

UNDERSTANDING DANGDUT FROM MELAYU ORCHESTRA

G.R. Lono Lastoro Simatupang and Michael H.B. Raditya

Performing Arts and Visual Arts Studies, Graduate School, UGM

michael.raditya@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Now ears of Indonesians are familiar with the sound of Dangdut Koplo. Many kinds of television programs almost every night plays dangdut contest shows. Not only that, many kinds of dangdut koplo songs are more varied to be created. A certain condition is different from the emerge of Dangdut Koplo in television in early 2000s. Instead of running well, dangdut koplo has been having pressure from a number of parties, starting from Rhoma Irama – the king of dangdut – to Indonesia Broadcasting Committee in West Java that forbid some songs aired on the radio because of the negative element (see http://x.detik.com/detail/intermeso/2016_0530/Digemari-Dulu-Dicekal-Kemudian-/index.php) and many other violations.

Departing from this, we can realize that negative stigma is very strongly embedded by the society on dangdut koplo. The performance between Rhoma Irama Dangdut and Dangdut Koplo makes the existence of significance that is quite big. Meaning that the difference between the two dangduts is very distant, it leaves subjective evaluation that sometimes is disadvantageous for one party. The effect of the negative stigma is embedded not only socially, but also musically. In this matter, the musical of dangdut koplo is also given the negative stigma not in the musicality frame or logic, but social and morality logic.

Furthermore, it can be related to auditive experience of the society. It cannot be denied that the significance of dangdut and dangdut koplo makes the listeners – both pros and cons – able to classify the difference between dangdut and dangdut koplo auditive, where dangdut can be enjoyed more, with the lyrics, music, to the performance rather than dangdut koplo performance. The assumption is not denied that its development is quite massive in the mind of the society recently. Dangdut koplo with its various characteristics receives negative stigma from many layers of society, starting from religious experts, common people, to the king of dangdut Rhoma Irama. Dangdut is considered to have moralistic lyrics, swinging music, to well-mannered performance. Rhoma Irama even differs esthetic dance and erotic dance, erotic dance is associated with dangdut koplo.

Meanwhile, in dangdut koplo, many things that are the opposite, such as negative lyrics, impolite dance, are associated with dangdut koplo performance. However, it is not without reason, especially the effect of Inul or fenominul – referring to the term made by Faruk HT and Aprinus Salam (via Weintraub, 2012) in responding the presence of Inul – that plays the video of Inul singing by focusing on some parts and curves of her body. If it refers to the one in 2000s, the beginning of Inul presence, the negative response on her presence really cannot be avoided. Inul is a specter that is not only for the society, but also for previous dangdut “regime”. Seeing the opportunity of the presence of significant difference between dangdut and dangdut koplo, dangdut actors are easy to reproduce negative stigma to subvert dangdut koplo. However, instead of dangdut able to maintain its existence, year by year, dangdut koplo skyrocketed to the top of popularity, even until now.

Departing from the glance of the event above, we might be able to see it as the contest of genre popularity. We can also see it as a desecration of dangdut ala Rhoma Irama. On the other side, we can also see dangdut koplo as a development. On the opportunities of those views, we can be presented that all things are based on the contextual of each of them. However, the one that is unfortunate is that the contextual of dangdut koplo is not really placed on the logic of its formation and development.

In this matter, we need to know that dangdut koplo does not suddenly present in 1998 reformation and harass the regime of Rhoma. Inul did not epistemologically and ontologically design this attack, we can even say that Inul is one of many dangdut koplo actors emerging to surface. Inul is a dangdut koplo singer, she is not dangdut koplo founder. It shows that without Inul dangdut koplo has already been with the society. Therefore, in this article, I want to show that regardless many views in the society on that genre, and the reality that dangdut koplo has formed and had existence in the area where they were born and developed, and it surely cannot be denied.

