

HATI YANG LUKA [1988]

Transcription (P.Y.) based on recording by BETHARIA SONATHA

Music & Lyrics by OBIE MESSAKH

A

1. Ber-u-lang ka-li a-ku men-co-ba s'la-lu un-tuk me-nga-lah
 2. Li-hat-lah tan-da me-rah di pi-pi be-kas gam-bar ta-nan-mu

de-mi ke-u-tuh-an ki-ta ber-du-a wa-lau ka-dang sa-kit.
 Se-ring kau la-ku-kan bi-la kau ma-rah me-nu-tu-pi sa-lah-mu.
 sa-lah-mu

B

Sa-makah a-ku ba-gai bu-rung di-sa-na yang di-ju-al o-rang

hing-ga se-su-ka - mu kau la-ku-kan i-tu, Kau sa-ki-ti a - ku

A

ka-lau-lah me-mang ki-ta ber-pi-sah i-tu bu-kan su-ra-tan.

Mung-kin i-ni le-bih ba-ik a-gar kau pu-as mem-ba-gi cin-ta

B'

Pu-lang-kan sa-ja a-ku pa-da i-bu-ku a-tau a-yah-ku

C

♀ VOICE PARALLEL 3ds ABOVE, TO ♯ →

Du-lu se-geng-gam e-mas kau pi-nang-a-ku

Du-lu ber-sum-pah jan-ji di de-pan sak-si hu-wo hu-wo

D

♂ VOICE PARALLEL 6ths BELOW, EXCEPT AS NOTED, TO ♯ →

o — Na-mun se-mu-a hi-lang-lah su-dah di-te-lan du-sta hu-wo hu-wo

REPEAT TO ♯ FOR ENDING →

o — Na-mun se-mu-a ting-gal ce-ri-ta ha-ti yang lu-ka

E

♂ VOICE:

Bi-ar bi-ar-kan-lah a-da du-ka ma-lam i-ni

i — Mung-kin e-sok *kan kau je-lang ba-ha-gi-a ber-sa-ma yang lain.

♂ VOICE PARALLEL 6ths ABOVE

HATI YANG LUKA, AN INDONESIAN HIT

Philip Yampolsky

The best-selling popular song in Indonesia for 1988 was *Hati Yang Luka*, "A Wounded Heart." Its popularity was due largely to its own virtues or vices (depending on one's point of view), but in part also to the fact that in late August it became the focus of a noisy controversy involving the government, television, the music industry, the press, and the public. *Hati Yang Luka* belongs to the genre of Indonesian popular music that is called Pop, but after it was clear that the song was going to be a hit in the Pop genre, its producers adapted it to fit a number of other genres. In this article I first discuss *Hati Yang Luka* as a Pop song and the storm that blew up around it; then I turn to the reworkings of the song.

I

Hati Yang Luka was introduced to the public on January 11, 1988, when a cassette was issued in Jakarta featuring the song as sung by Betharia Sonatha.¹ Four days later, a music video of the song was shown on national television (TVRI), on the pop music program *Aneka Ria Safari*. In the video, one saw Betharia singing, plus enactments of various scenes from the story that the song tells; the song itself, in the pre-recorded version already released on cassette, served as the soundtrack. The *Aneka Ria Safari* spot made the song a hit—as TV spots often do in Indonesia, which is why cassette producers pay great sums to get their songs on TV.²

¹This date and the one for the *Aneka Ria Safari* broadcast come from an interview on August 13, 1988 with staff-members at PT Musica, the company that produced the *Hati Yang Luka* cassette.

²At that time the national television network, TVRI, had a monopoly on television broadcasting throughout Indonesia, and outside Jakarta it still does. Although local programs are broadcast at certain hours, prime-time broadcasting is always (since the implementation of the Palapa satellite) relayed from Jakarta. The Pop music programs are broadcast in prime time, and the songs featured on them are thus guaranteed a nationwide audience. TVRI's monopoly was modified somewhat in November 1988, when Indonesia's first private TV station, Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI), began a trial month of broadcasting. Regular broadcasting began in March 1989. RCTI broadcasts only for the Jakarta region, and its programming consists mainly of

Hati Yang Luka stands squarely within the genre of Indonesian music known as Pop Indonesia ("Indonesian Pop").³ The musical characteristics of the genre are largely Western: guitars, keyboards, and drums form the nucleus of the instrumentation, to which other instruments, either real or synthesized, may be added; the melodic and rhythmic idiom is also Western. Melodies are accompanied according to the Western system of functional harmony, relying primarily on elementary chords and progressions. To American ears, Pop Indonesia sounds like a direct descendant of American white pop of the 1950s. While the instrumentation is more up-to-date and the arrangements sometimes more sophisticated, the singing is generally straight fifties—wispy, disembodied, without tension or defiance, without edges. There are Pop songs expressing dedication to Indonesia, expressing thanks to God for His blessings, or extolling the delights of children and nature; but most Pop songs are about love. The songs very often concern high-school students, and the kind of love that is usually talked about is young love—though the audience for Pop is by no means confined to teenagers. There are happy songs, flirtatious songs, aren't-I-cute songs, and I'll-love-you-till-the-end-of-time songs. And there are sad songs, often disparaged by the uncharitable as *cengeng* or "weeepy"; these are usually sung by girls and deal with broken promises, hopeless love, faithless boys, sweethearts separated by fate or by their parents' plans for arranged marriages.⁴

Hati Yang Luka is commonly described as a weeepy song, a *lagu cengeng*, and indeed in Betharia's music video the tears roll down as she sings. But I must say that I find the song rather more than that. Here are the lyrics:

	HATI YANG LUKA	A WOUNDED HEART
	<i>Words & music by Obbie Messakh</i>	
	[Female voice:]	
A1	Berulang kali aku mencoba s'lalu untuk mengalah demi keutuhan kita berdua walau kadang sakit	Again and again I try always to give in for the sake of our marriage although sometimes it hurts
A2	Lihatlah tanda merah di pipi bekas gambar tanganmu Sering kau lakukan bila kau marah Walau kadang sakit	See the red mark on my cheek the imprint of your hand You often do this when you are angry to cover up your guilt

material produced in the West. The director of RCTI is Bambang Trihatmodjo, the second son of President Suharto.

³Pop Indonesia is one genre within the complex that an English-speaker might call "Indonesian popular music." The larger category includes several other genres—among them Rock, Country, Jazz, Kroncong, Dangdut, Qasidah, and Hawaiian—that an Indonesian would differentiate from Pop Indonesia. (If he were thinking in musical terms, he would; sociologically it is possible to use "Pop" as an umbrella term for Pop Indonesia, Rock, and Country.)

⁴I have sought at length for a single line that will convey the essence of *cengeng*. I believe I have found it in Pance Pondaag's composition *Kucoba Hidup Sendiri*, "I Will Try to Live Alone," which was a hit for Dian Piesesha in 1988. The line is: "Bagaimana mungkin percaya kepadamu, sedangkan ulang tahunku kau tak ingat lagi? [How can I trust you when you no longer remember my birthday?]"

