



Empowerment of Waria Ludruk Artists in AIDS/HIV Prevention Program

Maimunah[✉], Aribowo

Faculty of Humanities, Airlangga University, Indonesia

Permalink/DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v7i1.3598>

Received : January 2015; Accepted: February 2015; Published: March 2015

Abstract

Waria or transgender is one of the key population which has a significant role in the success of HIV/AIDS prevention program in East Java. It is estimated that the biggest waria community is in East Java, particularly in Surabaya. The main objective of this research is improving capacity building of ludruk artist waria through HIV/AIDS prevention program. The study has two objectives; firstly to find the effective strategies in improving waria's feminine skills such as knitting, hair dressing. Secondly to find the effective programs both on-stage and off-stage to improve the quality of ludruk performance such as revitalizing their marketing management, using social media to promote their schedule to the young generation. Some important points can be concluded from this study. Firstly, integrated coordinating system between ludruk artist waria and waria communities such as Perwakos and Iwama should be improved. HIV/AIDS prevention programs become ineffective without coordination. In this point, ludruk artist waria need to know that HIV/AIDS prevention programs such as VCT, HIV testing is free of charge. Secondly, in terms of management internal system, ludruk needs to revitalize the content of the story in their performance to be more compatible with the younger audience. To do so, the cooperation is needed among all the stakeholders to make ludruk survive in the capitalist industrial show business in Indonesia..

Abstrak

Salah satu populasi kunci yang memberi kontribusi tingginya prevalensi HIV dan AIDS di JATIM adalah komunitas waria karena di propinsi ini estimasi jumlah waria terbesar di Indonesia. Penelitian ini akan membahas bagaimana waria seniman ludruk dilibatkan dalam pencegahan HIV/AIDS. Program yang telah dilakukan adalah revitalisasi baik on-stage (diatas panggung) dan off-stage (di luar panggung). On-stage memfokuskan pada upaya revitalisasi pertunjukan ludruk dengan sistem dan manajemen pertunjukan yang lebih modern, menarik penonton generasi muda dan memanfaatkan teknologi internet dalam pemasarannya. Sedangkan Off-stage melalui penguatan keterampilan feminine (feminine skills) seperti menjahit, salon, wirausaha dll sehingga mereka mandiri secara ekonomi. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan ada faktor internal yaitu kurangnya koordinasi pimpinan ludruk dengan organisasi induk waria dalam mensosialisasikan program penanggulangan HIV/AIDS. Disamping itu, mobilitas waria yang tinggi antar kota menjadi kendala tersendiri untuk mengumpulkan mereka ketika ada pemeriksaan VCT dan tes HIV. Faktor internal ludruk adalah perlunya revitalisasi dan inovasi manajemen pemasaran yang modern berbasis teknologi serta inovasi cerita ludruk agar lebih menjangkau anak muda. Dibutuhkan kerjasama dengan semua stakeholders agar ludruk tetap bertahan dalam gempuran industri hiburan di Indonesia.

Keywords: ludruk artists; transgender; empowerment programs

How to Cite: Maimunah & Aribowo. 2015. Empowerment of Waria Ludruk Artists in AIDS/HIV Prevention Program. *Jurnal Komunitas*, 7 (1):79-92 doi: 10.15294/komunitas.v7i1.3598

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[✉] Corresponding author :

Address: Jalan Dharmawangsa Dalam Selatan Surabaya, Telp: 031-5035676
E-mail: maymunir@yahoo.com

INTRODUCTION

Since 2000s, research on the prevention of HIV/AIDS epidemic has shifted from the original study of biomedical to sociocultural studies. This shift is due to the complexity and breadth of such issues that may not be merely addressed from the biomedical perspective (Evans and Butt, 2008: 4). The interdisciplinary study especially the socio-cultural which is combined with public health (bio-social) are now increasingly needed in the response to HIV/AIDS because it is associated with behavioral problems, economic factors, and socio-cultural changes occurring in society in a very specific and local context (Ellison, Parker and Campbell, 2003: 2).

In Indonesian context, *Waria* (transgender) and also their male sexual partners are one of the key population groups that will determine the success of the program to combat HIV and AIDS. This situation is proven in East Java. For example, the latest data of the Ministry of Health in 2011 reveals the number of people living with HIV and AIDS in East Java in 2011 reached 4318 people and was the highest in all provinces of Indonesia. Surabaya is a city with the largest estimated number of transvestites in Indonesia with 4,010 people and 1,045 of them are living with HIV (Ministry of Health, 2009: 32). This is the largest number of the total number of transvestites in Indonesia which is estimated at 35,000 people (MOH, IBBS Data Sheet, 2007: 2).

