



Sakit Rindu: Romanticization of Manthous's Songs in Commodification Practices by Dapur Musik Project

Mustika Andini✉¹

Cultural Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Padjadjaran University, Indonesia

Reiza D. Dienaputra✉²

Cultural Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Padjadjaran University, Indonesia

Widyo Nugrahanto✉³

Cultural Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Padjadjaran University, Indonesia

Abstract

Received : October, 2023

Approved : December,
2023

Published : December,
2023

Keywords:

commodification,
romanticization, keroncong
music, youth culture, Dapur
Musik Project

The phenomenon of music cover in new media is now increasingly mushrooming, especially in Indonesia. Dapur Musik Project, as a keroncong music group consisting of young people, also works on cover versions of Manthous's songs, who is considered a predecessor to them. Sakit Rindu is one of Dapur Musik Project content that is most popular with the audience, as evidenced by the acquisition of million viewers.

This research uses qualitative methods to analyze how Dapur Musik Project commodifies the songs composed by Manthous. In general, this research uses the framework of Adorno and Horkheimer (1944) which expresses the cultural industry theory, commodification theory put forward by Mosco (2009), and social practice theory or structural-constructive theory from Bourdieu's (1984) framework. The results of this research explain the commodification practices carried out by Dapur Musik Project in the realm of musicals and performances, as well as in the realm of packaging and marketing, with an attachment to industry and economic value. Dapur Musik Project also utilizes the symbolic power they have over relational relationships as the Manthous family in perpetuating commodification practices.

The various changes in form, composition, packaging and strategy carried out by Dapur Musik Project are not considered renewal, but only a form of romanticization of Manthous's songs. Dapur Musik Project is an example of how youth people try to mediate the standardization polemic in keroncong music with their own roles and methods. This research announcing the keroncong music community about the urgency of commodification practices in the discourse on the preservation and development of keroncong music in the Indonesian music scene.

✉ Corresponding Author:

INTRODUCTION

Sakit Rindu is one of the commercial musical works composed by Manthous which is quite popular among Indonesian people and even abroad. The massive production of cover versions of *Sakit Rindu* by other musicians on various platforms indicates the popularity of the song, especially with the number of views reaching millions of plays and views. In this disruption era, the phenomenon of soaring cover version productions of various commercial musical works that can generate some money is highlighted as a form of commodification practice. Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) defines commodification as the transformation process of something that has use value into a commodity that has exchange value and it has commercial characteristic.

Sakit Rindu is also become the mascot for “Dapur Musik Project”, a youth keroncong music group from Gunungkidul Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta. Dapur Musik Project reproduces various commercial musical works in the form of content that serve Keroncong Beat Milenial. As one of keroncong music development artifacts which is closely linked to the youth involvement, Keroncong Beat Milenial is one of dozens forms of expression in keroncong music which utilize new media with internet based (Setiawan et al., 2022). More than fifty percent of the content produced by Dapur Musik Project is the result of Manthous's songs that their arranged, and *Sakit Rindu* became the most popular content with more than 1,2 million views on YouTube channel, reached over 260,000 streams on Spotify, as well as millions of streams on other platforms and media.

Obtaining profits in the form of economic value is one indicator of the commodification practices carried out by the Dapur Musik Project towards keroncong music. In this case, Dapur Musik Project follows in the trace of Manthous as their predecessor. As previous research has discussed the commodification carried out by Manthous in the realm of Campursari music (Jumanto, 2007). The other studies discussing commodification practices in the realm of music have also been conducted previously, such as on traditional music (Putra, 2022; RahmadAR, 2012; Soputan, 2022); international music (Giri, 2019; Septiana, 2010); sholawat (Muqsith, 2020); musical accompaniment for dancing (Agustinus, 2007); and wedding reception music (Permana et al., 2020). However, until now no one has researched the practice of commodification in the realm of keroncong music.

This research is important and interesting to carry out by raising actual issues and having novelty because it has never been researched before. This research examines the romanticization of keroncong music, especially songs composed by Manthous, in the commodification practices carried out by Dapur Musik Project as youth people. The results of this research are expected to be useful for researchers and practitioners of keroncong music to be used as a reference or benchmark in research musical and social phenomena that occur in the discourse on the preservation and development of keroncong music. It is also hoped that this research can provide another perspective to response the polemic between “standard (*pakem*)” and “contemporary” keroncong music which is often opposed. As a scientific

note, this research wants to participate in enriching knowledge and literature related to the study of Indonesian music, especially keroncong music in the realm of cultural studies.

