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ISLAMIC MUSIC IN BANYUWANGI: ARTISTS'ADAPTATION AFTER THE 1965 POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Hervina Nurullita

Universitas PGRI Banyuwangi Jalan Ikan Tongkol No. 1 Kertosari, Banyuwangi, 68416, Indonesia Pos-el: hervina.nurullita@gmail.com

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Abstract

This study examines the adaptation strategies of Banyuwangi artists in musical practices after the 1965 political violence. The stigma attached to the song Genjer-genjer and its allegedly association with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) affected the local art scene. The research applies the historical method through heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The findings revealed that Banyuwangi musicians shifted their repertoire from social themes to Islamic genres. This transformation constructed a socio-religious identity that protected them from political accusations and sustained local musical traditions. The study highlights music as both a cultural expression and a survival strategy under repressive conditions.

Keyword: Banyuwangi music; Islamic genres; artist adaptation; post-1965

INTRODUCTION

The current area of Banyuwangi district is the former kingdom of Blambangan. The Blambangan Kingdom was located at the eastern tip of Java. The kingdom has a long history. During the collapse of Majapahit in the 15th century, Blambangan stood as the only Hindu kingdom in Java, controlling the largest part of the eastern tip of Java (this area is now divided into five regencies namely: Banyuwangi, Jember, Lumajang, Bondowoso and Situbondo). For almost three centuries Blambangan was between two different political factions, the Islamic kingdom of Mataram and the Hindu kingdom of Bali (Gelgel, Buleleng and Mengwi) (Sri Margana 2012).

In 1766 the VOC began to conduct patrols around the Bali Strait and its surroundings because from the beginning of 1766 the VOC discovered almost 1000 crimes on the north coast of eastern Java. On May 13, 1768 the VOC attacked Ulupampang (the port during the Blambangan kingdom) and succeeded in occupying it. The VOC tried to further strengthen its position by building a fort in Ulupampang and a force of 74 European soldiers. The aim is to oversee the Bali Strait as a trade route on the Java seaside and the way in and out of Blambangan (Sudjana 2001).

Banyuwangi contacts the outside world, especially it's role as a strategic area in shipping during the colonial period, formed Banyuwangi into an area rich in arts and culture. Various kinds of culture grow and develop in Banyuwangi. One of them is Banyuwangi music. Music is a work of sound art in the form of a song or musical composition that expresses the thoughts and feelings of its creator through the elements of music, namely rhythm melody harmony, form and song structure and expression as a unit (Jamalus 1988). Music is also part of the culture produced by humans that continues to develop from time to time, in line with technological developments, the emergence of new industries, which directly or indirectly greatly affect the social conditions of society and can also have a psychological influence on society so as to produce quite important changes in the cultural structure in people's lives (Hidayat 2018). This study specifically discusses the transformation of Banyuwangi music after the political violence of 1965.

In contemporary times Banyuwangi was not spared from the violent events of 1965. Massacres began in Banyuwangi on November 20, 1965 and continued until December 25, 1965. There were also other massacres that occurred from October 1 to 5, 1966 and the last massacre took place from 1967 to October 1968 (Anonim 2016). The violent events of 1965 greatly affected the artistic life in Banyuwangi. Most Banyuwangi artists were affiliated with LEKRA (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*), an arts organization under the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). For almost a decade, Banyuwangi's arts scene was in a vacuum after the 1965 violence. The main research question is how Banyuwangi artists adapted so that Banyuwangi music would not be stigmatized by the events of 1965. This formulation guides the focus of this study.