PERWAKOS (Persatuan Waria Kotamadya Surabaya - Association of Transgender in Surabaya Municipality) is the largest and oldest transgender community in Indonesia. Perwakos consists of 580 people, not including approximately 1,600 transsexuals who do not have a membership card. But in PERWAKOS itself, there is a problem in accessing health facilities, especially regarding to HIV and AIDS. IWAMA is a transgender community in Malang with the official membership number of transsexual that has not been recorded. IWAMA is the branch of PERWAKOS but it has shown progress in its development, especially in the field of Transgender Human Resources. One important

advance is the appearance of the head of IWAMA, Merlyn Sopyan, as one of mayoral candidates in Malang in 2010.

Ironically, transgender artists especially those who are the members of Ludruk, have been skipped from the HIV/AIDS prevention program. One contributing factor is the low participation of transgender artists in PERWAKOS and IWAMA.¹ The transgender artists in ludruk *Irama Budaya* and *Armada* are rarely involved and engaged in advocacy programs because they are barely present in counseling events held by PERWAKOS and IWAMA. In addition, the transgender artists feel that HIV and AIDS only occur in the transgender prostitutes while the artists are more secure because it has a permanent 'bojo/partner' and not looking for prostitute. This notion needs to be examined because in reality the transgender community is very heterogeneous and complex. Being a Ludruk artist is more as a self-actualization, an effort to obtain recognition of the community (social acceptance), as well as an inner satisfaction of artistic talents though it is economically unreliable. To survive, they work odd jobs, especially in the salon, singers, to be PSK/prostitute (Sukanto, 2010 and interviews Sholeh, January 11, 2013).²

Low participation of transgender ludruk artists of *Irama Budaya* and *Armada* in HIV and AIDS prevention program leads to the lack of knowledge and access to the health care that should be their right. This situation happens both on stage and off-

1 Irama Budaya is the only ludruk in Surabaya which most of the members are transgender. The group was established by Mak Sakiya Sunarjo in 1987, this group experienced its golden age in 2005 as a the best ludruk group ludruk but it is now in their dark period after the death of Mak Yah in Mei 2012.

2 Transgender community is heterogenous, complex, and multidimensional community. The identity of transgender is personally shaped and creating the collective identity. The identity is divided into 3 aspects: primordialism identity (native/migran transgender), territorial identity (place of living) and profession (*nyebong* transgender, salon transgender, street singer transgender). This identity will determine the power and access toward public facilities (health, citizenship, etc) (Widayanti, 2008)



Figure 1. Performing Artist of Tandhak Ludruk Irama Budaya in THR

tage. The world of stage is an arena of aesthetic activity to express the values that are subjectively believed by every individual. The world of stage is also a means of self-actualization for transgender artists so that they feel socially acceptable by the public. Therefore, even if the world stage does not satisfy them economically, they will perform as good as possible. Through their ability to dance, slapstick and *parikan*, the audiences will be entertained and satisfied³. James L. Peacock (2005: 261) states that slapstick and *kidungan* has a social function and psychological importance as communicative events that reflect the moral values which they believe to be the true. So far, *parikan* and *kidungan* shown in the *Irama Budaya* is more entertaining for audience and yet has not incorporated educational elements mainly related to HIV and AIDS.

Based on the above background, this research has two questions: (1) What are the factors that can be done to revitalize and empower transgender artists of *Ludruk Irama Budaya* and *Armada* (on stage and off-stage)

³ *Parikan* dan humor in Ludruk function as the communication media of culture which is easily accepted by the audience because it is entertaining, using local language, having legitimated values, flexible, and effective to convey the message (Aribowo dkk, 2012).

on HIV / AIDS prevention program?; (2) What kind of feminine Skills empowerment that can be used for transgender *ludruk artists* of *Irama Budaya* and *Armada* to be more economically independent?

METHODS

Research method that was used in this study was qualitative method utilizing CBPR (Community-Based Participatory Research) which included transgender community as agents of change. This method was collaboration between researchers and transgender community. This means that this study was a combination between research and social action. The voice and transgender community capabilities were very significant factors in the study. CBPR has several advantages, namely: 1) to build a program based on community needs, 2) to empower the community strengths in the intervention program, 3) to maximize the local expertise, both researchers and community (Minkler, M., & Wallerstein via N Pinto, Melendez and Spector 2008 ; 16-18). This method is also an institutional strengthening effort (capacity building) in the transgender community.

Data Sources and Data Collection Techniques

The main data sources were obtained

through in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews) and participatory research by adapting model done by Pinto, Melendez and Spector in New York in 2008. The respondents were 20 transvestite artists consist of 10 ludruk artists of Irama Budaya and 10 Ludruk Artists of *Armada*. The respondents were recruited based on the duration of their membership in at least the last 2 years in *Ludruk Irama Budaya* and *Armada*. It is important to remember that *Ludruk* artists often go out and go into the groups depending on the needs of the stage.

By using snowball sampling techniques, the stages of data collection techniques that were pursued are as follows:

First, researcher gave consent forms to get the respondent's willingness to be interviewed. Respondents read research purposes and if they agreed to be interviewed, they would sign a form anonymously.