METHOD

To study the problems described in the introduction, qualitative methods were used in this research and writing of scientific papers. Satori and Komariah (2013) explained that qualitative research is carried out to explore various social phenomena or situations that cannot be quantified by describing them as they are, as well as emphasizing the meaning behind the phenomenon or situation as the most important thing that can be used as a valuable lesson, especially in contributing to theory development. In this research there are research stages which are categorized into three levels, including beginning stage, implementation, and final stage.

Starting the beginning stage, I carried out research planning which started by identifying the topic and object to be researched. The object to be researched is the keroncong music group Dapur Musik Project which raises the topic of commodification and youth culture in keroncong music. In this research, problems can be formulated regarding how and why Dapur Musik Project as young people carry out the practice of commodifying keroncong music, especially towards Manthous's songs. Furthermore, various literature that supports research is collected, read, understood for study and used as a foundation for thinking when processing and presenting research data. In general, this research uses the thinking framework of Adorno and

Horkheimer (1944) who introduced the cultural industry theory with three main concepts which are interrelated: standardization, massification, and commodification. Apart from that, the theory of pop music in the popular culture industry put forward by Adorno (1941) and Vincent Mosco's commodification theory (2009) are also used as complements. Part of Bourdieu's (1984) thinking framework which put forward social practice theory or structural-constructive theory was also used in this research.

I also prepare all research needs, research instruments, and permits which are also important in carrying out research. Apart from using the Dapur Musik Project social network, field research was also carried out in their domicile area, at Special Region of Yogyakarta. Because the research location is outside the city where I live, I also need to prepare a place to stop, transportation, accommodation, and a budget for other research needs. From a socio-cultural perspective, I need to adapt to the surrounding environment, local community, and interact with informants in order to gain trust.

The informants in this research included members of Dapur Musik Project who were selected according to their sections, especially those who were still active. Manthous's younger sister and wife also provided credible information, especially related to Manthous's life. Several keroncong music figures, both practitioners and academics who have high credibility in their fields, also have a role as informants in this research, such as Erie Setiawan and Soladi.

The next stage is research implementation which starts from the

process of collecting to analyzing data. The data collection methods and techniques used in this research as well as testing the validity of the data are technique-triangulation and source-triangulation. The data collection techniques used in this research include interviews, observation, and document study. In-depth semi-structured interview techniques are used in this research by face-to-face, or by online using video conferencing applications and direct messages on social media. The interview guide used for each informant is different, adjusted to the capacity and needs of the data to be obtained from a particular informant. Moderate participant observation techniques are used to observe activities, environments, and behavior by being involved in and carrying out several of Dapur Musik Project activities as insiders and outsiders. Document study techniques were also used to collect data in the form of manuscripts, letters, sound recordings, discographies, photos and videos. These various documents are obtained in physical form or accessed online in the form of digital data.

I carried out the data analysis process using the method of Miles et al. (2014) model which consists of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification which are mutually continuous with each other. From the data condensation activity, all data that has been obtained is sorted for selection using a categorization process, where it can be determined which is included in primary data or secondary data. The data is then focused and simplified to produce more valid data. The next step is data display activity, in which the data that has been sorted

is then displayed in narrative form so that it is easier to understand. In this step also, the data is continuously tested for validity and analyzed in more depth referring to the framework used to then interpret the data. The final step in data analysis process is drawing conclusions and verification, where the data that has been presented needs to be verified so that it becomes valid and reliable data to then produce conclusions. In the final stage, the process of writing scientific papers and evaluation is carried out. Reviews and revisions are carried out in the evaluation to correct any shortcomings contained in the research and writing process.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Dapur Musik Project is a keroncong music group consisting of young people aged 20-30 years who have high enthusiasm for developing keroncong music in the era of disruption. They build their existence by utilizing new media and direct promotion in local and national music performance events. One of the new media that they have become a mainstay is YouTube. By September 2023, Dapur Musik Project YouTube channel has uploaded more than 80 content, 45.000 subscribers, and a total of 9.5 million views. They also have an official Instagram account with the username @dapurmu_sik which has 3,500 followers. Apart from being active on various music platforms and social media, Dapur Musik Project is also active in several live music events, such as wedding receptions, gatherings and music concerts.