Departing from this logic, this article will try to understand Dangdut Koplo from the performance and the strongest element, which is Melayu Orchestra. Furthermore, understanding Dangdut Koplo from the performance is the most telling to read the relation from the genre. Thus, one thing that makes Dangdut Koplo has negative connotation because each element is separated arbitrarily. Therefore, it is important to refer on the performance of Dangdut Koplo as the way to understand the genre. Then, to understand more about dangdut Koplo, we will go to the cities that had a strong Melayu Orchestra, Jombang and Sidoarjo—two cities that we mentioned before has the strongest existence in the Pantura track.

To articulate the data, we use a combination method that relates with several major methods, such as ethnography, literature studies, and performance approach methods. We also use a technology, especially youtube.com to find the different, like musicality, orchestras and performance

characteristics. The research will be taken for 4 months, start from June, and will clear in September 2017. So, this article is our preliminary notes to create a new background analyzes.

DISCUSSION: NOTES OF DANGDUT CONSTELATION

This is really surprising and no one thought, or guest before, that the new genre was born namely dangdut. The presence of dangdut is mysterious, because the commonly music in that era had full strengthen effect in society. If we refer the historical data, the famous music in 1940s was seriousa, keroncong, and pop music (interview with Suka Hardjana, April 21, 2017). Three genre music that i mention before distribute by Bintang Radio Show—a radio contest and competition for singer. Bintang Radio created many stars, inter alia Bing Slamet, Harvey Malaiholo, and so on. This fact shows us that music dominant in Indonesia is seriousa, keroncong, and pop music. But, there are other genres created, the genres not dominant in that era, and dangdut, is one of them. In 1960s, dangdut has been appeared allegedly, especially Ellya Khadam—the famous singer in that era—agreed the presence of dangdut started in 1960, although were known in private group only (Raditya, 2013). Ellya said that dangdut is influenced by the presence of Indian films in 1954 (ibid, 5), not only Indian, dangdut genre also stimulated by Opera Bangsawan from Sumatera and Melayu Music Deli (ibid, 46).

This situation has shown us that dangdut was not the mainstream music in 1960s. This genre developed in the periphery and those who live on the coast, while those of people who live in city consume the dominant music, like: seriousa, pop, and keroncong. Herewith this statement, Arswendo stated that:

Dangdut culture—to expand not only dangdut music—has a soul in an interacting process, always dynamic, and therefore not serving someone or institution. Perhaps that is a reasons, why dangdut doesn't recognized as a grand culture, goodness, and truthiness, because it rejects the power of creation other than itself. Perhaps that is also why dangdut culture is always considered to be on the edge, trivial, not serious, and its status not adiluhung (1996:5).

His statement has shown the nature of dangdut music at that time, in which the music doesn't recognized as a grand culture, is likely to be heard, and in accordance with its standard. Nature Dangdut that impressed anti-structure makes this genre connoted as marginal music, trivial, and underestimated. At least, that is what happened in the early formation of dangdut genre.

But everything changed when Rhoma Irama came. He mixed dangdut genre with rock genre, especially in instruments, and orchestration, musicality, to the aesthetic sounds that different with earlier Melayu Orchestra. Rhoma took an important role in the development of dangdut music in society. This is

evidenced by the role of Rhoma when he used his music as a political tool to mobilize masses (2013:56). Then Rhoma Irama got the higher position in the dangdut constellation.

After that, because of television and radio mass distribution, public began to realize this genre. Rhoma Irama and his group, Soneta, change the 'old' dangdut type and replace the musical, performance, and packaging format. Rhoma has a great regime of dangdut, and he made some rules about musicality and performance. There are many singers born in his era, like Siti Nurjanah, Cici Paramida, and so on.

Then, about 20 years ago, there was a new wave emerged namely dangdut koplo. According to the dangdut Koplo, Andrew Weintraub also argues that dangdut is not singular, there are many various types of dangdut, such as dangdut saluang, dangdut west jawa, or dangdut koplo (2012: 234). But, Weintraub realized that local dangdut created before the democratization—1998—era started. Various types of dangdut like I mention before recognize us to realize that other places also produce dangdut music as they want. Nowadays, we call it appropriation. Different with Dangdut Rhoma, Dangdut local has been produced with local taste.