Second, respondents were asked to fill in their demographic data such as:

1. Gender identity
2. Age
3. The socio-cultural background (date of birth, place of origin, etc.)
4. Permanent/non-permanent profession outside ludruk
5. Ethnicity
6. Involvement in transgender community PERWAKOS/IWAMA and *Ludruk Irama Budaya* and *Armada*

Third, conducting in-depth interviews, semi-structured, open and recorded by the interviewer.

Fourth, the interview was used as a workshop I which invited the transgender artists to discuss dominant themes that emerged in the field. At this stage, a feminine skill training was carried out simultaneously determined by the results of previous interviews. This training was held several times according to the needs and availability of funds. Besides that, there was a more modern marketing management using internet facilities such as creating websites etc.

Fifth, Workshop II was held with invited stakeholders, namely (KPA, KPADs, Ministry of Health, Center for Tropical Diseases UNAIR, UGM, Hospital Doctor Soeto-

mo) to formulate policies that could be taken and a program that could be continued for HIV prevention, to develop recommendations for empowerment program transgender artists.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In general, most *Ludruk* in East Java can be divided into two kinds, namely *Ludruk Tobongan* and *Ludruk Tanggapan*. *Ludruk Tobongan* is *Ludruk* which performs by traveling around and receiving the ticket money that is purchased by the audience. While *Ludruk Tanggapan* is *Ludruk* which performs based on the request either by individuals or institutions with specific stories that have been agreed between the inviter and the *Ludruk*. Based on the study conducted by Aribowo et al (2012: 78-79), *Ludruk Tobongan* is getting difficult to survive because it loses the audience groups. *Ludruk Tobongan* also has disadvantages in terms of cost of production which is quite big because during the travelling show, they must live day-to-day charge of all team members. Another obstacle is the weather factor that often cancels the stage so that the loss becomes larger. To cover the cost of production, *Ludruk Tobongan* artists must have other skills such as working in a beauty salon, farmers, traders, etc. High militancy among players of *Ludruk Tobongan* will determine how long the *Ludruk* group will survive because the fee is very small. According to Mak Yah, *Ludruk Irama Budaya* in the 1980s had been a *Ludruk Tobongan*, when the enthusiasm of the people was still very high, so that when they performed in the villages, Mak Yah often found the hidden talents of village artists who then were invited to join the *Irama Budaya*. However, *Ludruk Tobongan* is also highly risky because of the small fee and it still has to be divided to the musicians and sound system staffs, so they often experienced *Torok*/financial loss (interview with Mak Yah, Surabaya, Apri 2012).

The development of *Ludruk* in the past experienced the shift on *Kidung Bedhayan* singer and function as compared with the present *Ludruk*, although there are remaining hallmarks which are still maintained.



Figure 2. Ludruk Irama Budaya performs in THR

In the past, *Kidung Bedhayan* was sung by male players and today, it is replaced by the transgender who have artistic talent.⁴ According to the observations made by Aribowo et al (2012: 79), one of the reasons why many transgender become *Kidung Bbedhayan* is the increasingly open/public tolerance for transvestites and the transgender nature which is not easily offended by criticism of fellow transvestites on stage.

Theatrical *Ludruk* in East Java today is usually displayed as chronological show, namely: Choir → *ngeremo* → *bedhayan* → comedy → story. The theatrical rules of *Ludruk* in East Java are usually preceded by the appearance of *Sindhen* (singer) with kebaya dress, choir, and also the track orders. And in this session, several *Ludruk* groups receive the *Saweran* (tips) from the audience as a sign of gratitude to the transgender who sing their favorite songs. The next display

is *Ngeremo* dance followed by a *Bedhayan* dance. The transgender artists then perform a group dancing and sing *Kidung Bedhayan* with *gendhing jula juli*. After all transgender artists have gathered on stage, they sing popular Javanese songs. After *Bedhayan* ends, the comedy session appears by singing *Kidung* comedy. After that, the next is the main story of *Ludruk*.

The involvement of transgender in the *Ludruk* is advantageous because the audiences often are amazed and wait for the moment of the emergence of excellent singing and dancing by the popular transgender. At this session, the star transvestite transformation stage is at stake; when an excellent platform can attract and dazzle the audience, it is where he receives social recognition from the community. As told by San, one of the stars in Irama Budaya.

I'm 67 years old. Men still want to have sex with me. They give me money. I do not go out into the streets looking for men anymore. Usually, men from the audience come looking for me backstage. They see us on stage with our makeup on. I still look good when I'm dressed up (Kortschak, 2010: 149).

4 The difficult effort in finding the singer of *kidung bedhayan* is also experienced by traditional art group such as Lengger group in Banyumas. Mak Dariah (the real name of Sadam) who is the star artist in Lengger Meranggi Laras is now 82 years old and has not found any younger male replacement who is capable and wants to change his position (Kompas, 9 March 2014).