Figure 1. Logos

(Source: youtube.com)

The commodification practices by utilizing new media have been carried out by Dapur Musik Project since the COVID-19 pandemic hit Indonesia. Although not in a whole, Dapur Musik Project mostly commodifies the Manthous's songs. As many as 42 of the 81 contents presented by Dapur Musik Project are the result of arrangements from the songs composed by Manthous. The rest, Dapur Musik Project also commodifies the works of other keroncong masters, and also the other songs of keroncong pop music, Javanese pop, Indonesian pop and *Tembang Kenangan*. All of their content is produced in the form of music covers and is published legally and has a license. Dapur Musik Project previously applied for permission to use copyrighted works from the composers and heirs of the musicians by signing a letter of agreement and paying a sum of money in advance.

Apart from efforts to preserve, develop, and aim to re-popularize the works of Manthous as their predecessor, the Dapur Musik Project has other reasons that point to the principles of capitalism regarding why they are more dominant in the practice of commodifying Manthous's songs.

This reason relates to easier and free access to permits the Manthous heirs, thereby saving production costs incurred at the start. One of the reasons for this convenience and lightness is the relational relationship in the form of descent or kinship that exists between Manthous and several Dapur Musik Project members: Venta Caesar, Candra Dwi Harmonianto, and Gatot Hari Prabowo. The result of this research presents various commodification practices were carried out by the Dapur Musik Project on the song works created by Manthous, which were divided into discussions in the musical and performance realm, as well as in the realm of packaging and marketing.

Commodification in the Musical and Performance Realm

Not all of Manthous's songs can be commodified by Dapur Musik Project. The musical aspect is the main consideration for Dapur Musik Project in choosing which Manthous's songs can be arranged. They will not choose songs that are considered inadequate or difficult to arrange based on the form of the repertoire and the tone system used. Because the form of music performed by Dapur Musik Project is keroncong music, several of Manthous's songs in the form of Langgam Jawa with a pentatonic tone system, which have a small probability of being arranged on with a diatonic tone system, it will certainly not be worked on by Dapur Musik Project. However, this does not mean that every work in the form of Langgam Jawa cannot be performed in the form of keroncong music. Until now, in Dapur Musik Project content there are several Langgam Jawa songs that have been arranged and published in the

form of Keroncong Beat Milenial expressions. Some of Manthous's other works arranged by Dapur Musik Project are in the form of Keroncong Pop/Pop Keroncong and Campursari.



Figure 2. Korg Trinity and Manthous's musical instruments

(Source: Andini, 2023)

There are quite obvious changes in the realm of musicals and performances, especially by looking at the musical instruments used between Manthous and Dapur Musik Project. In composed his songs, Manthous mostly uses Javanese musical instruments such as *saron*, *demung*, *gong*, *kendang*, *gender*, which combine with *cuk*, *cak*, cello keroncong, bass, keyboard/synthesizer, and drum set. The iconic musical instrument in Manthous's songs, especially when presenting Keroncong Pop/Pop Keroncong, is the Korg Trinity which is his synthesizer and Manthous is the only owner in Indonesia.

Manthous, who has a background as a keroncong cellist at Bintang Jakarta and also a keyboard player, makes his Synthesizer as one of the selling points highlighted in

commodifying keroncong music. In his various creations, especially in the form of Keroncong Pop/Pop Keroncong music, Manthous utilizes sound banks in MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) format found on synthesizer. Some instruments in the standard keroncong ensemble format were not used by Manthous. As a replacement, Manthous used sounds that were already in the synthesizer sound bank. The standard keroncong ensemble format which requires the complexity of the instruments used has been made efficient using his synthesizer.



Figure 3. Dapur Musik Project's ensamble forms

(Source: Andini, 2023)

On the other hand, Dapur Musik Project chooses to use musical instruments that are much more complex by using a complete standard keroncong ensemble format, consisting of *cak*, *cuk*, guitar, cello keroncong, bass, flute, violin, plus keyboard/synthesizer and drums, as

well as other western or traditional musical instruments as additional instruments. In the several content, Dapur Musik Project collaborates with the ensemble format they usually use with a wind orchestra consisting of various woodwind instruments such as oboe and clarinet, as well as a brass section such as saxophone, trumpet, horn and trombone.

