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Devalued Body of The Grobogan Tayub Dancer

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe Lasmi, a Tayub dancer legend from Grobogan, experiencing *liyan* in various aspects of her life. The researcher used the in-depth interview method in addition to supporting documents such as previous research, YouTube channels, and news. The research adopted the theory of 'liyan/subaltern/the others' from Gayatri Spivak and Simone De Beauvoir. The research subject was Lasmi, an example of an Indonesian postcolonial body (a body that does not come from the center of power) experiencing otherness and marginalization in society, treated as an object, especially male gaze, or number two, and compared to others. She experienced it, being *liyan*, in public and domestic areas. During the COVID-19 pandemic, she was also included in a marginal group. Because of PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions), she could no longer dance and perform as she used to. She has also suffered from an age devaluation, which has resulted in her rarely performing and losing out to the young waranggana.

KEYWORDS: *Grobogan, Liyan, Postcolonial Feminism, Subaltern, Tayub.*

INTRODUCTION

Tayub is a dance involving *waranggana* (singers who are also dancers) and *niyaga* (gamelan musicians). It is a form of social dance and entertainment for the people around the North Kendeng Mountains (Grobogan, Pati, Blora, Rembang, and Sragen) in Central Java. Tayub is closely associated with a symbol of gratitude for *gawe* or important events, for example, weddings, circumcisions, cleaning the village, and harvesting. Being able to invite Tayub waranggana is a symbol of prestige (upper socio-economic class) in the local society.

In Grobogan, the heyday of Tayub cannot be separated from the role of a Tayub Waranggana legend named Sulasmi, known as *ledek* (*waranggana*) Lasmi. At least there is a master's thesis entitled "Waranggana Tayub: Lasmi's Adaptation Strategy as Waranggana in Maintaining Its Existence" written by Santi Widiastuti (2019), which illustrates that the glorious era of Tayub cannot be separated from Sulasmi's contribution. It stated that Lasmi was popular in the 1980s to 1990s with a busy performance schedule. Since she was in her teens, Lasmi has been involved in Tayub.

Lasmi's specialty, not owned by any *waranggana*, is spontaneous creativity when singing. Lasmi often came out with spontaneous song lyrics. Those spontaneous lyrics are original, literary, supple, and beautiful. Most of them are metaphors, humorous satire, or sad expressions. Not only spontaneous creativity but what makes her different from the others is that Lasmi recorded her songs with several labels, including Fajar and Pusaka Cassette. Lasmi's recordings were the first Tayub renditions recorded in cassette format in 1980. Then, other *waranggana* followed. This made her the first *waranggana* from Grobogan to record Tayub in a cassette format.

The people of Grobogan and its surroundings could enjoy Gending Tayub at any time through cassettes. Of the several pieces, the most famous one was Randha Ngguguk, a song depicting the sadness of a widow in facing her life. In 1995, a humanist and private radio broadcaster for Suara Mrapen Abadi FM in Grobogan, Endah Fitriana, known as Tantri, initiated a special program to play traditional music. The radio program was known as Janggrung Mrapen. In the program hosted by Tantri, Lasmi's songs were also played to the wider community. Based on Tantri's confession, many people asked for Lasmi's song to be played. On the radio, Randha Ngguguk was also a prima donna. The Janggrung Mrapen program was

famous for seven years, from 1995 to 2002.

Lasmi remained in people's hearts, although the Janggrung Mrapen program stopped broadcasting. As there are many younger Tayub *waranggana*, Lasmi performs less than she used to. According to Lasmi, Tayub experiences a shift. It is very different from the past. Clothing, makeup or grooming, and music are no longer the same. Dangdut and Campursari music can now be used as an accompaniment to Tayub, although the standard is Gending Tayub. The clothes of the *waranggana* have also changed. Those who wear *kemben* (Javanese traditional strapless top), a symbol of Javanese women's elegance, now have to comply with the demands of their viewers, most of whom obey certain religious norms or argue in the name of decency norms.