San's confession shows that after ludruk performance is completed, the star players meet the audiences who admire them and have interaction including sexual transactions in accordance with the collective agreement. This is very dangerous because the sexual transaction can happen casually and can be a bridge for the transmission of HIV-AIDS.

History and development of Ludruk Irama Budaya in Surabaya.

Ludruk Irama Budaya is the oldest *ludruk tobongan* group in Surabaya which survives to exist. *Ludruk Irama Budaya* group was formed by Sakiya or mak Yah on November 10, 1987 in Surabaya, coinciding with the Hero day. At first, they called themselves as *Ludruk Tobongan*, which means that they are always moving both inside and outside the city of Surabaya in performing their acts. Most Ludruk artists are the transvestites who came from various cities in East Java. At the beginning of its formation, *Irama Budaya* consisted of only 10 players with 6 transgender in it. The themes of social criticism dominate the story which was shown in the 1990s. Along with the development of the modern age, the nature of *Ludruk Tobongan* was abandoned and fully become *Ludruk Tanggapan* which was settled in the Wonokromo building, performing regularly or based on invitation either from within or outside Surabaya. *Ludruk Irama Budaya* experienced their golden age of an audience of more than 500 people every night. It happened during the period 1998 to 2003 when traditional art was still the excellent in the entertainment world. Some performances outside the city that they received were mainly from the support of Bu Luluk, one of the conglomerates in Jakarta who regularly provided financial assistance to ensure the preservation of the *Ludruk*. The former Governor of East Java, Mr. Basofi Sudirman also invited *Irama Budaya* several times to perform in Grahadi stage in Surabaya. At this time, *Irama Budaya* reached the peak of their fame and had almost 65 members supporting artists (interviews chairman and founder of *Irama Budaya*, Mak Yah, Jakar-

ta, April 2010). Major problems occurred in *Ludruk Irama Budaya* when in September 2012, Mak Yah passed away from diabetes. *Irama Budaya* was unstable because Mak Yah was the patron and mentor to his men transgender artists in Surabaya for *Ludruk Irama Budaya*. He became patron for helping transgender migrants to survive in Surabaya. Mak Yah was also a mentor for all members *Ludruk* both on stage and in everyday life.

After being left by Mak Yah, *Irama Budaya* experiences difficult conditions, especially in looking for a successor who has the capacity and capability to match with it.

The cooperation with the private sector has been carried out by *Irama Budaya*, especially during good months such as August and good months according to Javanese calendar. The cooperation with the private sector such as those carried out by TELKOMSEL which has a program of *Rumah Peduli Sosial Budaya* which was held on August 16, 2014 as shown below.

History and development Ludruk Fleet in Malang

Ludruk Armada is one of the best groups in the city of Malang. Founded by Drs Sunari in 1985, *Armada* is an abbreviation of *Arek Malang Dampit*. Drs Sunari had passed away and was succeeded by his first son Eros Djarot Mustajab until now. *Ludruk Armada* has more performances based on the invitation, not as *Ludruk* with a permanent stage. According to Mr. Djarot, *Ludruk Armada* was founded by his father because of his love for the traditional art. The golden age of the *Ludruk Armada* was the era of 1990s, when *Ludruk Armada* had a total membership of around 50s players and performed in several cities in East Java. After his father died, Mr. Djarot develops *ludruk* with more modern management. For example, in the case of *Ludruk* membership, he realizes about the looseness of his *ludruk* membership. The innovation management is also carried out by packing the stage performances in a more orderly and relies on a good sound system. Also, the performance is packed in the form of a DVD. In terms of the story on stage, the