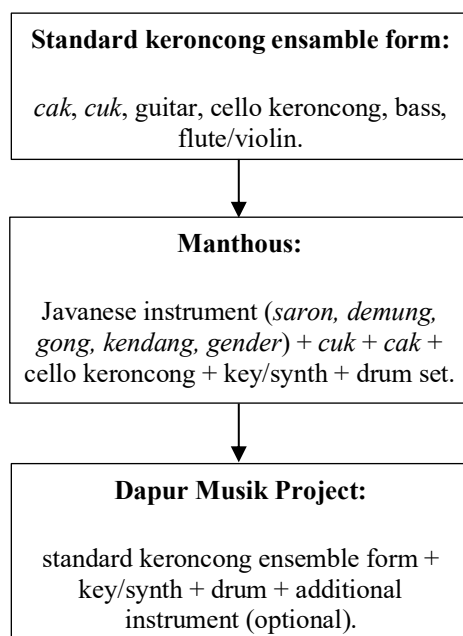


Diagram 1. Commodification of Instruments in the Keroncong Ensemble

The change in the format of the keroncong ensemble carried out by Manthous and Dapur Musik Project is a practice of commodification. Even though they were carried out at different time, these changes were aimed at attracting consumers and gaining popularity, which resulted in the amount of profit obtained. Manthous and Dapur Musik Project emphasize the change in the keroncong ensemble format to their

musical creativity, but they cannot let go of their attachment to the practices of the music industry.

Manthous, with the changes he made, resulted in thousands of cassettes being sold and they were considered to be the best sellers at that time. Dapur Musik Project, with the changes it has made, has also received millions of views and increased the enthusiasm of youth people as consumers and producers of keroncong music. Due to their attachment to this industrial practice, Manthous and the Dapur Musik Project represent a "somasochistic character" in the concept of new commodity fetishism put forward by Adorno and Horkheimer (1991). The somasochistic character mentioned refers to a condition where "people allow themselves to be mobilized by industrial interests, even under the pretext of art." (Malaka, 2012, p. 156).

Apart from commodifying the instruments used in the keroncong music ensemble, Dapur Musik Project also commodifies the musical arrangements. By using different instruments or ensemble formats, there are also differences in the musical composition. Even though in the transcript the notation looks similar and presents almost the same type of instrument sound, the ensemble or instrument format used between Manthous and Dapur Musik Project is clearly different. In this *Sakit Rindu* song, Manthous predominantly uses a keyboard/synthesizer to present the sounds of several keroncong musical instruments used. Meanwhile, the results produced by Dapur Musik Project present their style with a complete standard keroncong

ensemble plus keyboard/synthesizer and drum instruments.

From a musical point of view, another difference between the song *Sakit Rindu* composed by Manthous and the arranged by Dapur Musik Project is the tempo used. Manthous uses a tempo of 64 MM, while Dapur Musik Project uses 79 MM. Something that makes this difference obvious is the accompaniment pattern used, where Manthous as a whole song only uses one pattern, while Dapur Musik Project uses a more varied pattern.

From the beginning to the end of the song, Manthous constantly uses *engkel* pattern. In the first repetition of the song, Manthous emphasizes the characteristics of his keroncong pop music. To anticipate boredom as well as increase sales value, in the second repetition of the song Manthous emphasizes the character of dangdut music with different *kendang* pattern and inserting *senggakan* at several times. This musical composition is certainly different from Dapur Musik Project, which from start to finish consistently emphasizes the characteristics of *ngroncong*. As a variation, Dapur Musik Project uses patterns in the following parts: *kotek/cokekan* (Intro-Versel) - *engkel* (Verse2-Chorus-Coda) - *kotek/cokekan* (Interlude) - *rangkep/dobel* (Chorus-Coda-Outro). Apart from the accompaniment patterns, harmonies and melodies presented by Dapur Musik Project in their compositions are also different from the original *Sakit Rindu* song whose composed by Manthous.

The song entitled *Sakit Rindu*, created by Manthous, is one of

Manthous's songs in the form of Campursari which Dapur Musik Project arranged in the form of Keroncong Beat Milenial. Even though it is not too different from the original version, there are significant differences as mentioned. Various other works by Manthous, especially in the form of Langgam Jawa, have more obvious changes due to changes in the tone system used.