Cengeng is not a new term in Indonesian music criticism. In the early 1960s, when Western popular songs and their Indonesian imitations came under attack by President Sukarno and the Lembaga Kesenian Rakyat (Lekra), *cengeng* was one of the pejoratives used, along with the famous *ngak-ngik-ngok*. (See, for example, "Penjanji2 Zaman 'Lief Java' Muntjul Lagi," *Harian Rakjat Minggu*, September 13, 1964.)

B	Samakah aku bagai burung disana yang dijual orang hingga sesukamu kau lakukan itu kau sakiti aku	Am I like that bird over there for sale so you can do what you like to me and hurt me
*A	Kalaulah memang kita berpisah itu bukan suratan Mungkin ini lebih baik agar kau puas membagi cinta	If we really break up it won't be Fate that caused it Maybe it's better this way so you can be satisfied and spread your love around
b'	Pulangkan saja aku pada ibuku atau ayahku	Just send me home to my mother or [=and?] my father
C	Dulu segenggam emas kau pinang aku Dulu bersumpah janji di depan saksi—huwo huwo	Once, with a handful of gold [i.e., bride- wealth] you asked me to marry you Once, we made vows in front of witnesses—huwo huwo
D	Namun semua hilanglah sudah ditelan dusta—huwo huwo Namun semua tinggal cerita hati yang luka [END] [Male voice:]	Now that's all over with swallowed up by lies—huwo huwo Now all that's left is the story of a wounded heart
E	Biar, biarkanlah ada duka malam ini Mungkin esok 'kan kau jelang bahagia bersama yang lain [back to *A]	Let it be, let it be you are sad tonight Perhaps tomorrow you will find happiness with someone else

The lyrics are quite unusual for a Pop song, in that they present a situation from married life rather than high school, and they deal with real problems rather than fantasy ones: the husband plays around with other women, and when the wife objects he slaps her. (This scene is depicted in the TV song-video.) She has taken it for a long time, but now she's had enough and wants out. She sings, in the line that probably every TV-viewing Indonesian knows by heart, "pulangkan saja aku pada ibuku atau ayahku [just send me home to my mother and father]."⁵ This line was attacked by people who felt it showed that the wife had no gumption, couldn't face life on her own feet, and had to run back to her parents.⁶ But it seems to me to be quite realistic: divorced or abandoned women in Indonesia are in a socially exposed and suspect position, and to go home and be seen as submitting to parental restraint is often the best of their few options. In short, I feel that

⁵The line actually says "just send me home to my mother or my father," which suggests that the singer's parents are divorced or separated. This literal construction distracts the listener and threatens to capsize the story, since it complicates what is presented as simple (going home). I believe that "or" (*atau*) is used here simply to suit the melody, and what is meant is "and" (*dan*); I have translated the original accordingly. When G. M. Sudarta, the editorial cartoonist for *Kompas*, wanted to use this line—in a cartoon showing a family of viewers, the singer on TV, and the government's minister of information, all dissolved in tears—he solved the problem by changing the singer's text to "just send me home to my mother or my grandfather" (... *atau kakekku*), *Kompas*, August 27, 1988.

⁶See, for example, "Hati Yang Luka' . . . , Tapi Tak Apa-apa!" *Kompas*, August 19, 1988, and "Lirik Cengeng Memang Dapat Mempengaruhi Suasana Hati," *Kompas*, August 30, 1988.

Hati Yang Luka is one of the very few sad Indonesian Pop songs that are *not* just cengeng weepers.⁷

After the Aneka Ria Safari broadcast, *Hati Yang Luka* became a solid hit. The song was simply everywhere. The maids were singing it in the kitchens; musicians were playing it in the streets. In August, eight months after it was issued, I heard the original cassette version played five times on a two-and-a-half-hour bus trip.

I specify that it was the original version I heard on the bus trip, because within three months of the original issue the music industry had begun a blizzard of secondary versions, follow-ups, and remakes. The song was rearranged for several other popular music genres and translated into various regional languages. I will later discuss at length the extension of *Hati Yang Luka* outside the Pop Indonesia genre. But within Pop Indonesia alone there were by August 1988 five versions of the song available on cassette: Betharia Sonatha's original version; a version by another female singer; an instrumental version; and two versions sung by men. For the men the words had to be altered slightly. In one version the husband admits that he has done wrong and knows his wife can never forgive him; she should go home because his guilt is too great and there is no hope for the marriage. In the other male version it is the wife who is playing around, and the husband who finally can take no more and throws her out. A sixth Pop version was in the works, to be sung by what Americans call "chipmunks" and Indonesians call *Mupet* (or Muppets). Two more versions were sung in English (one by a man, the other by a woman), but stylistically these were still Pop Indonesia.⁸

Then there were answer songs, using the same *Hati Yang Luka* melody but with completely new words. The first answer was called *Penyesalan*, "Regrets," and was sung by the husband. The second answer was called *Tiada Duka Lagi*, "No More Sorrow," and was sung by the wife, the husband, and, I am sorry to say, the children.⁹ The lyrics of the answer songs are given below. I must admit that the virtues of realism and adult subject matter that I find in the original song are severely attenuated by the time we get to the follow-ups.

PENYESALAN

Words & music by Obbie Messakh

[Male voice:]

- A1 Baru terasa betapa sepi
sejak dirimu pergi
Makan aku sendiri tidurpun sendiri
tiada yang menemani
- A2 Tak kau dengarkah suara anakmu
panggil-panggil namamu
Sering dia bertanya mengapa Mama
pergi begitu lama

REGRETS

Now I can feel how lonely it is
since you left
I eat alone, I sleep alone
no one beside me

Don't you hear your child's voice
calling your name
Often he asks why has Mama
gone away for so long

⁷In arguing on the song's behalf I have confined myself to the lyrics, because these can be defended on grounds other than personal taste. But I also find the simple melody affecting and well-suited to the words.

⁸The singers for these various versions are as follows: in Indonesian, the original version was sung by Betharia Sonatha; the second female version was by Hetty Koes Endang; the first male version described above was sung by Broery Pesolima, and the second by Deddy Dores. In English, the male version was sung by Broery Pesolima (again), and the female version by Dianne Karran.

⁹*Penyesalan* was sung by the song's composer, Obbie Messakh. *Tiada Duka Lagi* was sung by Betharia Sonatha and Robby, with unidentified children.

