1960s, when Indonesia was experiencing a crisis and political turmoil, at *Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari* novels presented the figure of Bakar. Bakar emerged as a figure

who dragged the name of the village of Paruk hamlet in the party turmoil at that time. The Paruk hamlet, with all its stupidity, can only accept the new ideology without knowing what is going on. The figure of Bakar captivated the people of Paruk hamlet.

From there, Srintil finally became one of those who were dragged into the dark communist stigma. Even at the end of the story, Srintil becomes a prisoner of the soldiers and anyone who will vent his lust.

Satu-satunya jalan yang menjadi pintu masuk ke Dukuh Paruk berhias lambang partai. Orang-orang merasa bangga karena itulah pengaturan Bakar. Di depan rumah Kartareja juga dipasang sebuah papan. Tak ada orang Dukuh Paruk yang bisa membaca tulisan dalam papan itu. (Tohari, 2007:228).

The incident of vandalism and kidnapping of residents in Paruk hamlet finally occurred. The destruction of Ki Secamenggala's tomb made Paruk hamlet feel deeply humiliated. The damage, which is known to have originated from the green caping (the opposite party), made Paruk hamlet angry, so Bakar quickly controlled Paruk hamlet and all of it. *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* aggressively staged *ronggeng* performances accompanied by resistance orations in various areas which were clearly against government regulations. The Paruk hamlet was a tool for Bakar to fight against the power of the new order regime at that time. Against the backdrop of the massacre of the seven TNI AD generals, Bakar is currently the most wanted person.

The stigma was running quite systematically and efficiently, considering that at that time, the Indonesian Communist Party (*PKI*) had become a scourge since 1965. Like *ludruk*, *reog*, and various other traditional arts, *ronggeng* was banned because it was identified with *PKI* activities, and its sexuality element was adapted to government discourse. The result is the shrinking of *ronggeng's* role and status because it becomes a terrible job and is no longer legitimized.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of the *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* novels into the *Sang Penari* film has transformed *ronggeng's* concept and ideology. Many images are package in the *ronggeng* concept, from novels to films. Likewise

ideologically. Novels and films have chosen their path to construct and reconstruct ideologies and stories according to their position.

Conceptually, novels and films have constructed that real *ronggeng* issues are not the result of teaching but rather the revelation of the spirit of *indang* ancestors, devotion to Paruk hamlet, that *ronggeng* belongs to all citizens and the dialectic of children versus adults. While ideologically, the story has told and constructed body and sexuality issues, economic problems, and the stigma of *ronggeng*.

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