As for the aspect of a singer's performance, in any form of music, Dapur Musik Project adapts to their individual character and is not fixated on one particular character. Manthous, who is also a singer, certainly has his own character which is constant even though he sings keroncong, campursari, and langgam Jawa. There are several local singers to famous singers who have collaborated and frequently collaborated with Dapur Musik Project, including: Nadya Rani Sekar Pambajeng, Erika Rasyid, Minul CSGK, Landung (Didi Kempot KW), Pandika Kamajaya, Uut Salsabilla, Cindy Fatika Valen, Okky Kumala Sari, Elisha Orcarus, Dhias Erlangga, Dhimas Tedjo, Lala Atila, and Woro Widowati.

The quality of the audio produced is also an important discussion point in the commodification practice carried out by Dapur Musik Project on Manthous's songs. These audio results relate to developments in the use of recording technology in the era of disruption. Manthous uses devices with an analog system, while Dapur Musik Project has switched to devices with a digital system. CSGK Studio (Campursari Gunungkidul) still has the recording equipment that Manthous used in his period,

including a DDA AMR 24 analog mixer and a cassette tape production machine. Dapur Musik Project has now abandoned the analog recording system and switched to a digital recording system which produces audio quality with a more contemporary character, and is in demand by the public as consumers. The set of recording equipment used by the Dapur Musik Project includes: digital mixer Midas MR18, digital mixer Soundcraft Ui24, speaker monitor flat Dolphin DS7A, MacBook, as well as DAW software using Logic and Studio One.

Music recording technology with a digital system is considered easier, more effective and efficient when compared to conventional recording systems that release music in physical releases, for example in this case the cassette tape that Manthous used in the past. These various conveniences are evident in the process of audio recording, where if there is an error, it does not have to repeat the recording or delete it by cutting and connecting the tape. In a digital system, the editing process or re-recording the wrong part is very easy, just select the part you want to delete or change, then click the button according to its function. In fact, audio that was accidentally deleted can be brought back.



Figure 4. Manthous's tape cassette production machine and analog mixer at CSGK Studio

(Source: Andini, 2023)

Dapur Musik Project's audio processing using a digital system can also be done outside the studio, and simply by relying on a MacBook. Although the previous recording process was considered to produce music with more perfect and authentic quality because it minimized the editing process, nowadays many consumers have abandoned physical music releases and switched to digital music releases. As Mosco (2009) explains, the digitalization process is a cornerstone in the practice of content commodification, where large profits are generated by digitalization through faster and more flexible transmission compared to analog systems.

Ease and time effectiveness are also carried out in the video production and editing process. Dapur Musik Project uses a live recording

system which also aims to save production costs. The video concept presented by Dapur Musik Project is not a short film video clip with running lyrics as presented in several Manthous songs, but instead shows a video of their performance during the recording process. Dapur Musik Project does not need to incur significant additional costs for renting a studio or location for making video clips, or other additional costs. Thus, the practices carried out by Dapur Musik Project are in line with one of the principles of commodification, where Mosco (2009) revealed that commodification prioritizes efficiency in calculating time and labor/workers to return maximum investment.



Figure 5. Comparison of Manthous's video clip with Dapur Musik Project's cover music video

(Source: youtube.com)

All of Dapur Musik Project's commodification practices on Manthous's songs in the musical and performance realm are a form of commodification of content which also applies the capitalism principles.

As Mosco (2009) explains, the commodification of content emphasizes the process of commodity production which reflects the capital interests. There is a transformation of messages with use values into marketable products. Adila and Prasetya (2020) also explained that capital owners will do everything they can to process and manipulate content in the production process, in order to get the attention of the audience and advertising which of course has an impact on increasing profits.

The various changes made by Dapur Musik Project in the practice of commodification can also be understood as one of the strategies in music industry practice, namely pseudo-individuality. The change does not highlight any novelty, but only as a differentiator by bringing out the uniqueness that Dapur Musik Project has from standard keroncong music. Keroncong music is a cornerstone of popular music in Indonesia (Adhiyatmaka, 2021), and the *pakem* constructed in it is a standardization in the music industry strategy. Adorno (1941) describes standardization in the popular music industry as a process to standardize commodity according to general criteria so they are easily accepted by society. To manipulate consumer awareness, standardization is made blurred by the individualization process. This pseudo-individuality seems to differentiate the uniqueness or novelty that is created to disguise standardization (Adorno, 1941).