Not only way to produce, local dangdut had an own way to distribute their song. Different with dangdut Rhoma who distribute in music shop, local dangdut distribute their song with VCD. Usually they recorded their performance in random event, then they created in a VCD format. The VCD format more famous after Inul raised in 2002. Because of Inul, many singers from era Rhoma, and many moralists against the presence of Inul. Many people said that Inul too sexy in that video and culture audience in Indonesia. Respond this case, the king of dangdut, Rhoma Irama was really angry with Inul.

Year by year, dangdut koplo climbed slowly into the most famous dangdut type, then Inul Daratista to be a new queen in dangdut Koplo. To know more about existence of dangdut koplo, there are many programs in television relate with dangdut koplo. Then Inul became one of the judges in the contest. This thing means that Inul has been legitimated to be one of the singers in the dangdut genre. Even, there is a program television use a term Pantura to be the title of their program, called Bintang Pantura. This fact tells us how dangdut Koplo got the portion in television industry. Then, what's next dangdut koplo?

According to the portion of dangdut koplo in television, I thought that negative stigma in dangdut koplo erased already, but I do a mistake, dangdut koplo still marginalized, not adiluhung or great culture. In constellation of dangdut, dangdut Rhoma or dangdut Indian has a higher position than dangdut Koplo. In this time, Dangdut Koplo means still excluded. This fact shows the construction of this music genre allows another culture to be mixed, co-opted, adapted, or negotiated.

DISCUSSION: COGITATING THE TERM OF MELAYU ORCHESTRA

One question that is really simple but disturbing is why Dangdut still uses the term of Melayu Orchestra to name the orchestra accompanying its songs. Why is the term of Melayu Orchestra as a name of a group not replaced by dangdut orchestra, that if it is deacronized as D.O? Or, why Dangdut Koplo does not change its name into koplo orchestra, that if it is deacronized as K.O, and so on. Although in 2016 the phenomenon of NDX A.K.A musicians that also bring the spirit of dangdut rhythm do not use the term of melayu orchestra in front of their names. From this matter, it is important for us to search why the term of melayu orchestra is very important for this type of dangdut music.

For us, the search on melayu orchestra is important because production and reproduction of dangdut music are done by the actors. Simply, it can be said that without melayu orchestra, dangdut certainly will be nil. This search will explain why in the era of Rhoma Irama, the central role of melayu orchestra is as the front-man and the singer is only as a male vocalist who changes role, where Rhoma Irama is the centra, while Soneta melayu orchestra is only a companion. Therefore, melayu orchestra in the previous era had standard and certain musical characteristics, and the male and female vocalists – a name for singer – follow the request of related orchestra. In the era of Rhome, orchestra was not in the position, even the orchestra that has to adjust the style and taste of Rhoma Irama. After the regime of Rhoma, Dangdut Koplo brings back the role of melayu orchestra as the milestone of musicality, and the singers are still male or female vocalists, even though they have won dangdut contest on the television.

From the brief snippet of the logic of melayu orchestra that occurs, it is important to understand that the existence of melayu orchestra and its role in dangdut is necessary. If referring to the historical records, some records have been made by the previous researchers, such as: William Frederick, Ceres Pioquinto, Lono Simatupang, Andrew Weintraub, and still many more, have explained the role of melayu orchestra in dangdut. Those records certainly will be used as the foundation in applying the logic of melayu orchestra in various era of dangdut.

If referring to Indonesia Dictionary (2008), orchestra is a group of music players along with their musical instruments; 2 types of music that are played simultaneously; - dangdut music and special rhythm with drum sound that is more highlighted; - melayu music with the rhythm of songs from the Land of Malaya (Eastern Sumatera, Malay Peninsula, and others). The terminology that is described by Indonesia Dictionary certainly cannot be referred fully in the case of Melayu Orchestra because the sentence “along with its set of musical instruments” in reality is usually a set of musical instruments that are usually found in a rental. Melayu orchestra that is usually rented only brings

specific instruments such as flute, drum, and other ethnic musical instruments, while the western musical instruments are usually provided by the event creator. There is a record that in the era of 1990s, many melayu orchestras worked together with musical instrument rentals.