- B Jawaban apa yang harus kuberi
pada hatinya yang lugu
Lelaki mana yang tak akan menangis
bila sudah begini
- *A Kalaulah boleh aku meminta
untuk yang terakhir
berilah kesempatan kurajut lagi
hati yang terkoyak
- b' Aku 'kan bersumpah jadi seorang suami
untuk satu sang istri
- C Dulu seranjang kita tidur bersama
Dulu secangkir kita minum berdua—
huwo huwo

What answer must I give
to this simple heart
What man wouldn't weep
when it comes to this

If I may I want to ask
one last time
give me another chance to mend
your broken heart

I swear I will be a husband
devoted to his wife alone

Once we slept in one bed
Once we drank from a single cup—
huwo huwo

- D Namun sekarang baru terasa
perpisahan ini—huwo huwo
Namun sekarang di rumah ini
semua bagai mati [END]

Now I really feel
this separation—huwo huwo
Now in this house
everything seems dead

[Spoken:]

[Child's voice:] Pak, kok Mama perginya lama amat sih? Kan Yayang kangen ama Mama.
[Dad, why has Mama gone away for so long? I (Yayang, the child's name) miss her.]

[Man's voice:] Ya, sayang, Papa juga kangen kok sama Mama. Nanti ya, kita sama-sama,
kita bujuk Mama. Kita ajak lagi Mama ke rumah ini, jadi rumah ini berseri lagi seperti dulu.
Ya, sayang, ya? [Yes, darling, I miss Mama too. In a little while let's go see Mama, ask her to
come back home and make our house happy like before. Okay, darling?]

[Child's voice:] Ya, Papa. [back to *A]

TIADA DUKA LAGI
Words & music by Obbie Messakh

NO MORE SORROW

[Female voice:]

- A1 Berulang kali aku mencoba
s'lalu untuk bertahan
walau air mata darah yang kau titikkan
tak 'kan kumaafkan

Again and again I try
always to hold on
although the suffering you've caused me
I will never forgive

- A2 Tiada sengaja ketika tidur
anak kita terjaga
walau mata terpejam
tapi bibirnya sebut-sebut namamu

Sometimes our child
disturbed in his sleep
with his eyes still shut
will murmur your name

- B Seringnya dia bertanya kepadaku
dimana Papa kini
Wanita mana yang tak jadi sedih
yang tak jadi menangis

Often he asks me
where is Papa now
What woman wouldn't be sad
and wouldn't cry

[Male voice:]

- *A Masih bolehkah aku kesana
pada orang tuamu

May I still come to your house
to visit your parents

6 Philip Yampolsky

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| | Ingin aku bicara bukan semata
untuk diri ini | I want to speak to them
not just for my sake |
| b' | Demi anak kita yang masih belia
butuh kasih orang tua | For the sake of our children
They are still young and need
their parents' love |
| C | Biar, biar kupinta pada penghulu
Batal-batalkan saja talak yang
satu—huwo huwo | Let me ask the penghulu [Islamic
marriage official]
to cancel the decision to
divorce—huwo huwo |
| | [Children's voices:] | |
| D | Ayolah Mama buanglah amarah
jangan simpan di hati
Ayolah Mama semua demi kami
anak-anak Mama [END] | Come on, Mama, give up your anger
don't keep it in your heart
Come on, Mama, do it for us
your children |
| | [Male and female voices:] | |
| E | Mari saling berjanji
tak 'kan ada duka lagi
Mari tersenyum menyambut esok pagi
Tuhan memberkati [back to *A] | Let us promise each other
there will be no more sorrow
Let us smile and greet tomorrow
with God's blessing |

In all, then, there were ten Pop Indonesia versions of the *Hati Yang Luka* melody. In addition, new Pop Indonesia songs were composed, and in turn broadcast on TV, that cloned *Hati Yang Luka's* plot or its music, or both. One, for example, was called *Jangan Tangan Yang Bicara*, "Don't Let Your Hand Speak For You." Another simply appropriated *Hati Yang Luka's* key line, *Pulangkan Saja*, as its title.

The *Hati Yang Luka* hit factory was chugging along comfortably until suddenly, on August 24, 1988, a bomb fell on it. At a celebration of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the founding of TVRI, the Indonesian minister of information, Harmoko (whose ministry supervises broadcasting), delivered a speech in which he inveighed against cengeng songs. In essence, he accused them of appealing to low taste, weakening the spirit of the people, making them defeatist and sapping their commitment to the national effort for progress.¹⁰ And therefore, he said, TVRI should stop broadcasting such songs. Although

¹⁰*Kompas*, August 25, 1988 ("Menpen Harmoko: Stop Lagu Cengeng di TVRI"), reported the gist of Harmoko's speech as: "Menumbuhkan semangat kerja yang jalin-menjalin dengan disiplin nasional, harus tercermin . . . dalam setiap mata acara TVRI. Upaya itu tidak akan berhasil . . . apabila mata-mata acara TVRI banyak diwarnai dengan lagu yang disebutnya sebagai 'ratapan patah semangat berselera rendah,' 'keretakan rumah tangga,' atau 'hal-hal cengeng.' . . . Dalam keadaan patah semangat dan cengeng, tentu-lah sulit mengajak orang bekerja keras. Padahal apa yang digambarkan itu bukanlah kenyataan di tengah masyarakat."

In an unsigned and unattributed article ("Kecengengan itu Sebaiknya Direm," *Kompas*, August 21, 1988), which was published three days before Harmoko's speech and appears to be a float by the Ministry of Information to test public reaction, lagu cengeng are said to "melumpuhkan semangat." This article explicitly targets *Hati Yang Luka* in the lead-off sentence: "Soal lagu *Hati Yang Luka* yang biasa dibawakan penyanyi Betharia Sonata sambil menangis itu benar-benar mengundang perhatian."

Like the opposition to cengeng lyrics (n.4 above), the concern that popular songs might weaken public spirit predates the New Order. In September 1964 President Sukarno criticized "lagu-lagu hiburan" for being too slow, requiring performers to sing them in a weak manner; what was needed instead, he said, was "spirited songs that throb with the romance and dynamism of revolution [lagu-lagu bersemangat yang mendengungkan romantik dan dinamiknyanya revolusi]." *Mingguan Radio Televisi* 23 (September 27, 1964): 11; and 24 (October 4, 1964): 2.

Hati Yang Luka was not mentioned by name, it was clear from allusions in the speech that Harmoko considered it a prime offender.

A media storm instantly arose, and for ten days the newspapers and magazines were full of *Hati Yang Luka* and lagu cengeng. Voices were heard praising Harmoko's decision and condemning lagu cengeng, while others defended the songs as suited to the "basically melancholy Indonesian character." Commentators declared that sad songs were ruining the young, or gave people a necessary safety-valve, or reflected the crass commercialism of the music industry. Others asked whether in what was being touted as an era of deregulation the government should really be trying to legislate public taste and entertainment. Some people applauded *Hati Yang Luka* on the grounds that I have already given as my own, that it deals with real life; women wrote to the newspapers to say that they used the song to shame their husbands into controlling their tempers.¹¹ Curiously, few writers made what would seem to be a crucial point: that lagu cengeng do not in fact make people sad. People going about their jobs will suddenly burst into song—"pulangank saja!"—and smile broadly. The singers weep on TV, but this is acting; viewers react with comments and cracks, not with emotion.