Commodification in the Packaging and Marketing Realm

Apart from the musical and performance realm, Dapur Musik

Project also commodifies Manthous's songs through content packaging. As is known, Manthous produced various musical works in the form of physical releases such as cassette, CD and VCD. Dapur Musik Project, which releases their content in digital form, certainly has a different and contemporary packaging presentation following the times. One of the most highlighted things about music packaging is the cover.

The covers of the cassette and CD/VCD used by Manthous are varied and have their own character, including using plain or patterned backgrounds but still in the same color shades; using photos of Manthous and his collaborated singers taken in a special photo shoot wearing traditional clothing; the publishing logo is printed on the front and back cover; and a written description informing the name of the singer and the name of the musical group along with a list of available song titles. Meanwhile, the cover on Dapur Musik Project YouTube content is made simpler, only containing information on the song title, singer's name, creator's name, without any publishing logo. Without using a colored background, Dapur Musik Project directly uses photos taken during the recording process and there is no special photo session to be displayed on the cover. The clothes worn by the Music Kitchen Project musicians and singers are also not traditional clothes and more characterize them as young people. With a simpler, more attractive and contemporary cover, it can increase people's interest in consuming Dapur Musik Project content.



Figure 6. Comparison of Manthous cassette and CD/VCD covers with the covers of Dapur Musik Project's YouTube content

(Source: Andini, 2023)

Manthous and Dapur Musik Project both commodify keroncong music, even in different era. In terms of music distribution, Manthous is closely related to record labels, while Dapur Musik Project is closely related to aggregators. With different product forms between music released physically and digital music, the audience as consumers of Manthous or Dapur Musik Project have a different experience in the buying and selling processes. The audience for Manthous's songs must pay an amount of money according to the price tag listed which is usually attached to a cassette, CD, or VCD.

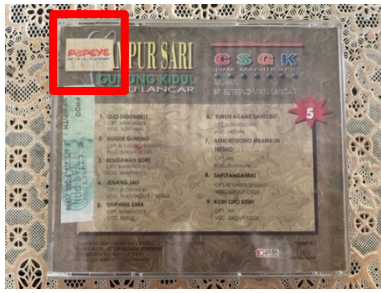


Figure 7. The price tag for the CD of Manthous's songs is priced at IDR 40,000

(Source: Andini, 2023)

In the current era of disruption, Dapur Musik Project audience can choose various options to enjoy their content, including: free to listen or watch any content provided you have an internet and display advertisements that cannot be avoided; pay per song you want to listen; and subscribe to a "premium account" for ad-free services and various other perks offered. As Mosco (2009) also mentioned, various services were introduced in new media and facilitated the audience commodity practice, such as pay per song, pay per view, and pay per channel.

To gain consumer enthusiasm in the market, Dapur Musik Project carries out a marketing strategy supported by an algorithm system in new media. One of their strategies is change the name for the sake of popularity. The keroncong music group which was originally called "*Dapurmu Sik*" changed their name to "Dapur Musik Project" because the search engine on YouTube was difficult to be popular and audiences would be difficult to find if they continued to maintain the name *Dapurmu Sik*.

One of the points that needs to be underlined in the marketing strategy carried out by Dapur Musik Project is popularity. In other to changing the name, Dapur Musik Project also implemented other marketing strategies by displaying Manthous's identity in several content titles or including it in the content description column. An example is some contents of Dapur Musik Project which presents performances of Manthous's songs sung by Venta as Manthous's grandson. With the identity of "Manthous's grandson", the content of Dapur Musik Project with Venta is considered qualified, even before consumers hear or watch the music content.

The strategy of creating the identity of Venta, the singer of Dapur Musik Project, as "Cucu Manthous" (Manthous's grandson) is symbolic violence. As stated by Bourdieu in Harker et al. (2009, p. xxi), symbolic violence is "violence in its very subtle form, violence that is imposed on social agents without inviting resistance, on the contrary, it invites conformity because it has received social legitimacy". The assumption that consumers immediately assume that Manthous's grandson is as capable as Manthous is doxa, which is Harker et al. (2009) explains doxa as a discourse resulting from practice, which can be directly accepted, believed and obeyed without any process of considering and thinking first. Due to the symbolic violence and doxa used in their marketing strategy, consumers will immediately believe in the quality of Dapur Musik Project just like Manthous, their grandfather, who had achieved popularity in the previous era and was considered as a maestro.