Referring back to the terminology of Indonesia Dictionary, dangdut orchestra really gives the specific definition, but in its implementation, the name of dangdut orchestra is not embedded by default on the performer. Meanwhile, melayu orchestra defined as a group of music players with a set of musical instruments that play music with song rhythm from the land of Malaya will be contrary with the applied melayu orchestra playing dangdut. Because melayu orchestra especially dangdut, it does not show melayu music, but dangdut music. Then, Simatupang has criticized where the melayu touch from dangdut music is. (2013:133)

Regarding to that matter, some matters need to be straightened out where melayu music cannot be used generally. Furthermore, embedding the type of music they play, it needs to be embedded, for example Melayu Dangdut Orchestra, Melayu Dangdut Koplo Orchestra, and others. It will be felt strange, but if seeing Modern Melayu Orchestra (Simatupang, 1996:27) embedded by Sinar Medan Melayu Orchestra, it allows embedding to be done. As further information, regarding to the matter, Simatupang also relates other modern melayu orchestras: Meanwhile, in the 1950s, other modern melayu orchestras were formed in Jakarta, among others were OM Chandralela, OM Irama Agung, OM Kelana Ria (ibid, 28). According to Simatupang, modern melayu orchestra appears to distinguish the previous melayu orchestra previously known as Opera Bangsawan.

Referring back to the orchestra, historically, the term of melayu orchestra emerged before the independence occurred. It is in line with what has been emphasized by Andrew Weintraub stating that.

This orchestra has been in Indonesia in a radio record in late of 1930s. Melajoe Sinar Orchestra (lead by Abdul Harim), from Batavia (Jakarta), played Melayu song that was accompanied by European instrument. They maintained Melayu musical characteristics, including rhyme structure, standard type of melodic phrases such as words and additional phrases (2012:42).

It has been stated by Weintraub that in late of 1930s, the term melayu orchestra has emerged in the society. However, the more interesting thing is that they played Melayu music by using European instrument. Regarding to this, the spirit of playing local and ethnic music by using Western instrument has been used massively. Even in 1027, RM. Soerjo Putro and Ki Hadjar Dewantara converted Indonesian music with Western annotation and instrument (Barendgert and Bogaerts, 2016). Not only that, the music that develop at that

time was Western music – especially European that was interpreted in Bahasa Indonesia, and the use of Western music to play repertoire of Indonesian music (ibid).

Furthermore, the name of melayu orchestra was also mentioned by the support of era contextual (read: zeitgeist) at that time. In the period of 1930s, it was the phase where the society that loves the homeland tried to imagine and design Indonesia, particularly if we associate two important moments, which are Sumpah Pemuda – Youth Pledge (1928) and Cultural Polemic (1935). The effect of those moments is showed in the field of music, where the language conversion to the use of Western music for the needs and the interest of Indonesian society is conducted.

This study on melayu orchestra suddenly makes the reading of William Frederick not very appropriate. Frederick stated that:

The term of melayu orchestra has emerged in around 1940s, with the figure who was considered important in appearance of the term “Melayu Orchestra”, Dr. A.K Gani, the activist of Partai Serikat Islam Indonesia – Indonesia Islamic Party (PSII) and Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia – Indonesia People Movement (Gerindo) (1982:106).

However, from Frederick’s statement, he is not completely wrong. Simatupang also responded him with “Viewing the accomplishment of musical film (keroncong) ‘Terang Bulan’ – Moonlight (1938) that took the attention of local audience in great number of people, Dr. A.K. Gani then saw it as an opportunity to use the form of popular culture as the media to grow and spread nationalism spirit (2013:194). In this matter, we can see that A.K Gani is an intellectual figure in conserving the term of melayu orchestra as a medium to build Indonesian-ness. It is also in the nationality contextual, it still in one same line, which is designing Indonesia.