After divorcing her last husband, Lasmi lives only with her mother, Dami. In her 60s, Lasmi still has to make a living. Her only child, Eko, is now responsible for her household needs. Occasionally, junior *waranggana* or their students visit Lasmi bringing some money to meet her daily needs. Some *waranggana* informed that Lasmi busks to make a living while remembering her former heydays when she performed Tayub.

The study addresses the problems and consequences of the decolonization of Tayub dance and

beauty discourse related to the political and cultural independence of a formerly subjugated person, Lasmi, the dancer. The study's contribution will be the construction of new knowledge and social change from the perspective of women's struggles against multiple forms of oppression.

METHODS

In analyzing written information, the researcher used in-depth interviews and empathy built on awareness of gender-based discourse and feminism. According to Reinharz (1992), interviews allow researchers to gain access to people's opinions, thoughts, and memories in their language. It is important, especially for studies on women, because it can be a turning point after women's voices have been ignored or represented by men's voices for centuries.

The interview used was semi-structured. This type of interview is the main research method on feminism (understanding the equal rights of all genders). Through this method, the interviewer is expected to involve the resource people in explaining their lives. The researcher used open-ended questions to maximize findings and descriptions of information. Before the interview, the researcher observed Lasmi's daily life and looked for secondary sources in the form of writing and videos (YouTube), as well as interviews with

cultural observers who were also living witnesses of Lasmi's struggles in Tayub. It was expected to add to the researcher's insight in developing interview questions. After that, the author made a research proposal and a draft of interview questions to discuss with the main editor and co-editor.

After the interview draft was approved, the researcher interviewed Lasmi at her house while adhering to health protocols during the COVID-19 pandemic. The researcher lives in Purwodadi, and the research subject, Lasmi, resides in Kalisari, Keradenan, Grobogan. First, the researcher asked permission to conduct interviews in Lasmi's free time. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed manner while letting the interviewees do their activities at home, such as taking care of their mothers, playing with cats, and welcoming guests, if any. The researcher also followed Lasmi when she had to perform on stage. The researcher also used documents kept by Lasmi to get more information. This research considered Lasmi's rambling answers because it could lead to significant value and key information.

This research employed content analysis to analyze the interview transcript. It is a qualitative analysis method designed to group raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation. This process uses inductive reasoning, by which themes and

categories emerge from the data through the researcher's careful examination and constant comparison.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Concept of the Reduced Body

In the history of modern philosophy, knowledge of the body is conceptualized as a biological object as distinguished from a rational faculty, which then becomes a tool and is manipulated and controlled by rational reason. Body behavior is believed to be independent and dependent because of the existence of the brain (Gallop, 1988). Simultaneously, a stereotype appears that reasoning behavior and bodily behavior are inherent in men and women. Women are considered emotional, while men are rational. However, this is quite problematic when viewed in the feminist framework because it means that the body is attributed as obedient, controlled, colonized, and subordinated. The relationship between subjectivity, body, identity, and even race becomes a discourse that enriches the body of feminist thought (Somerville, 1994).

With the publication of *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir (1949), the theorizing of women's bodies and self becomes a concern, in which the body is not only a starting point for materiality but a means to position it in and by the world (Laqueur, 1990). This body is not only material but also the living

body conveying the sensory experience and purpose of the subject in negotiating the world. The body also responds and mediates the world. The existence of the body in de Beauvoir's terminology experiences different treatment by the world than men, which do not have many privileges.

De Beauvoir (1949) rejects the reduction of the concept of the body as mere material and narrates how the body is treated differently from the dominant perspective of society. In this case, women's bodies in different spaces experience discrimination according to the context. For Beauvoir, the way women and girls experience the body is a consequence of a perspective that internalizes the male gaze articulated through beautiful compliments and bad reproaches. The female body becomes an object for gazes rooted in biological anatomy, education, and the environment that shape it. How women experience their bodies as objects seen by others is an initial note for this research. In this way, women initially recognize their bodies as what they see. They often compare their bodies and faces with beautiful fairies in fairy tales, which is often impossible in the real world without realizing it.