Figure 3. The Ticket of Irama Budaya in Collaboration with TELKOMSEL

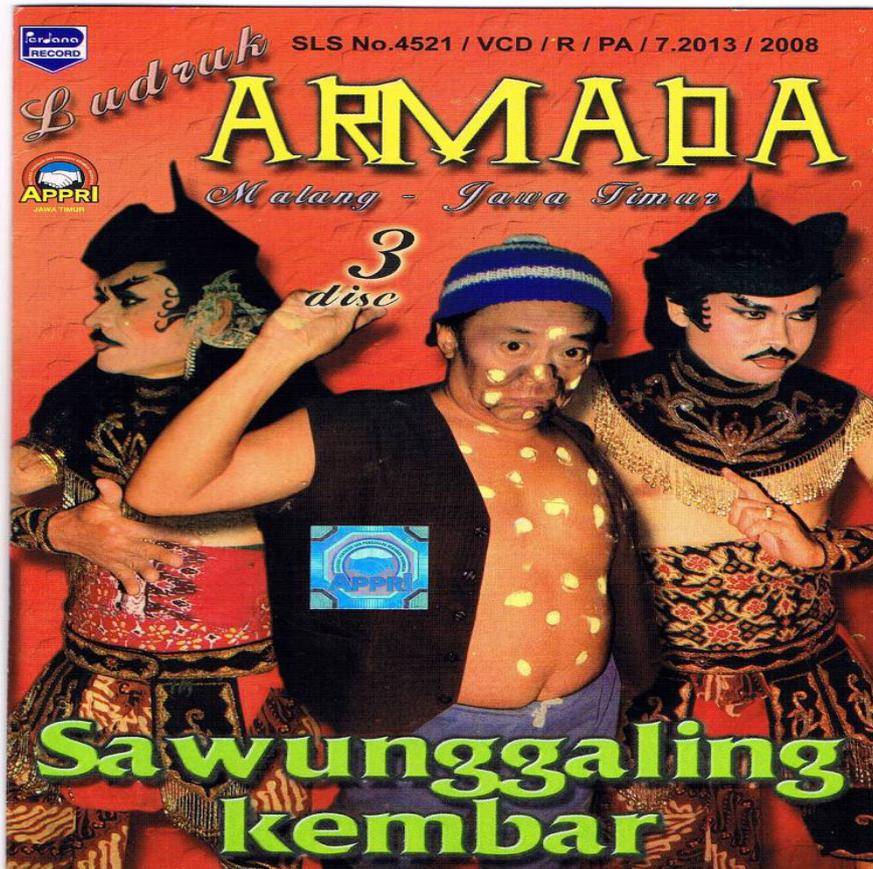


Figure 4. DVD Format of Ludruk Armada

director of Armada bring renewal and contextualization in the story script to be more easily understood by young generation (Interview with Pak Djarot, Malang, August and of September 2014).

HIV/AIDS Prevention Program on Transgender community
 PERWAKOS (The Association of Transgender in Surabaya Municipality) is the largest and oldest transgender community in Indo-

nesia. In a fairly long range, PERWAKOS has conducted a series of programs that support the prevention and treatment of HIV and AIDS among its members. For example, the program of “100 percent condom agreement” by inviting ‘thugs’, key figures, shop owners and guards, and night guards as local stakeholders. The program declares that all transvestites in the area of *Kembang Kuning* (one of the locations transvestite sex transactions in Surabaya) are required to wear a condom during intercourse with their customers. PERWAKOS, according to its chairman Irma Soebechi has made several concrete steps to cooperate with condom brand manufacturers to distribute their products entrusted to the key person that is easily accessible whenever the transvestites work. With this system of direct access, quality condoms at an affordable price will always be available whenever they are required. Likewise, the monitoring from the stakeholders becomes the he program from the transvestites voluntarily. This program continues to be evaluated in order to achieve the expected target so that 100% transgender sex workers voluntarily and committed to protect them (Surya, December 13, 2011).

The above example becomes one of the efficient efforts for condom campaign. Even though the program is still limited to sex workers of transgender community in *Kembang Kuning*, it is possible that this program could be developed in other locations in Surabaya. In addition to the counseling and condom distribution program, PERWAKOS also facilitates transsexual for a medical examination at several hospitals in Surabaya although such action still depends on the help of international funding agencies. For example, transvestites in Surabaya can get health care for free just by showing KTA (Membership Card) of PERWAKOS. But now, the support for transvestites has expired and PERWAKOS board is seeking further cooperation with other agencies (Interview with chairman of PERWAKOS Irma Soebechi, April 11, 2011).

In the beginning, *Irama Budaya* transgender artists who come from various major cities in East Java are young transgender

and migrate to Surabaya and make Ludruk as the only economic effort (interview Mak Yah, Jakarta and Jogjakarta, 2010, 2011). This situation becomes a source of problem because the fee in *Irama Budaya* is relatively small and cannot be relied on to survive in the city of Surabaya.

Irama Budaya accommodates the talents of transgender migrants who arrive without identity. The talent also later brings them together. Some artists admit that they often receive guests coming from the spectators who become fans of all ages and social backgrounds. San, senior transgender figures of *Irama Budaya* even admits that in his young age, he was the star of *Irama Budaya* and after the performance finished in Pulo Wonokromo building, dozens of young and old spectators had queued for making out with him. (Interview San, Surabaya, May 2014).

For *Ludruk* artists, using condom in sexual relationships in the era of the late 1990s was still strange. They thought that using condom was only for sex workers and not for artists. “Artists will not be infected with HIV, it is only experienced by sex workers” (interview with Mak Yah and San, 2011 and 2014). This mistaken perception still persists, especially among senior transvestites like San and Kr. Both of them are now 50 years old and still actively perform in *Irama Budaya*. “HIV is only experienced by those who *mbalon*, not *Ludruk* artist “.

Shifting views on HIV occurs even among young transgender. Sol who is now about to enter the age of 28 years old and has just had a son from his marriage to a woman admits that there is no difference between transgender artists with the other transgender. Sol is more open about sexual experiences and sexual culture which he experiences as a *Ludruk* artist. According to him, economic factors as the main reason why many *Ludruk* artists do *mbalon* (selling sex). Sol admits that he does the same thing both for consensual sex or sex without including the remuneration paid to the fans after the show. Consensual sex with *Brondong* - a term for young men- is a prestige without reward money, while the men who



Figure 5. The Example of ID card of Transgender Ludruk Artist Irama Budaya

are older usually they will get reward.