Afterwards, Melayu Orchestra developed rapidly with the development of Indonesian-ness spirit. However, it does not force melayu orchestra loyal to only melayu music. Melayu orchestra in 1960s started to negotiate with the tendency of era, as the effect of Indian film and music. Furthermore, Lohanda explained that Melayu Orchestra did not play the real Melayu song such as Makan Sirih Berjauh Malam, or Melayu Deli song such as Pulau Putri, but they sang Hindustan-style Melayu song composed by A. Kadir, Husein Bawafie, and others (Lohanda, 1991: 140). It became the pioneer where Melayu Orchestra is a group of music players that need to adjust the condition. They need to negotiate the market demand.

If it is referred further, the similar logic is also the reason why Melayu Orchestra plays Western-style music as the one brought by Rhoma Irama. Melayu Orchestra that is created by Rhoma, Soneta, became a medium in delivering a new style from Rhoma Irama. It is also related to the open of

market after the leadership of Soekarno that prohibited Western music in 1959. In the era of the new order, Suharto opened the opportunity for the Western to take part in influencing the culture, and one of the effects is on Melayu Orchestra of Rhoma Irama. However, the interesting thing from Melayu Orchestra is that not all melayu orchestra is applied similarly or follows the orchestra created by Rhoma, especially if we see A. Rafic or Elly Khadam who still bring Hindustan them even though in Western outfit.

From the description above, there is a thing that must be remembered that the change occurs in central cities, especially Jakarta. The further question is how about melayu orchestra in local region. Do they follow similar pattern and logic to the ones in Jakarta? It is the interesting thing where appropriation from each region becomes a unique new color of each melayu orchestra in the region. Melayu orchestra in local region also develops quite rapidly. Ceres Pioquinto who studies dangdut in Sekaten does not really have significant anomaly and difference in dangdut music in local region, but there are a number of ethnic elements that appear. Intellectual actors of melayu orchestra in local region intimidate dangdut music created by capital city melayu orchestra and interpret it with local ethnicity power. However, they do not question the term of melayu orchestra as the front name of their group.

DISCUSSION: MELAYU ORCHESTRA ON DANGDUT MUSIC

For some previous scholars who studied Dangdut, such as Simatupang, Weintraub, Frederick, Lohanda, or scholars who studied Malaysian music, such as Tan Sooi Beng, they stated that Opera Bangsawan was the pioneer from the appearance of Melayu orchestra. Then, the next question is, what is the relation of Opera Bangsawan and Deli Melayu music? If it refers to James R. Brandon (1997), the relation is on the practice of music mixing. Furthermore, Brandon stated that:

The characteristic of the mixing is in the elements of story, dance, costume, or music. Bangsawan performs Malaysian local stories and stories from Turkey, Egypt, India, China, Java, and Europe. Meanwhile, in its part of music, it uses musical instruments from Melayu (tambourine), Latin America (mandolin), India (tabla), that are combined with Western musical instruments such as piano, violin, and saxophone.

It also becomes the logic of present melayu orchestra in combining various cultures developing in around it, similarly, Hindustan and Middle East in 1960s, India and West in 1070s, then West and Middle East in 1990s, and Korean wave in 2010s even though it was only in a short period (see Ayu Ting-ting in the song Sik Asik).

However, the mixing does not suddenly occur. For Simatupang, the characteristic of the mixing is related to the habitat where this type of theater lives. Simatupang explained that the theater lives in “urban area, Malaya coast-trading peninsula, Sumatera, Java, and Kalimantan, that in late of 19th century and in early 20th century were inhabited by people with the background of various ethnicity and nationality (2013:139).