Sexual objectification occurs when a woman's body or body parts are singled out and separated from the woman as a person and viewed primarily as a physical object of male sexual desire (Bartky, 1990).

This social objectification often intersects with women's other sociocultural identities, such as sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, and social class, to form unique sets of media portrayals and experiences for women subgroups (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Many women also experience immersed forms of sexual objectification occurring when they are part of situations, environments, and subcultures where the sexual objectification of women is encouraged and promoted. For example, certain situations accentuating awareness of observers' perspectives on women's bodies, such as ballet dancing, beauty pageants, modeling, and cheerleading, are likely to enhance sexual objectification (Slater & Tiggemann, 2002). Furthermore, self-objectification is related to broader psychosocial constructs, including poorer self-esteem, lower life satisfaction, less relationship satisfaction, lower levels of global well-being, risk-taking, self-harm, and negative attitudes toward breastfeeding (Breines, Crocker, & Garcia, 2008; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008; Mercurio & Landry, 2008; Moradi & Huang, 2008).

Females' self-reported experiences of sexual victimization are related to more self-objectification, body shame (Lindberg, Grabe, & Hyde, 2007), and adverse psychological outcomes, including depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (for reviews, see Fitzgerald, Drasgow,

Hulin, Gefand, & Magley, 1997; Koss, Bailey, Yuan, Herrera, & Lichter, 2003). The intersections of gender with other sociocultural identities may place some women subgroups at increased risk. For example, several studies have found that sexual minority women report more experiences of sexual assault in adulthood than their heterosexual peers and that the majority of perpetrators are male (Balsam, Rothblum, & Beauchaine, 2005; Moracco, Runyan, Bowling, & Earp, 2007; Tjaden, Thoeness, & Allison, 1999).

Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) postulates that it will be related to various psychological consequences, and these psychological consequences will mediate the relationship between self-objectification and disordered eating, depression, and sexual dysfunction. Supporting this tenet, Moradi and Huang's (2008) research review reveals that self-objectification is related to lower internal bodily awareness, more disconnection from bodily functions, decreased flow states, difficulties in task performance, increased body shame, more appearance anxiety, and both eating disorder and depressive symptoms among racial/ethnically diverse groups of women.

This theory from Europe, initiated by Beauvoir, is not without dynamics and challenges from feminists in other parts of the world.

In this study, it is necessary to discuss the postcolonial approach initiated by women from the third world, such as Gayatri Spivak (1988, 271-313). In terms of socio-economic and political structures, the left-out bodies are very different from those experienced by women in the third world, including Indonesia. Race and class struggles are important to note to help approach the subject of this research study. The postcolonial feminism approach appreciates how economic class and race contribute to the process of serving and subordinating women's bodies. The question then is, which female body? The answer will be different if it comes from women who pursue traditional arts, such as Tayub waranggana. The body of Tayub waranggana is the postcolonial body of Indonesia. A body that does not originate from a center of power or the metropolitan center of modern art at its time. What was the position of this woman's body in the vortex of artistic power at that time? Spivak describes the other body as the subaltern, referring to people from the lowest economic and social class strata (in the context of Indian culture represented by the Dalits or the untouchables). In Indonesian culture, a Tayub waranggana like Lasmi is the subaltern, the other figure and body experiencing marginalization in society. In the context of Western colonialism over countries such as India or Indonesia, they were indigenous men and women with no agency defined by

their social status. Spivak further explains that the other does not have access to power because of imperialist and oppressive cultural discourse hegemony.

The discourse on women's bodies cannot be separated from the "experiencing the body" process in the Indonesian postcolonial context. This study approaches research subjects with critical and reflective awareness of Beauvoir and Spivak's theorizing in later ethnographic findings, which may give rise to new and fresh discourse possibilities. This study will not stop at this theorizing. However, it will move dynamically while experiencing the subject's body in the power relations of the stages and recordings. This study is open to various possibilities that will enrich the birth of the discourse.