Different with general transgender, transgender artists acknowledge that there is a lack of PERWAKOS or NGOs involvement in involving them on the HIV/AIDS prevention programs. Respondents Sol, An, Kr, and San (interview, 2011 and 2014) recognize that there is a misunderstanding and a lack of good communication between transgender artists and PERWAKOS. First: PERWAKOS initiates to have a VCT activity (inspection and health controls) periodically to invite transgender artists. However, it is difficult for the transgender artists to attend because they are afraid of the evaluation will show that they are ill or HIV positive. They are also embarrassed if the result is positive and will be found out by their friends and gossip that will keep them isolated from the group. Second, in the VCT activity held by PERWAKOS, there is usually a doctor who will check. The artists admit that they are afraid of the doctor because they are not familiar with the medical world. They are afraid that they will be asked to carry out a further examination at the hospital and it will be difficult for them because they do not have ID cards and often administratively questioned whether a patient will be classified as male or female. Third, San admits that in 2010 he did VCT and he never receives the result until today. He feels that there is no follow-up on the result of the examination.

The problem related to the ID card has become a complicated problem among transgender both for transgender artists as well as other professions. Only transgender who has a special affinity with the village government bureaucracy like RT, RW, or district head will have access to an identity card. As stated by most of the respondents, they do not have a family card as a key requirement for KTP. Transgender artists who leave their family because they are disowned or embarrassed/afraid to admit to his family that they now become transvestites causes them not having families. The absence of the ID card makes them ineligible for health services such as BPJS or medical tests related to HIV/AIDS. Some transgender who manage to have their ID card also anticipate using their photos as female. Even if the name and gender of the list remains as male, but with a photograph of women, the health department will easily understand that the person concerned is a transgender, as shown below:

Another problem that is quite complicated among transgender artists to get involved in HIV/AIDS prevention program is the lack of good communication with PERWAKOS and IWAMA. The communication problem should be corrected because a lot of transgender artists who pass away are diagnosed as HIV positive. Transgender artists such as Sol and An tell about their friends who passed away because of HIV. Even

respondents Kr who came together with researcher to Jakarta in 2010 is now rumored as HIV positive (interview Sol and An 2014). Kr himself refused to be interviewed for being outside of the city, but based on the information from Sol and An who were also came together with researcher to Jakarta, Kr is in critical condition. Kr who now work as sex worker after the death of Mak Yah has a steady *Brondong* boyfriend and he has to financially support all the needs of the *Brondong*.

The empowerment of Transgender Ludruk Artists

Off-stage

Based on the interview with transgender artist respondents, there are some aspects of empowerment that is expected by the transgender to make them economically independent. Some transgender artists have proved that feminine skills have made them independent and respected by the surrounding community as an example that transgender artists do not always work as sex workers. Here are the results of interviews with some transgender who have been successful with their feminine skill.

Skills on beauty salon/cosmetology.

Respondents An and Sol have proved that the work in beauty salons make them able to survive economically as a transgender artists. Sol, a young transgender who has a lot of talent, outside his activity as *Ludruk* artist, also has bridal makeup skills. He acknowledges that his talent on cosmetic bride is autodidactic and also works as an intern for An who is more senior respondents. In certain months, especially after Idul Fitri, Sol claims that he will get bridal makeup at least 5 times a month. The income is able to make him survive as the head of household with one wife and one child. The same thing is also experienced by An who now owns a small shop in front of his house and is paying school fees and helping foster its *bojo* who is a former factory worker, the father of 3 children. For Sol and An, the work of salon especially bridal makeup is a profession that is most economically promising for

the Transgender (Sol and An interview, May 2014).

Tailoring and creating patterns of clothes, embroider

Former chairman of PERWAKOS, Irm, who is now 48 years proves that economic independence of transgender will reduce the chance of them in becoming sex workers and ultimately will also prevent them from HIV/AIDS. Irm, now has a boutique of wedding dress that he rents in the surrounding communities in the area of *Pacar Keling*. Irm is an example of an independent and intelligent transgender artist. At first, Irm was an elementary school teacher. Because he did not fit in with the world of education that required men to dress when teaching, Irm then came out and moved to Surabaya. He had joined the *ludruk* Irama Budaya and then went out to pursue his profession as salon owner and tailor. Now besides being the coordinator of PERWAKOS, Irm has boutique of wedding dress which is quite nice and feed herself and her adopted son. Irm believes that transgender should be economically independent to be sexually independent.

The skill as a wedding dress tailor is received through courses and perseverance to self-learn. Irm is now even often invited as a seminar speaker in major cities in Indonesia as an example of an independent and insightful transgender. Irm also does not hesitate to become a mentor for a young transgender who comes to Surabaya without siblings. He also becomes the coordinator and mediator for HIV / STI programs in Surabaya. He partially funds the health program from his income as a tailor (Irm interview, May 2014).