If it refers specifically on Melayu orchestra, Weintraub divided melayu orchestra in its early development theoretically, which is Medan, Jakarta, and Surabaya. For Weintraub, the development of melayu orchestra in these three places, even though has similar effect but different implementation. For Medan, Deli Melayu musicality is stronger than melayu orchestra in Jakarta and Surabaya, meaning that the geographical location affects the characteristic of the melayu orchestra. However, those three places are not separated in order to affect each other. Those three places are the places for Modern Melayu orchestra to live and develop. Melayu orchestra that is quite famous is OM Sinar Medan emerging in Jakarta in 1950s (Simatupang, 1996). Besides OM Sinar Medan, and other melayu orchestra such as OM Kenangan, OM Bukit Sigantung (famous with dancing rhythm), OM Irama Agung, and OM Kelana Ria. However, those melayu orchestras are also affected by stars from Medan, such as, Lily Suheiry, Rubiah, and Ema Gangga (Weintraub, 2012: 44). In the record of Weintraub, this OM plays four kinds of rhythms, which are Western, India, Deser, and Melayu (ibid, 48). Melayu orchestra in the early era did not only play performance or recording music, but also became musical film, especially film with Melayu and India nuance.

The effect of India film stimulates melayu orchestra that adapted to the music with India nuance, some previous OMs have emerged such as Bukit Siguntang OM and Sinar Medan OM that also played thick Indian rhythm. Between one OM and others, they are differed from their musical characteristics, such as Sinar Medan OM that played translated Indian song. One OM playing Indian song is Kelana Ria OM with famous female vocalist, Ellya Khadam. However, Dana Seloka OM played original Melayu song with acoustic instruments. Moreover, it was also recorded that Purnama OM in 1960s pioneered capsule drum into separated drum with two membranes that now are used by dangdut drum. This Purnama OM also appeared in the era of Indian music and affected the development of melayu orchestra musicality. One of its leading female vocalists was Elvy Sukaesih. In 1960s, it was also recorded that Oma Irama sang for Chandraleka OM.

Different from Medan and Jakarta, Surabaya is also different. Melayu orchestra recorded to have significant role in Surabaya is Sinar Kemala OM. According to Weintraub, Sinar Kemala OM is located in Arabian habitation, even the members of this orchestra are from gambus – stringed instrument – orchestra (2012: 80). Furthermore, Sinar Kemala OM was the biggest orchestra in Surabaya in 1960s. Even in its peak of glory, this orchestra had members as

many as 15-25 musicians – including 4-6 singers – with the difference between Jakarta and Medan located on the number of violists (ibid). Musically, this OM tends to the sound of Middle East, and it is certainly logic, especially because they live in Arabian habitation and many of its players are gambus orchestra musicians. Not only that, this OM has sung Islamic theme and Arabic words, for example “the Majesty of God”, “Insyafiah” (ibid). If Indian culture has affected OMs in Jakarta and Medan since 1952, Sinar Kemala OM has been recently affected three years after.

As in 1959, Soekarno stopped all foreign influences, Melayu Orchestra with Indian and Middle East nuance was stopped in 1960s. Melayu Orchestra in this era had static phase. Responding to this, Weintraub agreed that the development of melayu orchestra in that era did not much develop, Melayu pop actually developed quite strongly. Although existing OMs was not out of business, they still existed, but only were played in the local level, in special occasions. Military coup d’etat also added the phase of famine melayu orchestra. As stated by Weintraub, in 1976, Ellya Khadam released the song entitled “Kau Pergi Tanpa Pesan” (You Left Without Message), this song was considered as the milestone of the return melayu music with Indian nuance (2012: 86). Moreover, the specter of Western culture that was banned by Soekarno was allowed to develop in the era of Suharto, and it also affected Melayu orchestra and Dangdut music.