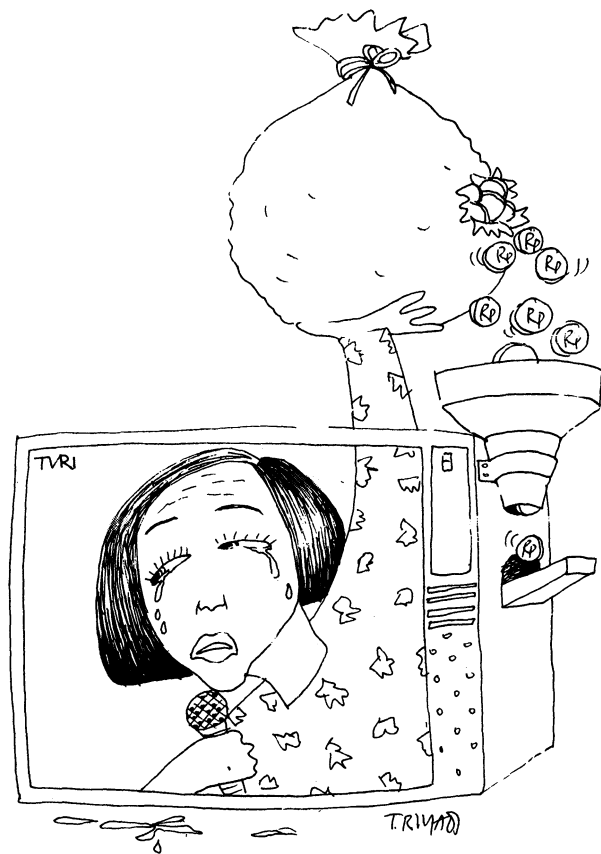
One letter to the editor deserves extended quotation.¹² It is either an enthusiastic expression of support for the banning of lagu cengeng—which is how it is understood by some Indonesians I have shown it to—or else a daring parody of the official position. It begins: "We agree with the outcry urging that lagu cengeng be banned from TVRI, and indeed [we urge] that if possible they be utterly crushed and eradicated from the face of the earth." (The word I have translated as "crushed" is *diganyang*, which is now inevitably associated with "ganyang Malaysia," the slogan of Sukarno's anti-Malaysia campaign of 1963–1965.) Then the letter proposes a revision of the lyrics of *Hati Yang Luka*, so that the song will no longer be cengeng but will instead be optimistic and "in step with the march of development." The revised song should be titled *Hati Yang Baja*, "Heart of Steel." Here are the improved lyrics, which fit the *Hati Yang Luka* melody neatly, requiring only a bit of fudging in the last line:

Berulang kali aku mencoba selalu untuk berjuang Demi keutuhan dan Pancasila untuk tetap bangkit	Again and again I try always to fight for unity and Pancasila that they may continue standing tall
Lihatlah tanda merah dan putih lambang gagah berani demi pembangunan sospolekbud menuju lepas landas	See the red and white [the Indonesian flag] the symbol of strength and courage on behalf of social/political/economic/ cultural development as we prepare for lift-off
Bukankah kita bagai burung garuda yang menantang awan hingga swasembada kita teruskan itu kita dan ekspor nonmigas—uwo uwo	Are we not like the Garuda challenging the clouds so that self-sufficient we go on we and our exports other than oil and natural gas—uwo uwo

¹¹For these various reactions and more, see: "Perlu Kejelasan tentang Batasan Lagu Cengeng," *Kompas*, August 26, 1988; "Perlu Dialog Terbuka antara Pemerintah, Pemusik dan Produser," *ibid.*, August 27, 1988; "Lirik Cengeng Memang Dapat Mempengaruhi Suasana Hati," *ibid.*, August 30, 1988; "Redaksi YTH," *ibid.*, September 4, 1988.

¹²"Redaksi YTH," *ibid.*, September 4, 1988.

The popular music industry was, naturally enough, thrown into confusion by Harmoko's speech. Lagu cengeng are generally acknowledged to be the prime money-makers in Indonesian pop, and the principal medium for generating interest in new songs is TV. Without TV spots, how could cassette producers advertise their songs? On the other hand, it was pointed out that producers paid sizeable fees to get songs on the air, and that, since outright advertising of products was banned on TVRI, these fees were one of TVRI's few sources of income, other than government subsidy. Could TVRI afford to choke off lagu cengeng—or had the Ministry of Information, by attacking the finances of its primary mouthpiece, managed to shoot itself in the foot?¹³ Some middle-aged singers voiced agreement with Harmoko; other singers warned against wholesale condemnation of songs; and a number of people pointed out that it was not at all clear just what was under attack. What exactly were the defining features of lagu cengeng? Lyrics? Melody? Sadness? Love? How were you going to ban it if you didn't know what it was? Calls were made for clarification, for meetings between composers, industry figures, and the Ministry, for study teams.



Not much in the way of elucidation was forthcoming¹⁴ until the end of September, when Eddy Sud, the TVRI figure most closely associated with pop music (and the executive producer of the *Aneka Ria Safari* program) delivered what turned out to be the last word on the subject. There is no need to be overly concerned about lagu cengeng, he said, no need to panic. It is only lyrics that are at issue, not melody. Then he offered a splendid new definition: cengeng lyrics, he said, contain pornography, break down ethnic harmony, are divisive, bring shame on the institution of marriage, or sulk and pout about one's broken heart.¹⁵ (All this for a word whose primary dictionary definition

¹³See, on this theme, the coverage in *Editor*, September 3, 1988, and *Tempo's* story "Rezeki yang Luka di TVRI [Wounded Profits at TVRI]" (September 3, 1988). *Tempo's* cartoon (ibid.) showed TVRI weeping as a cengeng singer was banished (also weeping). *Jakarta Jakarta's* cartoon (September 4, 1988) is reproduced here.

¹⁴See *Suara Pembaruan*, September 3, 1988, where Harmoko repeats his characterization of lagu cengeng in somewhat different words, but with no increase in clarity. According to one article (Yaya Sutara, "Lagu Cengeng 'Ditonjok'," in *Rekaman Peristiwa '88* [Jakarta: Media Interaksi Utama/Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1989], p. 122), Harmoko eventually moderated his wording so that his censure was directed at "melancholy songs [lagu melankolis]," but I have been unable to find a report of this event in the daily newspapers.

¹⁵"Lirik-lirik cengeng berisi hal pornografis, sesuatu yang memecah persatuan bangsa, menimbulkan perpecahan, mempermainkan aib rumah tangga ataupun merajuk-rajuk patah hati" ("Lagu Cinta tak Dilarang

“inclined to weep.”) Since it would be difficult in Indonesia to find anyone willing to write songs promoting pornography, ethnic conflict, or general divisiveness, this was in essence an instruction to avoid the themes of marital breakup and broken hearts.