2. *Lasmi's Body in the Process of Becoming an 'Artist'*

Sulasmi, known as Lasmi, is a woman born to Kartorejo Kardi and Dami. Lasmi is the only living child; her siblings died shortly after birth. Now, Lasmi lives with her mother in Kalisari, Keradenan, Grobogan, Central Java. Her father died when Lasmi was at the peak of her career as a *waranggana*. Lasmi's house is approximately 45 minutes or 30 km from the Grobogan Regency administrative center in Purwodadi.

According to Lasmi, the 1980s to 1990s were her heydays. Her father's artistic blood flows in Lasmi's body.

Her late father was a *gamelan* player (*niyaga*) who played the *bonang* instrument. She has been developing her singing talent since she was in elementary school. During art and vocal lessons, Lasmi's beautiful voice was heard by the teacher and her friends. Since then, Lasmi has been trusted to participate in the *macapat* (traditional Javanese song) competition. She often brought home first-place or second-place certificates. Unfortunately, her education stopped at elementary school only. She did not continue to junior high school because of financial constraints. However, Lasmi was determined to develop her talents in singing, especially Javanese songs.

"Yes, after leaving grade 6, I didn't go to junior high school. I was the child of someone who is not rich. When I was fifteen, I joined *karawitan*. I was still a virgin, just getting my period. Then I was appointed as a *sinden*. My friends played the drums and gong, but I was the *sinden*, you know."

Lasmi is one of the girls forced to drop out of school. Women's low literacy and education are closely related to the lack of funds. At that time, it was common for girls to marry after graduating from elementary school. However, Lasmi had strong reasons to reject her tradition. Lasmi realized that she had an artistic soul. Lasmi had a big

dream and had to make her dream of becoming a good *sinden* come true.

Lasmi emerged into art through her professionalism as a *sinden*. Her *karawitan* (Javanese traditional music) group often entertains the people of Grobogan, Pati, Blora, and the surrounding areas. She did it not just for the money but also for her passion. Art is her blood. Her *karawitan* group was also increasingly in demand and liked by the public. Upon mutual agreement, all the income was given to the village treasury.

"Because I often participated in *karawitan*, I even became a good *sinden*. What else, then? I didn't have a husband and had lots of invitations to *nyinden*. Wow, I even never took a day off. The payment for a full day performance was five thousand rupiahs, but I could buy everything with the money! It's red paper money of hundreds, full in my bag. Every *dalang* knew that Lasmi was good. I mean, she had a good voice, and the people loved her too. Sometimes the *dalang's* (who came from far away) schedule didn't match my schedule, so I said sorry to them back then."

There is an interesting story about why Lasmi switched professions from *sinden* to Tayub Waranggana. One day, when she was approaching twenty, there was an invitation to sing or *nyinden* in Toroh. However, when she arrived, she was confused because it turned out that she was asked to *nayub* or be Tayub waranggana. She was forced to become Tayub waranggana. Because it was easier than *nyinden*, she finally did it easily.

“But the clothes are different. For *sinden*, the top is long, and for Tayub, you wear a *kemben* (Javanese traditional strapless top). When I got home, my husband suspected me, he asked, ‘...babe, why did you have all your fifty thousands, what have you done?’ I replied that I was *nyinden*, but he didn't trust me, then I was scolded. I felt guilty and kept apologizing to my husband. Then what am I supposed to do?”

After the fight, Lasmi was not prohibited from *nayub* by her husband. In fact, she was allowed by her husband. It was because the money from *nayub* is up to eight times greater than *nyinden*. She always gave her husband the money she earned from her hard work.

“Dancing gave me much money. I never took a day off for a month. I got a lot

of money, but my husband used it for gambling, so my husband allowed it. After all, I kept receiving money, but I never even used the money.”