In the era of new order, the pioneer of dangdut music really referred to Oma Irama, but not only him who popularized melayu orchestra in creating dangdut music. The previous actors, both melayu orchestra and singer, such as Ellya Khadam, A. Rafiq, Elvy Sukaesih, and others, together they built dangdut. However, it is not denied that Oma Irama is a creative figure in creating different musicality. It is shown on his melayu orchestra that he made in 1970, Soneta. Different from the previous where the singer negotiated with melayu orchestra, in Soneta, Oma Irama was free to do actions as he wished. He started to change some songs in accordance with his taste. By mixing Western music, Soneta OM became a new power. Afterwards, many melayu orchestras followed the pattern created by Oma Irama, both musically and in a polite manner, especially when Oma returned from umroh in 1980s.

Next, melayu orchestra developed again along with the development of era. Some groups were recorded bringing ‘pop dangdut’, ‘mandarin dangdut’, and ‘rock dangdut’. Two top groups are Tarantula and Radesa. Different from the previous, Tarantula (Camelia Malik) and Radesa (Mansyur S.) did not use the term of melayu orchestra in front of their groups. However, these groups mixed pop music and dangdut. There was Pancaran Sinar Petromaks OM in late 1970s. This orchestra is the orchestra made among college students. The more years, the more different. This PSP OM changed the term of OM which was melayu orchestra to moral orchestra. However, this step did not affect other orchestras to follow, especially this orchestra that tended to be funny.

Next, in era of 1970s, there was not much progress that can be seen from melayu orchestra because there was the change of central role from melayu orchestra to figure. It was certainly a form of big step in changing melayu orchestra ontologically, where the role of dominant melayu orchestra and the singer as companion changed into the singer that became central figure, and melayu orchestra as the companion of the singer. It was seen on Soneta OM of Rhoma Irama to Camelia Malik's group with Tarantula. As the result, there were not many other records on the power of melayu orchestra as the important agent of dangdut music creation.

DISCUSSION: DANGDUT KOPLO MELAYU ORCHESTRA IN JOMBANG AND SIDOARJO

If referring to the above logic, in national frame, it can occur, but it cannot be generalized in local frame because the rise of Inul Daratista in early 2003 did not present with the logic of a singer as a central figure. Inul in the video was only a singer who sang for one local melayu orchestra in Pasuruan, East Java. Related to the rise of Inul, there was nothing paying attention more on which melayu orchestra and like what shaded Inul at that time. All focused on Inul and her dance connoting negatively for most of people. Actually, implicitly the phenomenon of the rise of Inul shows that the pattern and the logic of melayu orchestra that 'changed' in the era of Rhoma have developed again. Moreover, it is important, where Inul and her melayu orchestra became the model in viewing further on the logic of melayu orchestra and dangdut music, especially dangdut koplo in local region.

It is not a secret that the north coast line is the habitation and its development place of dangdut koplo. As the rise of Inul is often associated to democratic era, we refer to melayu orchestra that emerged in the reformation era. As far as it could be recorded precisely, there were some melayu orchestras that developed in that era, which were Pallapa Melayu Orchestra established in 1998 in Sidoarjo, Monata Melayu Orchestra that was established in Sidoarjo in 1999, and many other new melayu orchestras that recently appeared. Meanwhile, in Jombang, there are Sonata Melayu Orchestra established in 1998, and Sera Melayu Orchestra established in 2003, and many other melayu orchestras that also emerged following the canonical. In this matter, it can be agreed that two cities, Jombang and Sidoarjo are not the main, but it cannot be denied that those two cities are quite strong in producing dangdut koplo melayu orchestra groups that have quite strong existence in present.

In this article, I will refer to two melayu orchestras, which are Sera melayu orchestra in Jombang lead by Abah Soleh SH and Monata melayu orchestra in Sidoarjo lead by Gatot. Two of these melayu orchestras have quite big existence, both in performance and creating female vocalists that

often appear on television contests, such as KDI (Kontes Dangdut Indonesia – Indonesia Dangdut Contest), Bintang Pantura, or D'Academy. In both melayu orchestras, there has not been found strong historical data. Different context from the dangdut era in 1960s to 1980s, where mass media covered them thoroughly, even until Dangdut Tabloid that released in the era of 1990s, so in present era, the details cannot be found. Some websites and blogs also recorded the existence of those melayu orchestras, but it was not accompanied with strong narration on them. Therefore, the big study from this article will study the local narration.