With this, the topic of *Hati Yang Luka* and lagu cengeng disappeared from the press. Friends who have been in Indonesia recently report that cengeng songs are indeed gone from TV, replaced by songs whose approach to love and marriage is relentlessly upbeat. The TV ban does not, however, seem to have caused cassette producers to cut back on lagu cengeng,¹⁶ and, in any case, *Hati Yang Luka* has apparently not suffered: with the minister of information’s help, it has become one of the best-selling songs in the history of Indonesian Pop.¹⁷

What was all this about? One rumor, unsubstantiated, is that it was a power struggle between Harmoko and the dynamic director of TVRI, Ishadi. Another idea, again unsubstantiated, is that Harmoko wanted to rein in Eddy Sud, who as the producer of Aneka Ria Safari was in the best position to profit from cassette moguls’ zeal in promoting their products. It may have actually been about what people said it was about, lagu cengeng—that is, about the government’s distrust of young people and their pleasures (in this case their music). Or, and this is the possibility that I favor, it may at bottom have been about just the one song, *Hati Yang Luka*, which touched a nerve precisely because it moved away from the cengeng mold and approached real life and real problems. If popular songs start talking about abusive husbands and infidelity and divorce, who knows what they might talk about next?

II

The ten versions of *Hati Yang Luka* that I listed earlier all come under the heading of Pop Indonesia. In addition, as I said, there were a number of other versions that reworked the song to make it fit into different genres. I will deal with these adaptations in some detail here, because they offer intriguing glimpses of tension and hierarchy within Indonesian music and provide a case study of the way the popular culture industry manipulates its material to appeal to various audiences. Each version involves an encounter of Pop Indonesia with another genre of Indonesian music, and inasmuch as all of these genres, including Pop Indonesia, represent or symbolize groups of people or sets of ideas and associations, each version involves an encounter between these larger entities and concepts.

The constant figure in all the encounters is Pop Indonesia. *Hati Yang Luka*, introduced and promoted as it has been, is inescapably a Pop Indonesia song. As such, it represents urban life, in particular that of Jakarta, the center of the Indonesian enter-

TVRI,” *Kompas*, September 28, 1988). For more on Eddy Sud, see the interview with him in *Vista 40* (February 28–March 9, 1989): 24–31.

¹⁶Yaya Sutara, “Pasar Kaset Lagu Barat ‘Yang Luka,’” in *Rekaman Peristiwa ‘88*, p. 121.

¹⁷*Kompas* reported on March 12, 1989 that *Hati Yang Luka* had sold 1,300,000 copies. (It is not clear whether this figure was for the original version alone or included the remakes by other singers. In any case, this figure and the others given in this note refer to legitimate copies, not pirated ones.) The break-even point for producers of Pop Indonesia cassettes is currently said to be 100,000 copies sold (*Kompas*, February 21, 1988), and 300,000 copies earns the singer a gold record (*Jakarta Jakarta*, September 4, 1988, p. 18). The highest sales figure I have seen quoted (by a reputable source) for a Pop Indonesia song is 2.1 million copies for Dian Piesesha’s 1985 hit *Tak Ingin Sendiri* (*Editor*, September 3, 1988, p. 15). *Madu dan Racun*, another 1985 hit, is said to have sold 1 million copies. *Kompas*, February 21, 1988.

tainment world (and, of course, the country's political and economic center as well). It also represents middle-class youth—the world of cleancut teenagers, forever frolicking about and pining away; and, by representing Jakarta and youth in a largely Western musical idiom and instrumentation, it offers one answer to the question of how to be modern.

By September 1988 there were eight reworked versions of *Hati Yang Luka*, in addition to the ten Pop versions.¹⁸ They were all brought out by one company, Musica, which had produced the original and seven of the other nine Pop versions.¹⁹ I point this out to show that the reworkings I am going to discuss form part of a single marketing strategy. They fall into two groups. Three versions rearrange the song into one or another genre of what I call National Music—that is, music intended to appeal to Indonesians without regard to where they live or what ethnic group they belong to.²⁰ One almost invariable feature of National Music genres is that their texts are sung in Indonesian, the national language, rather than in any of the “local” or “regional” languages. Pop Indonesia itself is, of course, a genre of National Music, so the three reworkings of *Hati Yang Luka* into other National Music genres—Bossa Nova, Kroncong, and Dangdut—are therefore encounters within a single family.

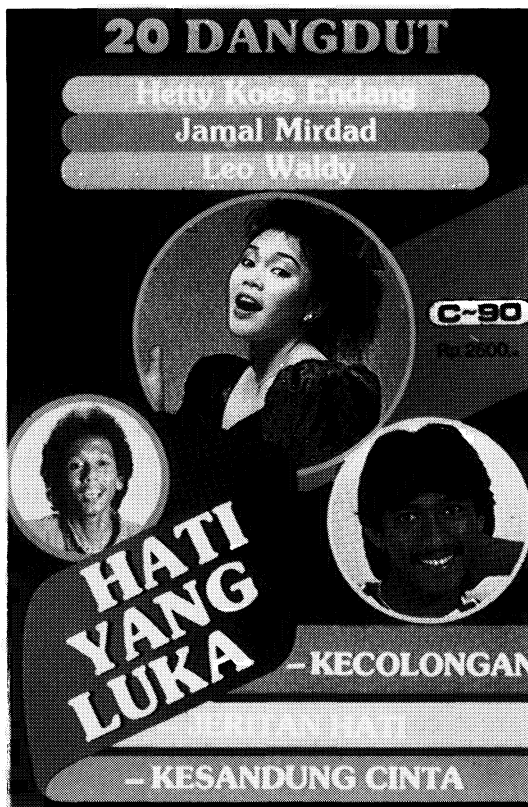
In Indonesia, Bossa Nova is considered a subcategory of Jazz, which is seen as a sophisticated music, more sophisticated than Pop, appealing to an elite and cosmopolitan audience. In the encounter of *Hati Yang Luka* and Bossa Nova, the original arrangement of the song is completely revised to fit the style of the more prestigious genre. Jazz guitar, jazz chords, and quasi-Brazilian percussion replace the rhythm guitar, pedal steel, simple harmony, and standard rock drumming of the original. The singer (Betharia Sonatha) totally changes her vocal quality, achieving the breathy, quirky timbre of some Brazilian singers. The device that created a quite satisfying climax and conclusion in the original song—the introduction (in the D section) of a male voice in harmony with the lead singer—is abandoned, so that there is no climax at all in the Bossa Nova, in keeping with Bossa Nova's generally cooler style. The result of these alterations is a laid-back, detached performance, quite unlike the mood of the original song and quite at odds with the emotion expressed in the lyrics. If we think of this encounter as a drama of dominance (which is how I see all of these adaptations), Bossa Nova has definitely dominated Pop. But this is not to say that Pop has not gained anything: a Pop singer and a Pop song have proved that they can behave appropriately in the elegant atmosphere of Bossa Nova.

The Kroncong version is sung by Hetty Koes Endang, a woman some five years older than Betharia Sonatha who is noted for her unusual ability to sing in more than one style. She has recorded many cassettes of Pop, Dangdut, and Kroncong. Kroncong, whose

¹⁸Although *Hati Yang Luka* was not the first hit song to be arranged for more than one genre, I know of no other song in any genre that has been reworked so extensively.