Because Lasmi started as a *sinden*, she was known to be smarter than any waranggana in performing the Tayub recitation. As she said, waranggana who is *also sinden* is usually more proficient and better at singing *gending* (Javanese song). It is because the material studied by *sinden* is complicated. A new *sinden* sings according to the notes/tones of the song.

“So, if a *sinden* makes a mistake when singing, she is embarrassed. No matter how smart she is, she has to bring and sing the notation in the notebook. If she is not, she will be called a *kemayu* (flirty) *sinden* and insulted by her friends. But now, the beautiful *ledak* are just memorizing songs.”

3. 'Others' Body in the Household

During Lasmi's youth, she began to involve in romance. As her popularity as a *sinden* rose, people widely recognized her, especially among men. She kept getting cat-calling from men in her village and during *nyinden*. She was still naive and did not know romance, so she did not respond to them even though the cat-calling was really annoying. A few years later, around

when she was seven or eighteen, she got a love letter. It was from a boy who fell in love with Lasmi. In the letter, the boy asked Lasmi to get married. However, because she did not like the person who wrote to her, the proposal was ignored by her.

"But then, I fell in love with the person who delivered the letter. His name was Mas Kardi. The person had sweet bucktooth and handsome. However, my father and mother didn't like him because he looked like an ordinary villager. If you get a student son-in-law what will you do later, can you cultivate rice fields? However, I had a baby in my stomach [pointing to her stomach]. Then Eko, her baby boy, was born."

Initially, Lasmi made every effort to do an abortion, from taking medicine for late menstruation to concoctions mixed with pepper. However, her boyfriend asked her to keep the baby. After marriage, Lasmi was carried away by her husband and lived with her in-laws. Her performance schedule was temporarily halted because she was pregnant. Since living at her in-laws' house, her husband's attitude has changed. Frequently, she experienced harsh treatment and domestic violence. According to Lasmi, the triggers were small things. Her husband was jealous. Lasmi experienced the most severe

physical violence after giving birth. A week after giving birth, her husband kicked her body, causing heavy bleeding.

"Because he asked to discuss about my ex-boyfriend, he was jealous. I was kicked while taking a shower, there was a lot of blood coming out. Then my father-in-law brought a sickle for my husband. My father-in-law said, 'How dare you do that to your wife? What do you want? Lasmi has just given birth, why was she kicked? Don't do that ever again!' he said."

Because she had to work as a waranggana again, Lasmi admitted that she rarely breastfed her baby. Lasmi breastfed her baby only until he was three days old. That is because society "wanted" Lasmi to become a waranggana again on the 19th day after giving birth, although she was still undergoing puerperium. In the past, once the down payment to book the *ledek* was given, rejection or cancelation for any reason was impossible. She had to wear a *stagen* or wrap-around corset and brought an ASI (breast milk) pump when performing the Tayub. In between the performance breaks, she pumped her breast milk. She packed the milk and brought it home. She buried the breast milk in her yard.

"I buried it, so that my child didn't get *suleten*

(impetigo). People said that. You can't give it to your child, your child will suffer from *suleten* (impetigo), and you will have convulsions. I gave Eko SGM (a local formula milk brand for baby), which used to cost one thousand rupiahs. In fact, it became the subject of gossip, like, '...Lasmi why isn't your child breastfed?' But in reality, now Eko is smart. Oh Eko, Eko. When I came home after being a *ledak*, I carried my baby boy and kissed him. But after that, I had to go again, for dancing."

Because she often experienced bad treatment, Lasmi divorced her husband. After all, she returned to her mother's house. After the divorce, Lasmi's mother, Dami, raised their child. Lasmi married three times. Most of the divorces were caused by her husband committing domestic violence, gambling, and having affairs. In her opinion, the ideal family is a peaceful home, tolerant, and not hurting each other. She made every effort to maintain the household. During the marriage, up to three times, Lasmi is the one who acts as the breadwinner. Lasmi understands that the risks of being a breadwinner wife are rarely coming home. She even let her husband have affairs with other women as long as Lasmi did not know. She realized that she

could not satisfy her husband in bed. She was also willing to give up all her money to her husband. She entrusted all household matters to her husband. However, Lasmi could no longer tolerate her husband's violence and lies. It was enough for Lasmi to live in a marriage with a man. After her last divorce, she admitted that many men wanted to ask for her hand, but she refused. "That is enough," she said. Her son also did not allow her to remarry. He is afraid the same mistake will happen.