As the result, in this article, from those two orchestras, we will give a record on their performance uploaded on youtube.com. We consider this way as the initial step in giving record and identifying on those two orchestras. From those two orchestras, we have studied a live performance video by those orchestras. Those performances are based on the similar performance characteristic, which is open performance show-, and similar song, which is Secawan Madu (A Glass of Honey). The song is created by Abunawas and Joe Real with 5 minutes duration, but in this dangdut koplo song, it has duration of 6 to 7 minutes depending on the composing technique. This song is a song that is often sung by many dangdut singers, one of them is Kristina. The song 'Secawan Madu' is a classic dangdut song, or non-koplo dangdut. One reason why this song is comparison instrument of two melayu orchestras, Sera and Monata, is to see how far the composition is done.

Departing from the video of Sera OM, the song 'Secawan Madu' is shown in one of birthday events. The song version of Sera OM is brought by Aan Sema. Meanwhile, the second video from Monata OM is shown in one of wedding events. The song version of Monata is brought by Wiwik Sagita. From both videos, the significant difference that can be seen is the musicality from those two orchestras. Where in Sera OM, the song Secawan Madu is brought directly with dangdut koplo rhythm, while in Monata OM, the similar song is brought differently, which is half of first verse refers to the original version, and the next half plays in composition version. We also focus on some other videos on the similar song from those two orchestra, but there is no significant different between them.

Departing from the song Secawan Madu from those two orchestras, we can see that there is difference between types of dangdut koplo melayu orchestra playing dangdut koplo fully and playing not fully. In the dictionary of dangdut performance, the first tendency refers to the term pure, while the second refers to the term all around. Normally, the first type will show all songs with full composition, while the second type will always show the original version and is continued with composition version. Although different in type, structurally their music is similar.

Intro	Verse	Intro	Verse	bridge	Chorus	bridge	Chorus	Back to Intro		
Intro	Verse	Intro	Verse	bridge	Chorus	bridge	Chorus	coda	verse	Outro

In the second part after the second chorus, it usually repeats from the first stage of the first intro to the second chorus, before end with coda, verse and outro. The little thing that is different between pure melayu orchestra and all around is in the first and the last part which generally in all round type will return to put it original version, while in pure OM will not.

Although different, both types still present their dangdut koplo-ness with fast tempo and the dominant ‘tak’ and ‘tung’ sound of drum. It becomes right strategy in responding different audience. Both differences of performing types become a variation between many kinds of dangdut in Pantura (North Coast Line). However, these performing types are not based on the territory because some other OMs in Jombang also bring all round types, and in contrary, some other OMs in Sidoarjo bring pure type.

C O N C L U S I O N

Departing from this article, we would like to conclude two things, first, art has power in life; and second, critique in centralization system of culture. Because of dangdut discuss, we can realize that music is not only a complementary medium of human need. We found that dangdut music formed because of contextual that always changes. So we can conclude that music can describe the negotiation of many entity, either ethnicity or nationality. In dangdut case, dangdut created from many culture, dangdut has been influenced from many input. Not only dangdut as a result of negotiation, dangdut also give influence to other culture.

From this article, we also would like to argue that the centrality of a research subject cannot generalize all things. Such as the dangdut case, there are a have different logic, musically, or habitus between dangdut Rhoma, dangdut Indian, and dangdut Koplo. From this, we believe that local narratives need to be explored and become important source of diversity. With local narratives we can articulate a many practices of appropriation, cooptation, cultural negotiation, adaptation, acculturation, etc, with objectively. This also reflects the research that we did, that Melayu orchestra is a new way to looking dangdut differently. To result this ongoing research, we would like to argue that the diversity of local narratives provides new opportunities to mapping the future of Indonesian culture.

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