¹⁹I was told in 1988 that the practice of the cassette industry with regard to Pop Indonesia is for the first producer of a song to have exclusive rights to it for a period of six months. After that, rights revert to the composer, unless the producer wishes to renew the exclusive contract. Most producers try to get as much mileage as possible out of the song in the first six months and then let it go. In the case of *Hati Yang Luka*, it appears that after the initial period, which ended some time in July, producers were able to make non-exclusive arrangements to issue the song: Musica continued to issue versions in August and September, while other companies issued a Pop version and the answer song *Penyesalan*.

²⁰This usage is my own. In Indonesia, *nasional* in the context of music generally has the narrower meaning of “patriotic.”



roots in Indonesia go back several hundred years, was well established as an urban popular music in the modern sense by the early part of this century, and it has survived into the present day as the music of people who came to adulthood before and during the Revolution—that is, people now in their fifties and beyond, people in authority. There is a strong element of nostalgia in Kroncong now, though recently the government has made efforts to promote it among young people. The cassette insert identifies the genre as Pop Kroncong, which means that the songs all come from Pop Indonesia rather than the pre-war Kroncong repertoire; purchasers are thus assured that the melodies and lyrics are not old-fashioned. The instrumentation and idiom of the arrangement, however, are very close to old Kroncong: mandolin, ukulele, acoustic guitars, and pizzicato cello provide an intricate interlocking figuration through which the violin and flute glide while the singer rides above. Percussion is restricted to unobtrusive ticking and swishing on muted cymbals. Here again, *Hati Yang Luka* has shown itself willing to adjust to the demands of another, more prestigious style—though Kroncong's prestige is based not on greater sophistication but on its associations with age and power. *Hati Yang Luka's* submission, however, is less total here than it was with Bossa Nova: the song is given to a more mature singer, one famous for her versatility, so it is not the Pop star Betharia or, by implication, her fans who bow to Kroncong. Moreover, it is not old-style Kroncong to which Pop defers, but Pop Kroncong; this in itself is something of a concession to *Hati Yang Luka*.

The third reworking of *Hati Yang Luka* into a National Music genre is the Dangdut version, which is sung by Reda Kumala. Dangdut is a very different matter from Bossa Nova or Kroncong. It is associated primarily with the lower class and with Islamic values, though not necessarily with Islamic practice; its audience consists not only of youth but also of adults in their thirties and perhaps forties; it is less clean-cut and more rebellious than Pop Indonesia; and, although some of its instruments and aspects of its musical idiom are Western, it also contains rhythmic and melodic elements from Indian and Middle Eastern popular music. As one might expect, Pop's encounter with Dangdut is not as smooth as with Bossa Nova or Kroncong. In confrontation with a genre of lower standing, *Hati Yang Luka* gives up much less of its Pop character. The indispensable features of Dangdut—the vocal ornaments and timbre suggesting Indian and Middle Eastern music, and the tabla-like drum—are present, and the rest of the instrumentation is acceptable for Dangdut, but unison instrumental passages and rhythmic flourishes that are added to give a Dangdut flavor come out forced and unconvincing. Furthermore, *Hati Yang Luka's* melody does not work in Dangdut: it shows too clearly the Western roots of Pop Indonesia melody and therefore conflicts with the pull in Dangdut towards Indian or Middle Eastern inflections. The arrangement insists upon its Westernness by retaining harmony in the C and D phrases, although vocal harmony is very unusual, if not unthinkable, in Dangdut. The result is an uneasy blend of Dangdut and Pop. Yet this is meant to be a Dangdut tape and to be bought by the Dangdut audience, and, aside from *Hati Yang Luka* and a few more Pop-Dangdut blends, the songs on it are straightforward Dangdut. In this context, the Pop songs on the tape have the appearance of foreign visitors awkwardly wearing local costume. Still, such dressing up is a gesture of politeness on the part of Pop Indonesia.

The five other reworkings of *Hati Yang Luka* fall into the category not of National Music but of *Pop Daerah*, "Regional Pop." Their target consumers are the residents of specific regions or the members of specific ethnic groups, rather than Indonesians in

general.²¹ The Pop Batak version of *Hati Yang Luka*, for example, is sung in the Toba Batak language and is aimed at people who identify themselves in some respect with Toba Batak culture. Nobody else is expected to care about this version, since it is an axiom of the cassette industry that no one listens to anything sung in a language he does not understand (unless it is English).

Before looking at the individual versions of *Hati Yang Luka*, I must make some comments about Pop Daerah in general. Regional Pop genres are found all across Indonesia. Some are explicitly named Pop, while others are called *lagu* (songs) but use Pop instrumentation and idiom.²² The varieties I have encountered are: Pop Gayo, Pop [Toba] Batak (also called Pop Tapanuli and Lagu Batak), Pop Karo, Pop (also Lagu) Simalungun, Pop (also Lagu) Pakpak, Lagu Nias, Pop Minang, Pop Sunda, Pop Jawa, Lagu Banyuwangi, Pop Makassar, Pop Gorontalo, Pop Ambon, Lagu Timor Timur, and Pop Irian Jaya. There are no doubt others as well. Virtually all are dependent upon the cassette medium (rather than live performance) for their audience. Some Pop Daerah genres are little more than cassette-company experiments, generating only a few performers and a handful of tapes, but others are firmly established, with many performers and steady production. Four genres—Pop Batak, Pop Minang, Pop Sunda, and Pop Jawa—are especially solid.²³ In the case of these four, some of the production comes out of Jakarta—that is, it depends upon Jakarta-based musicians and Jakarta facilities for recording, printing, and distribution. (Almost all Pop Batak is now produced in Jakarta.) But most of the other regional genres are produced in their home regions (or in the nearby big cities).

In all of its forms, Pop Daerah attempts to answer in musical terms a basic question of Indonesian cultural life since independence: what should be the relationship between national culture (music culture in this case) and ethnic and regional identity and

²¹The term *daerah*, “regional”—as in the expressions *bahasa daerah*, “regional language,” or *kesenian daerah*, “regional art form”—is used in Indonesian both for traits associated with particular geographic regions and for traits associated with particular ethnic groups. The term thus serves to gloss over the existence of ethnic loyalties. Properly, I should refer throughout to “regional or ethnic music,” “regional or ethnic languages,” and so forth; but this would be terribly cumbersome, so I will instead follow the Indonesian euphemistic practice and subsume the ethnic under the regional.