Designing and Selling Snacks/culinary

In contrast to her friends who prefer professions in the world of beauty and bridal fashion, respondent San pursues designing career. His small capital does not reduce his intention to sell boiled *Indomie* and warm drinks such as ginger and milk when *Irama Budaya* is playing in THR. He has a small canteen in THR building with his friends which helps him financially. San is also a

shopkeeper in the daytime. He states that without the skills in the world of beauty, he has to do every job to survive. Selling food is an option because it does not require special skills. The performance fee is very small so he has to earn money as a shopkeeper and sells snacks in the evening.

On-stage

In addition to the issues closely related to the performance stage feminine skills, traditional arts such as *Ludruk* faces some fundamental issues which will determine the existence of *Ludruk* in the globalization and capitalism world of entertainment. As one form of art-based community economy, *Ludruk* existence is determined by how strong community supporters persist to love and treat it as part of their culture. *Ludruk* is born from the coastal community of East Java evolving from the lower social classes who have its own sub-culture. Ronald Niezen (in Aribowo, 2012: 140) states that *Ludruk* has become part of the social formation for agrarian society which is also known as coastal culture indignity. *Ludruk* also has a significant function for the community supporters. Traditional arts such as *Ludruk* will play an important role as a means of cultural communication because the messages conveyed in the form of social criticism in *Ludruk* is easily digested and accepted by society. *Ludruk* stories are from legends, heroic epics, stories about moral truth contains a good moral message for the audience.

However, in recent development, *Ludruk* is experiencing some internal constraints, namely:

Marketing Pattern

The biggest challenge in managing traditional art of *Ludruk* is a management issue because historically, *Ludruk* cannot be separated from the state power, especially in the New Order. Through the state officials such as the police and army, the state did 'guidance' that the spread of the ideology of the state still persists. Therefore, no wonder that *Ludruk* often got regular feedback from the state officials in every stage of the election process in the New Order (Aribowo, 2012:

106). With such a patronage system, *Ludruk Tobongan* could survive because of the financial assistance from the state officials.

The process of 'development' or patronage by the government during the New Order had a negative impact for marketing patterns for *Ludruk*. As said by Mr. Djarot, *Armada* was first scouted by the police and army so the spirit to develop it into a professional performing group is still difficult to be built. In addition, the transgender artists often assume that being part of *Ludruk* is a calling, not a profession. Therefore, management of family is considered more appropriate than that of a modern management. According to Pak Djarot, this challenge is a big job that requires long process. The issue dealing with the traditional art today is to make *Ludruk* to use a more open management. If for all this time the *Irama Budaya* does not have a fixed schedule, *Ludruk Armada* has had a considerable financial management is still open even if the treasurer is in the hands of the Pak Djarot. (Interviews of Pak Djarot, Malang, September 2014).

Innovation and Renewal Story

The other element which requires reform and innovation in *Ludruk* is story material. *Ludruk* needs to refresh their story content to be understood by younger generation. According to the experience of researcher in watching *Ludruk Irama Budaya* in THR, most of the audience is older generation who come from the middle-low class. It is true that this traditional art is part of the culture of the people, especially the lower middle class. However, we need to realize that the younger generation is a market with huge potential and should not be ignored. According to Aribowo et al (2012: 118), culturally, the audiences of *Ludruk* are *abangan* classes in the Javanese community distribution system. *Santri* society does not like *Ludruk* because it does not pick up the story of Islam. The innovation of story occurred in the 1980s, when *Ludruk* began to incorporate elements into Islam's like: Story of Sunan Kalidjaga, Piety of children to parents etc. The audience segments were extended to the *santri* and this give a positive effect