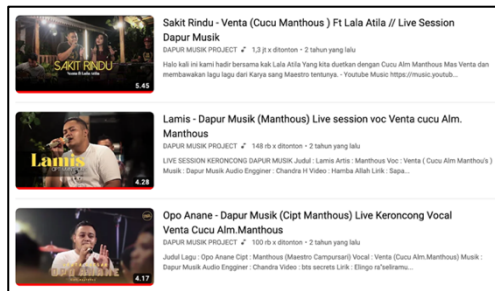


Figure 8. The identity “Cucu Manthous” is used in some of Dapur Musik Project's content

(Source: youtube.com)

The popularity of Manthous and his works among the people of Indonesia and abroad became Manthous's huge capital so that he was legitimized as a maestro and great Indonesian artist. One example of the real form of legitimacy that Manthous received the appreciation was given by Gunungkidul Regency Government to changing the name of the road in the area where Manthous lives. Originally the road was called Jl. Pramuka (Jl. Playen-Wonosari) and since 2014 has changed to Jl. Manthous. In relation to capital ownership and legitimacy, this is in line with what was stated by Siregar (2016) that the legitimacy obtained by agents is greatly influenced by capital accumulation. This opinion is also confirmed by Harker et al. (2009, p. xx) which states that “Capital is a concentration of power, those who have a lot of capital will get a good position”.

Dapur Musik Project also strengthens their symbolic capital by participating in and becoming First Place in the 2022 General Keroncong

Competition at the Provincial Level of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), Central Java, and East Java, which is organized by BPNB DIY under the auspices of the Directorate General of Culture of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. The achievement of "Winner" proves Dapur Musik Project in terms of quality, both musically and in other performances, which are accumulated as a symbolic capital. Dapur Musik Project also collaborates with several famous singers to increase popularity through the symbolic capital owned by collaborators.

Through the various marketing strategies that have been mentioned, Dapur Musik Project commodifies Manthous's songs and even towards “Manthous” himself. The practice of commodification carried out by Dapur Musik Project on Manthous's songs is closely related to the social practices that are constructed. In line with the expressions of Mosco (2009) in one of his points of view on commodification and its relationship with social practice, where the commodification process in society as a whole can penetrate communication processes and institutions, then developments and conflicts in the commodification process in society affect communication as a social practice.

The target of the content produced by Dapur Musik Project as youth is not only youth people, but in all age level, from children to the elderly. To increase attraction and support among elders, Dapur Musik Project has played the role of facilitator since their inception. Dapur Musik Project offers facilities and infrastructure, such as space and equipment to support the digital music

production process, to elders who have limitations in operating digital systems. As the name suggests, they played the role like a “*Dapur*” (kitchen) which provides various equipment to cook ingredients, in this case is audio or music, until cooked and ready to be served.

As a youth generation who was born or domiciled in Special Region of Yogyakarta, which is still strongly influenced by Javanese culture, Dapur Musik Project still upholds local cultural principles and values. Manthous are considered their predecessor or parents, and the Dapur Musik Project really applies “*mikul dhuwur mendem jero*” which in Indonesian means “*memikul tinggi, mengubur dalam-dalam*”. Santosa (2008, p. 82) further explained the Javanese proverb as “Advice to children to respect their parents by appreciating and valuing their merit as highly as possible and keeping these services deeply in their hearts.” Arranging and re-popularizing songs composed by Manthous is one of the ways for Dapur Musik Project to appreciate Manthous's merit as the maestro. Until now, Dapur Musik Project is still in the process of perpetuating their work.

CONCLUSION

Sakit Rindu describes an ambivalent condition, as youth people are always shown to be ambivalent in every discourse on the development of keroncong music: expectation and threat. The emergence of Dapur Musik Project in new media has presented another perspective on the practice of commodifying keroncong music. Dapur Musik Project commodifies the songs created by

Manthous as well as Manthous himself. Manthous and Dapur Musik Project, both of them carry out commodification practices, which is reflected in their attachment to industrial practices and economic values. From the commodification practice carried out by Dapur Musik Project on Manthous's songs, the acquisition of symbolic capital and symbolic violence can support the commodification practice.