4. *The Body of Others in the Recording Studio*

In 1980, Bah Djien, an artist with a Javanese name Sastro Wijoyo looked for Lasmi. Bah Djien, who knew about Lasmi's popularity, invited Lasmi to record Tayub's renditions at the Pusaka Recording Studio in Semarang. After discussing the schedule, Lasmi took the recording offer. A few days before entering the recording studio, Lasmi studied several songs so that the recording results were good. She recorded Tayub songs with big record labels, including Pusaka (Semarang), Dahlia (Surakarta), and Ki Manteb Soedharsono's recording studio (Karangpandan, Karanganyar). For the first recording, she issued three cassettes. *Randha Ngguguk* is her first and flagship song.

"*Randha Ngguguk* is based on Pati's experience. I used

to perform in Pati. In my heart and mind, yes, I put it on the record. Then, the rhymes were good; many people loved it."

Lasmi admitted to facing difficulties during the recording process. She often had problems adjusting to the microphone and audio in the recording studio. Her ignorance of the technical aspects of recording also made it difficult for her to match the beats with the accompanying gamelan music.

"Sometimes, I felt out of breath and my voice was hoarse because you couldn't hear yourself from a monitor. If someone had a performance, she/he can hear his/her voice. That's why I had to sing loudly. I brought a person to replace me if I lost my voice."

Lasmi's popularity is not owned by other waranggana. Endah Fitriana said that other *ledek* do not have Lasmi's uniqueness. Lasmi is intelligent and creative in making *parikan* (Javanese rhymes) spontaneously. Lasmi agreed with it.

"Back then, during an event, she was asked, '... What is the joke rhymes, Las?' Because those who invited the Tayub were bald, I was inspired by his condition for making the lyrics like, '...It's pouring rain in the south, bald jokes inappropriate...' Wow,

everyone laughed. '... Las, you do not have any fear, don't you?' He is bald, bald, I make jokes. But yes, that's just a joke. If the *ledek* was me, everyone laughed happily. '... Las's rhymes are good,' they said."

Lasmi gave several examples of *parikan* that she made spontaneously in the past, like:

omah joglo madhep ngidul

(*joglo* house facing south)

nduwe bojo loro arang-arang kumpul

(having two partners but rarely meeting them)

Some of the *parikan* she composed also triggered controversy in certain groups. Sometimes the lyrics were considered impolite or offended certain beliefs/religions. Lasmi gave up because she had been reprimanded. "Just that one time," she said. She did not want to cause controversy anymore. Some examples of controversial *parikan* are the one in Randha Ngguguk:

Telane ditugel-tugel

(The sweet potato is cut into pieces)

Melu maratuwa nang ati marai kogel

(living with in-laws hurts the heart)

and in the "Kaji-Kaji" (Hajj, Hajj) lyrics below:

Ji kaji, pak kaji kethune putih

(Hajj, Hajj, Mr. Hajj wears a white cap)

Pak kaji kethune putih, pak kaji ra tau mulih

(Mr. Hajj wears a white cap, Mr. Hajj never comes home)

Even though it has good artistic value and humor, some people consider the lyrics impolite. They considered Lasmi not respecting the title of hajj and Islam. She had to change the lyrics of her songs several times for the listeners to accept. The warning she received made her give up. However, she became unable to express her creativity freely.