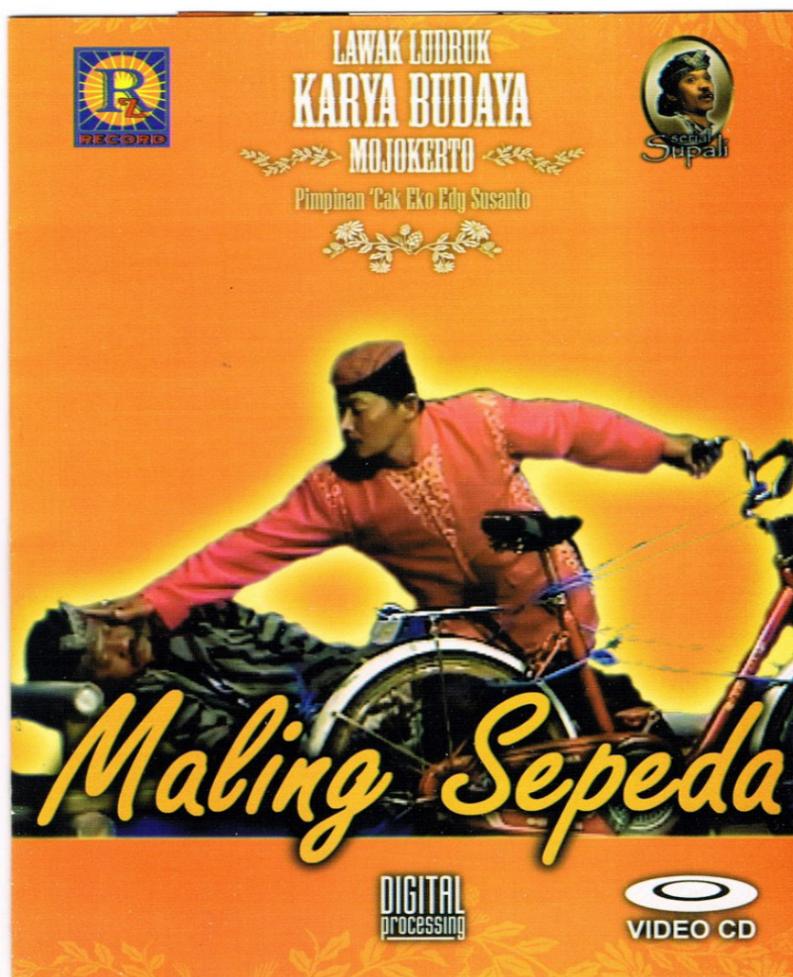


Figure 6. Story Innovation of Ludruk Karya Budaya

both for the sustainability ludruk also for society in general.

The story innovation using lighter a story and providing a large enough portion for an element of humor have been done by *ludruk Karya Budaya* in Mojokerto. The story emphasizes everyday reality as funny and entertaining story. The themes example of light and humorous are *Supali Juragan Tahu*, *Supali Maling Sepeda* would be readily accepted by the younger generation because its theme is light as Opera van Java (OVJ) in TV. If we compare with the classic story coming from heroic epics as done by Armada, for example *Sawunggaling Kembar*, *Sarip Tambak Yoso*, *Cerita Pak Sakerah* etc, then occasional, *Ludruk* needs to create the innovation with lightweight stories to be more entertaining for the younger generation. Here is an example of innovation *Ludruk*

story that has been done by *Ludruk Karya Budaya* Mojokerto by using everyday stories but still good.

The innovation of story still does not leave the moral messages and aesthetic that could be a guide for the audience. For example, in the verse below (Aribowo, 2012: 142):

*Ayune Wanito pillar sopo
Soko eyebrows Kalawan moto
Negoro Majune pillar sopo
Soko wrote kelawan moco*

The above verse shows that *Ludruk* could be learning media for people to always learn to write and read as one of the conditions for the progress of the nation. The use of local language/Javanese language will also maximize the audiences' understanding toward the message. In addition, the group's success is also determined by the

existence *Ludruk* icon/mascot who becomes an idol for the audience. For example, the legendary Cak Kartolo will create fandom that binds fans to always watch their idols in any stage. *Ludruk Karya Budaya*, for example, always displays the icon Cak Supali as the main attraction for each performance. This is not done by *Ludruk Armada* and also *Irama Budaya*.

CONCLUSION

Transgender artist is a group of transgender successor of traditional art that deserves special attention from the government, particularly the Surabaya city government in terms of access to health services. With the talent and capabilities they possess, transgender artists who largely do not have ID cards had been instrumental in developing the arts *Ludruk* as cultural icons of East Java. Based on the results of the research interview from *Ludruk* group *Ludruk*, it can be concluded that the health care, particularly HIV / AIDS, is not able to reach them. Senior transgender artists, in this case, play an important role because all access is determined by the transgender community senior who act as mediator and also patron for young transgender.

Internal and external factors play a major role in this regard. Internal factors eg: the reluctance of transgender artist to see the doctors because of fear, shame and lack of knowledge that VCT services free of charge. Another internal factor is the lack of coordination and social networking from the new leader of *Irama Budaya* and *Armada* with KPADs of East Java and Surabaya City Government in disseminating HIV / AIDS. In addition, the high mobility of transgender artists in between cities becomes an obstacle to collect them when there are VCT checks and HIV testing.

The external factors also affect the efforts to reduce the prevalence of HIV/AIDS among transgender artists. First: the availability of JAMKESMAS card for transgender artist is not yet available. It takes the seriousness of the Surabaya Municipality government to help transgender migrants who do not have ID cards so that the administra-

tive and bureaucratic problems can be tackled down. Second, PERWAKOS and IWA-MA in health programs often do not include transgender artists because they are difficult to be invited to join PERWAKOS and IWA-MA. Similarly, transgender artists are reluctant to join because they feel PERWAKOS gives more attention to the transgender sex workers. Social networking of transgender artists is not as wide as the social networks of transgender in salon or other professions. The internal and external factors become challenge that must be overcome to promote the prevention of HIV/AIDS among transgender artists.

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