Even though there have been changes in form, production, packaging and strategy, Dapur Musik Project has not made any significant renewal. In this case, Dapur Musik Project only romanticizes the songs composed by Manthous in presenting a form of Keroncong Beat Milennial with *ngroncong* characteristics. This romanticization just only remembers, repeats, and gives expression to songs that have existed before. The phenomenon of the romanticization of keroncong music in the commodification practice carried out by Dapur Musik Project is an example of how youth are trying to mediate the polemic of *pakemisasi* in keroncong music with their respective roles and methods. Dapur Musik Project also suggests to the keroncong music community that the practice of commodification is important in efforts to preserve and increase the existence of keroncong music in the Indonesian music scene.

REFERENCES

- Adhiyatmaka, I. A. (2021). *Dari Ngak Ngik Nok ke Dheg Dheg Plas*. Jakarta: Bintang Press.
- Adila, I., & Prasetya, A. B. (2020). *Ekonomi Politik Komunikasi*:

- Sebuah Realitas Industri Media di Indonesia*. Malang: UB Press.
- Adorno, T. W. (1941). On Popular Music. *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, 9, 17-48.
- Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (1979). *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception*. London: Verso.
- Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (1991). *The Culture Industry: Selected essays on mass culture*. London: Routledge.
- Agustinus, B. (2007). *Komodifikasi Musik-Tari Lian-Naman sebagai Modal Kultural dalam Dinamika Ekonomi Kebudayaan* [Tesis, Universitas Airlangga]. Surabaya.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*: Havard Collage and Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Giri, A. M. (2019). Komodifikasi Budaya Populer Korean Pop Music "Music Makes One". In U. Lies, R. Khairul, & A. Rusmana (Eds.), *Komunikasi Budaya dan Dokumentasi Kontemporer*. Unpad Press.
- Harker, R., Mahar, C., & Wilkes, C. (2009). *(Habitus x Modal) + Ranah = Praktik: Pengantar Paling Komprehensif kepada Pemikiran Pierre Bourdieu* (P. Maizier, Trans.). Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Jumanto, H. (2007). *Komodifikasi dan Popularisasi Musik Campursari (Seni Tradisi Jawa dalam Bayang-Bayang Kapitalisme Global)* [Tesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada]. Yogyakarta.
- Malaka, A. S. (2012). Komodifikasi, Standarisasi, dan Massifikasi dalam Industri Fiksi Indonesia. *Jurnal Komunika*, 3(2), 147-171.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3 ed.). London: SAGE Publications.
- Mosco, V. (2009). *The Political Economy of Communication* (2nd ed.). California: Sage Publications.
- Muqsith, I. A. (2020). *Komodifikasi Sholawat (Studi Kasus Grup Musik Sholawat The Swan Band)* [Skripsi, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah]. Jakarta.
- Permana, Y., Nalan, A. S., & Ridwan, I. (2020). Komodifikasi Musik Resepsi Pernikahan di Bandung. *Pantun: Jurnal Ilmiah Seni Budaya*, 5(2), 173-183.
- Putra, B. A. (2022). Komodifikasi Budaya Musik Sampeq Kenyah. *Jurnal Mebang*, 2(1), 49-58.
- RahmadAR, A. (2012). *Komodifikasi Seni Musik Tradisional Tong-Tong (Analisis Strukturasi Giddens Dalam Dinamika Perubahan Struktur Kelompok Kesenian Tong-Tong Sebagai Industri Pariwisata Di Kabupaten Sumenep)* [Disertasi, Universitas Brawijaya]. Malang.
- Santosa, I. B. (2008). *Dunia Batin Orang Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Riset Informasi dan Aset Kenegaraan.

- Satori, D., & Komariah, A. (2013). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Penerbit Alfabeta.
- Septiana, M. (2010). *Komodifikasi Hip-Hop dan Relasi Inter-Intrarasial di Bay Area Amerika Serikat* [Tesis, Universitas Gadjah Mada]. Yogyakarta.
- Setiawan, E., Hidayatullah, P., & dkk. (2022). Ensiklopedia Musik Keroncong. In. Jakarta: Direktorat Perfilman, Musik, dan Media Ditjen Kebudayaan KEMENDIKBUDRISTEK RI
- Siregar, M. (2016). Teori "Gado-Gado" Pierre-Felix Bourdieu. *Jurnal Studi Kultural*, 1(2), 79-82.
- Soputan, F. A. (2022). *Komodifikasi Dalam Ansambel Musik Kolintang Kayu Minahasa: Perbandingan Grup "X" dan "Y"* [Tesis, Institut Kesenian Jakarta]. Jakarta.