²²Some lexicographical notes: (1) In some regions (e.g. Tapanuli and Simalungun), *pop* and *lagu* appear to be interchangeable terms, but I do not know whether this is the case everywhere. One could ask why the cassettes in certain areas use only one term and not the other: I have never seen a tape of “Lagu Karo,” or one of “Pop Timor Timur.” Perhaps this is merely a marketing habit, or perhaps a distinction is drawn. (2) The term “lagu” does not necessarily refer to Pop-style music. It is often used for non-Pop songs with harmonized accompaniment, and it can also apply to less Westernized genres: I have heard cassettes labeled Lagu Banjarmasin and Lagu Madura that are musically Dangdut, and there are other genres (Lagu Kerinci, Lagu Mandar, Lagu Lampung) which have solo guitar accompaniment but in a non-Western idiom: the vocal melody is imitated in the treble while drone pitches are played in the bass. (The guitar seems here to be simply a substitute for one or another Southeast Asian or Middle Eastern lute.) All the lagu genres listed in the paragraph above, however, use the Pop idiom, albeit with varying degrees of naturalness. (3) I use “Pop Daerah” to cover any Pop-style genre, regardless of whether it is identified on the cassette as pop or lagu, because I assume there is no significant musical or repertorial difference indicated by the terms. But I may be wrong about this.

²³A fifth, Pop Ambon, was quite popular among Jakarta elite youth in the mid-1980s but has since apparently declined in popularity. The generalizations I make in this article about Pop Daerah do not work for Pop Ambon, mainly because Pop Ambon is neither as regional nor as Pop as the other genres: its language is either Indonesian or the Ambonese creole form of Indonesian, and at least in the 1980s its music is, in Indonesian terms, Jazz rather than Pop. I am aware of no regional-music features in Pop Ambon.

affiliation.²⁴ The solution is always the same: songs in regional languages are performed in the musical idiom of Pop Indonesia, and thus symbolically the regional identification is absorbed into the national. The essential gesture of assimilation is achieved by using the regional language in the national-music idiom, but certain genres go further and reinforce this gesture by musical means, incorporating features of the regional music, such as a typical rhythmic pattern or a distinctive local instrument. There are sharp limitations, however, on what kinds of regional-music instruments can be used, since they must be compatible with the overall Western style—which means, in practical terms, that they must be capable of being tuned diatonically, or else they must be percussion instruments of indefinite pitch. The same sort of limitation constrains the use of traditional songs in Pop Daerah: the melodies must be ones that can accept Western harmony. The crucial fact about all of the features of regional music incorporated into Pop Daerah is that they function not as elements of the regional music but as tokens of it, or allusions to it. They do not actually bring regional music into the Pop idiom, they bring the notion of it.

The Pop Daerah genres that make prominent use of regional-music features are the four solidly established ones: Batak, Minang, Sunda, and Jawa. At this point we can return to *Hati Yang Luka*, since the song's producers managed Pop Daerah versions in all four of these genres.²⁵

Pop Batak in general has borrowed two instruments from Toba Batak music, a bamboo flute and a plucked lute; it has also borrowed the practice of outright sobbing during sad songs; and, presumably under the influence of Christian hymnody, it has developed a predilection for vocal groups singing in harmony. The Pop Batak version of *Hati Yang Luka* uses only one of these devices. To make the song Pop Batak, the producers took the original accompaniment tracks, attached a new vocal in Toba Batak, and overdubbed two Batak flutes in the introduction and as fillers at the ends of phrases. The singer is Betharia Sonatha (who, by the way, is Sundanese).

In looking for regional features to incorporate, Pop Minang had a hard time getting around the intransigent tunings of traditional Minang music, but it eventually settled on electronic keyboard imitations of the timbres of two aerophones (*saluang* and *sarunai*, a flute and a shawm), and also the use of electric piano figuration reminiscent of *talempong* gong-kettles. The Pop Minang version of *Hati Yang Luka*, however, uses none of

²⁴Attempts to answer this question musically began in the late 1950s, well before the appearance of Pop Daerah. At that time a principal genre of National Music was Hiburan ("entertainment"), which was wholly Western in idiom and sounded like cocktail-lounge music sung in Indonesian. Attempts were made to develop Hiburan Daerah forms, applying the idiom of Hiburan to songs in regional languages. An important difference between Hiburan Daerah and Pop Daerah is that Hiburan Daerah was almost exclusively a product of Jakarta-based musicians. Hiburan and Hiburan Daerah were aimed at an adult audience; the ascendancy of the youth audience began later. Indonesian songs influenced by Western youth music (Connie Francis, Ricky Nelson, the Beatles, etc.) were common from at least the early 1960s, but they seem not to have been called Pop until later in the decade (e.g., "Kontes Biduan Pop 1968," *RRI Radio dan Televisi* 42 [October 13, 1968]: 28). The first forms of Pop Daerah are said to have appeared in the mid-1970s ("10 Tahun dalam Telinga," *Tempo*, January 3, 1981, p. 41).

²⁵Additional Pop Daerah versions may have come out since I left Indonesia in September 1988; one article that I have seen implies that a Pop Ambon version has been issued. By August 1988 there was also a cassette (not produced by Musica) purporting to contain the song in a Pop Mandarin version. Pop Mandarin is Pop with something Chinese to it; the lyrics are in Indonesian. The Pop Mandarin *Hati Yang Luka* was in fact a Chinese pop song, *Sem Mo Chiau Co Wu Yen*, opportunely retitled in the Indonesian-language version; musically it had nothing to do with *Hati Yang Luka*.

these markers. Instead it takes the original accompaniment tracks, completely unchanged, and puts a vocal in the Minang language over them. The singer is, yet again, Betharia Sonatha.

Pop Sunda uses more features of its regional music than any other Pop Daerah genre. Sundanese traditional music, and current Sundanese popular music using traditional instruments and idioms, offer many features that are suited to Pop: certain traditional tunings can be easily adapted to a Western pentatonic minor scale, and the *kecapi* (plucked zither) and *suling* (flute) can perform in this scale; the engaging, tonally varied drumming style can be incorporated without disruption. Sundanese regional-music features have in fact proved so compatible with the Pop idiom that recently they have sometimes seemed to overwhelm the Pop elements, turning Pop Sunda into Sundanese music played on Western instruments. The Pop Sunda version of *Hati Yang Luka* does not go this far. It uses many Sundanese features—electronic keyboards imitate the flute and zither playing in the minor-like scale, and Sundanese drums are added, along with an imitation of a metal rattle, the *kecrek*, playing a characteristic rhythmic pattern—but it circumscribes them: the flute and zither imitations are heard only in the introduction and at the ends of phrases; the Sundanese drums drop out at the climax of the song (in the C and D phrases) and a Western trap set takes over. The singer is Hetty Koes Endang (who also sang the Kroncong version and one of the Pop versions).

Pop Jawa, Javanese Pop, faced the same sort of problem that Pop Minang had, but worse: Javanese musical culture is so tightly associated with gamelan that the only way to symbolize it would be with gamelan instruments or techniques; but these are for the most part so firmly locked into their own non-Western tunings and their own hermetic repertoire that there is no way for Pop Jawa to pry them loose. In order to find something Javanese (or Javanesey), Pop Jawa sometimes borrows features from Kroncong (which has developed a Javanese-language repertoire), but often Pop Jawa is simply Pop sung in Javanese. The Pop Jawa version of *Hati Yang Luka*, however, does have a Javanese musical feature to it, and a rather clever one at that: one can occasionally hear deep in the background an imitation of a *celempung* (a plucked zither, one of the very few gamelan instruments that can match Western tunings) playing rapid figuration in gamelan style. (The other songs on the tape do not use this device.) The singer is a Javanese, Wiwiek Sumbogo, who is about the same age as Hetty Koes Endang.