5. *Guarding the Body*

During her heyday, Lasmi was so in demand that she rarely came home. She could be home for a while, then went performing again. To keep her stamina and voice good, Lasmi used to drink *brotowali* herbs. Before the performance, she made a concoction of a drink consisting of milk and free-range duck egg yolk. She drank one large glass of it before the Tayub performance. Sometimes she replaced milk with soda so that it was not fishy. The soft-boiled egg yolks were mixed with soda. She believed that the concoction would increase her stamina when performing. Lasmi avoided some food and beverages, such as cold/iced drinks, spicy food, sour food, fried foods, and cucumber.

“I was picked up by a motorcycle. The performance lasted all day and night. At 09.00 AM, you had to arrive at the location. Then, at noon you had to be ready. In the afternoon, the performance would last until maghrib (dusk/twilight). The performance started again at 10.00 AM in the following day. It could be until dawn or up to 07.00 AM. If it's dawn, the youths performed. But now, during the day it's from noon to 04.00 PM and from 10.00 PM to midnight. It was difficult back then.”

Lasmi informed the difference between Tayub in her heydays and today's Tayub. The Tayub organizers usually picked her up with an *onthel* bicycle. She was hitchhiked to the inviter's house. There were not many motorbikes and land cars at that time. The makeup was also very different. She just wore low prices face powder, lipstick, a simple bun, *jarik* (traditional Javanese cloth with batik motives) with *kemben*, and *sampur* (a long patterned cloth used by dancers). Because of her thoroughness, she used all the simple makeup as best as possible. In her mind, the most important thing was to successfully entertain others with her voice and creativity in

making *parikan* and *wangsalan* (Javanese Rhymes). Now, the makeup worn by *ledek* is more diverse, starting from foundation, powder, lipstick, blush, false eyelashes, and so on. In terms of clothing, the *ledek* now do not wear a *kemben*, but a top or kebaya covering the body. Lasmi experienced changes in *ledek* clothes from *kemben* to *kebaya*. Even though she should wear a tank top, Lasmi agrees more with kebaya because *kemben* makes her breasts more visible. She felt uncomfortable with the male gaze that seemed to strip her naked. "Very disturbing," she said. In terms of music, Tayub is now mixed with Dangdut. Today's Tayub can be mixed with any song, even a Campursari.

"Well, now you can buy underwear with foam on the butt, it can make your body looks good. The butt looks smooth. It can shape the body even better. It costs fifty thousand rupiahs. The Purwodadi girls wear it now. How was it in the past? Well, in the past I only used a towel, hahaha!"

6. Devaluation of the Body

Female artists, including *waranggana*, will experience devaluation (a decrease in a person's value due to increasing age). Older *waranggana* are less desirable. They are also bullied. People mock their

body shape or body shame them as if to be attractive, one has to meet Euro-centric beauty standards, with light skin and a pointed nose. People also bully Lasmi, mocking her body and making her less confident. She several times did silicone injections on the face. At the age of more than 50, she feels she has quite a lot of experience in Tayub. Tayub now and before is very different. She also shares the secret of Tayub. According to her, old *waranggana* are less attractive.

"Those who get older will resign. It's like the older they are, the lower payment they receive. The price is also different, you have to share profit with co-dancer (the younger one). The problem is usually those who invite say something like, 'I will invite you, but you have to bring the younger ones, OK? This money will be shared with the younger ones, that's it, OK?' It is the condition for old *waranggana*, unless you are senior *waranggana* with good taste who have always been idolized and liked. It's usually the wealthy who can invite up to 10 senior *waranggana*. But it's a rare condition."

According to Lasmi's observations, a *ledek* is not as militant as she used to be. With a pretty face, the ability to memorize a few songs,

and young, they must have many invitations. You can even be asked to go on a date to stay at a hotel with those who dance with the *waranggana* on stage.

“Back then, I didn't have time to do that before. Besides, I also don't want to. I'm too busy, I once was not home for three months! Did I look like to have any free time? Also, I will be scolded by my husband.”