To return to our earlier concern with dominance: it is clear that in these encounters between Pop Indonesia and regional musics, Pop “wins” musically. One or two or even several symbols of the regional music may be present, but they bring no coherent or compelling message from outside. They are wholly subordinated to Pop, decorating the edges or the backgrounds.

Pop dominates, but this does not mean that the regions get nothing out of the transaction. Note that I am not talking here about the regional musics—they indeed get nothing, no renewal of vitality, no added exposure or respect, since they are simply raided for devices that will provide intermittent color and ambiance. But the regions get recognition and inclusion. When a Jakarta singer like Betharia Sonatha makes a tape of Pop Batak or Pop Minang she is validating the Toba or Minang language and people, acknowledging them as worthy of notice by the Pop center. It probably adds to Batak and Minang pleasure that Betharia herself is Sundanese and does not know the languages she is singing in. When she includes a regional-language version of *Hati Yang Luka* on the tapes she tells the regional audiences that they are connected to the center, the hits of Jakarta belong to them too, pertain to them as Batak or as Minang, not just as Indone-

sians. As for Pop Indonesia, these gestures of generosity, expansiveness, inclusiveness enhance its own dominance, demonstrate its secure position in the center.

I will close with another version of *Hati Yang Luka*, a more complicated example of the encounter between *Hati Yang Luka* and regional music. The region in this case is Cirebon, which lies between Sunda and Central Java and partakes of the cultures of both. The genre is identified on the cassette insert as Tarling,²⁶ but the music does not correspond to what is normally meant by that term. Ordinary Tarling is an adaptation of the idiom of Sundanese and Cirebonese gamelan music to an ensemble of guitar and flute (with or without singer and drums). The flute plays floating free-meter melodies while the guitar provides rapid regular-meter figuration that drives toward resolution points (where gongs would sound if Tarling were gamelan music). The Tarling version of *Hati Yang Luka*, however, is nothing like this—but it is nothing like Pop either. The foreground texture is remarkably thin, consisting primarily of voice and drums. The only harmonic support comes from unobtrusive low-register statements of the roots of implied chords; occasionally synthesizer strings provide high-register sustained chords that drift above the singer. The vocal style is that of Dangdut, or perhaps the still more explicitly Islamic genre Qasidah. A tambourine and a tabla-like drum also suggest both Dangdut and Qasidah. But the typical drumming patterns of Dangdut and Qasidah are absent; instead we have, on top of the tabla-like drum, low-key Sundanese drumming, which is foreign to Dangdut and Qasidah and strange even for Sundanese music, where drumming is usually more varied and intense. The thinness of the instrumentation is atypical of Dangdut but still suggests Islamic music. So this is not really Dangdut or Qasidah; nor is it Pop; nor is it by any stretch of the imagination Kroncong. It belongs to no National music genre. Is it regional, then? Perhaps because of its very strangeness and thinness, it *sounds* regional, but like no specific region. It is *generic* regional music, emptied of reference.

The case-study offered by *Hati Yang Luka* shows the popular culture industry responding to what it perceives as the wishes of audiences defined on the basis of class, region, and religion. What is interesting is the behavior of the Pop Indonesia idiom—the original idiom of *Hati Yang Luka*—in the course of these responses. The Pop idiom defers to musics of higher status, such as Bossa Nova and Kroncong, and it also defers to music associated with Islam, such as Dangdut and the so-called Tarling. What it does not defer to is regional music; instead it reduces any regional music to minimal symbols to be used in Pop as decoration and flavoring—or else, as with Tarling, it substitutes a synthetic variety symbolizing nothing except regionalism itself.

Why does Pop do this? I think the answer lies partly in the nature of Pop Daerah itself and partly in the dynamics of the cassette industry. The basic premise of Pop Daerah is that purely regional music is not Pop; to create regional Pop, the regional idiom must first be abandoned. This premise is accepted not only in Jakarta but often in the regions as well—recall that most Pop Daerah is produced locally. Underlying this premise, I believe, is the conviction, or at least the fear, that regional music (and, by extension, regional culture) is provincial and backward, while National Music is cosmopolitan and modern. Yet people are unwilling to forsake their regional or ethnic identity completely (if they were, they would be satisfied with Pop Indonesia alone), so something of the regional or ethnic identity must be retained. In Pop Daerah, what is retained is language;

²⁶The insert actually says “Tarling Elite.” The epithet does not derive from the social position of Tarling (which is hardly elevated) or from anything in the music; it is merely wishful advertising.

retained is language; what is discarded is the musical idiom.²⁷ For many Pop Daerah genres, this is as far as it goes; but as I pointed out earlier, the four genres that have been commercially most successful are also the ones that have gone further and added features of regional music to the predominant Pop idiom. This further step is, I believe, a second stage: first the regional idiom was abandoned, and then fragments of it were reinstated. If there is a causal relation between the regionalisms and the commercial success of the genres, it is not that the regionalisms caused the success, but rather that the success gave the composers, performers, and audiences for these genres the confidence to symbolize their identity not only in language but also in music. We can imagine this process continuing, with regional traits gradually acquiring strength, until full-fledged hybrid forms emerge, with the vitality of Brazilian or Zairean popular music, or of Kroncong. But we are not there yet: for now, regionalisms in Pop Daerah are purely decorative and incidental. Interaction between the regional and the Western idioms, necessary for a vital new form, is missing.

To the extent that the impetus for Pop Daerah—the demand that it be the way it is—in fact comes from the regions, it is they themselves that have trivialized the contribution of their regional music. But it is also in the interest of Pop Indonesia producers for regionalism to be trivialized. From their point of view, truly distinct forms of Pop Daerah would cause unprofitable fragmentation of the market. The less one kind of Pop Daerah sounds like the rest, the more difficult and expensive it is for a centralized industry to produce. If Pop Sunda, say, became so Sundanized that only Sundanese composers could write it and only Sundanese musicians could play it, then Pop Indonesia producers would have to maintain cadres of Sundanese professionals or else cede control of the genre to Sundanese producers. And the same problem would arise for every free-standing genre. The impulse to minimize regionalism explains why in the Sunda, Minang, and Batak versions of *Hati Yang Luka*, each arrangement cuts back on the few tokens of regionalism usually incorporated into the Pop Daerah genre. It also explains the pseudo-regionalism of the Tarling version: the easiest kind of regionalism for the Pop Indonesia producers to deal with is one they invent themselves. Their basic strategy is to use their economic command of distribution and marketing, plus their undeniable prestige, to push for a kind of Regional Pop that is simply a repackaging of the main product, Pop Indonesia.

²⁷The opposite approach—Indonesian-language songs performed in a regional-music idiom—has, so far as I know, never been attempted.