Lasmi has a typical Javanese natural beauty. However, it did not keep her from bullying. The audience body shamed her several times. Most of the body shaming she experienced was about her flat nose. Undaunted, she ignored the bullying as she had high self-confidence. Only in the 2000s did she first become acquainted with silicone injections. She admitted to injecting silicone into her nose and mouth because she was bullied about the shape of her nose.

“Well, I just wanted to make it a little pointed. Because I was called a pug, you know. The person who injected silicone was not a man, not a woman (transgender). What is her name? She's a *waria* (transwoman). I met her during recess. She said, '... Las, you are a famous artist. How come you have a flat nose? Please come to

my place in the afternoon; I will make it more pointed ...' I am afraid I cannot afford it. However, in the end, I was told I had to pay fifty thousand rupiahs.”

7. Lasmi during the COVID-19 Pandemic

Lasmi has performed less and less, especially in the past several years. PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions) to suppress the spread of COVID-19 made Lasmi sit silently at home. Several shows had to be canceled. Her son, Eko, supports her and her ill mother's daily needs. Sometimes, Lasmi gets bored of having to sit all day long. Sometimes, she makes herself busy by busking. For her, it is not only about money. However, singing Tayub songs makes her heart sad. She busks while gathering the spirit of the past glory when she was a Tayub star. Lasmi wants to live the rest of her life simply. For her, her golden era is over. "I have had enough fun," she said. However, if there is an invitation to perform again, she will gladly accept it. Now, she just wants God to give her good health and strength to live the rest of her life, although her life is not as glorious as it used to be.

"In the past, I had fun and was applauded by many people. I am satisfied. Now, when you are old, you have to be grateful. You don't have much to think about.

If you made a mistake in the past, thank God for giving life to realize you were wrong, and apologize to God."

This study found that postcolonial feminism has drawn attention to the uncomfortable reality that colonialism is not over. The impacts colonialism and imperialism have had on the global order and global capitalism on the life of Tayub dancers continued to be exploited in Indonesia remains. This is often called neo-colonialism, defined as the use of economic, political, cultural, or other pressures to control or influence other countries, especially former dependencies. Postcolonial feminism has looked beyond the whitewashing of feminism to understand the nuance of power, geopolitics, and money at play in the oppression and exploitation of Tayub dancers, and thus for feminists to become accountable for their own actions and activism. In reality, feminism is not feminism unless it is postcolonial.

CONCLUSION

Meeting Lasmi, and seeing how she articulates every experience of her life, how she reminisces, is a pride that never expires. Hearing stories directly from the Tayub legend is an experience that will be imprinted in the researcher's memory. Through the Tayub performances, she appears and

speaks. Through art, she wants to show herself to the world attached to patriarchal domination. On stage, there is a noble task that is so big that she has to carry, entertaining the public through art while upholding professionalism. She has never canceled a promise even though her female body asks, "Do I fully have the right over myself?" At home, she also has to carry out errands. Everything must be finished. That is a woman to her.

It is hard to imagine how it feels to be Lasmi. The process of becoming a *waranggana* is not easy. She spent years studying, struggling from one stage to another, and ignoring the fatigue in her body, even in a puerperal condition. She hides all fatigue through a beautiful melodious voice. Being the prima donna on stage does not put Lasmi in a noble position in her household. Unfortunately, Lasmi's body was not spared from violence and bullying. The price she had to pay was high. The most important thing for her is to remain a professional artist.

Her name has become a legend in the North Kendeng Mountains and its surroundings. She stays in her successors' stories. Her body is indeed old and sometimes sick, but her face suggests that age is not more than numbers. "Tayub is still and will always live in me," said Lasmi. The researcher hopes that her name will always be remembered. Hopefully, the story of Lasmi from Kendeng Mountains will open readers' eyes to remember that

women always have a place. Women must be strong.

Human sociality can be understood as an organism. Almost all aspects of life can be understood in a phenomenological sense as part of a life system. A proper

perspective for considering life and interpreting social reality is extremely important in determining the direction and orientation of humankind.

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