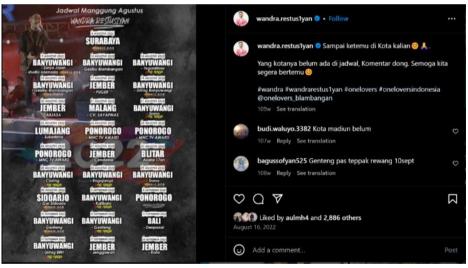


Figure Schedule of Wandra's show (source: Instagram @wandra.restus1yan, https://www.instagram.com/p/ChUPUNBPjqx/, 2022)

The purpose of this study is to analyze the adaptation strategies of Banyuwangi musicians in shifting from socially oriented genres to Islamic genres after 1965, as well as to explain how these adaptations helped preserve musical traditions while negotiating political stigma. In the 2000s, a young Banyuwangi singer emerged with a myriad of talents, her crisp voice was quickly accepted by most of the people who loved "Banyuwangen" songs. The song "Banyuwangen" also known as Kendang Kempul is a typical Banyuwangi music that uses the Using language (Akbar Satria Putra Mahendra

2018). Wandra is the artist who quickly "exploded" in the world of Banyuwangi music. His song awaited by Banyuwangi music lover. Wandra's voice is heard in almost every household, VCD *kios* on the roadside, on music stages, in inter-provincial buses, cafes, his presence is awaited even Wandra's show schedule is crammed. Nowadays, Banyuwangi pop music is familiar to the people of Banyuwangi even to the capital city with a song called 'Kelangan' (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qlkBmc-LIXY). The community seemed to be immersed in the voices and poems performed by Wandra. So his performance is always awaited. The long history of Banyuwangi's musical journey is inextricably linked to the popularity of Banyuwangi pop music today.

Banyuwangi pop music is one of the Banyuwangi arts that has received a negative stigma (Hervina Nurullita 2015). The concept of stigma does not yet have a standardized theoretical formulation and scientific explanation. However, several experts in the fields of psychology and sociology have begun to develop this idea. one of them is as a way to help heal individuals who experience depression and fear, for example Erving Goffman who says that stigma is an identification of human situations that are considered deviant and different from the identity of society. Stigma in the sociological sense can also mean "social disgrace" or "social stain" (Narwaya 2010). To strengthen the conceptual framework, this study draws on Erving Goffman's (Goffman 1963) theory of stigma and Stuart Hall's (Stuart Hall 1997) concept of identity as representation. Goffman helps explain how Banyuwangi music was socially discredited after 1965, while Hall clarifies how identity is redefined through cultural expression, in this case through Islamic music. These frameworks establish why music became an arena of adaptation and survival.

In the course of its history, Banyuwangi pop music was considered 'leftist'. This stigma stems from the popularity of the song *Genjer-genjer*, which became the obligatory song of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) in the 1960s. *Genjer-genjer*'s popularity has always been associated with the events of the G30S PKI rebellion (Wicaksono 2021). Muhammad Arif created the song *Genjer-genjer* as an expression of the people's suffering over the Japanese occupation. There is no political content in this song at all, but from this song comes a stigma towards Banyuwangi music. Muhammad Arif created the song *Genjer-genjer* in the form of verses of dolanan songs (songs of play/entertainment) of everyday people (Muhammad Subarkah 2022). In 1962, a PKI leader named Njoto heard the song *Genjer-genjer* and became interested in it. Then the song *Genjer-genjer* became popular and was played on Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) and aired on national television at the time. In 1965, national singers Lilis Suryani and Bing Slamet also performed this song (Arif Zulkifli 2014). That's why the song *Genjer-genjer* is identified as an obligatory PKI song.

Genjer-genjer Song Lyric: Genjer-genjer ring kedokan pating keleler Emake thulik teko-teko muputi genjer Ulih sak tenong mungkur sedhot sing tulih-tulih Genjer-genjer saiki digawa mulih Genjer-genjer diuntingi padha didasar Dijejer-jejer sak ikine didol ring pasar Make jebeng padha tuku nggowo welasah Genjer-genjer saiki padha diolah Genjer-genjer mlebu pendil wedang gemulak Setengah mateng dientas wong dienggo iwak Sega nang piring sambel jeruk ring pelonco Genjer-genjer saiki yo dipangan

Translation:

Genjer-genjer at the edge of the waterway Mother comes to pick genjer
Got one big container and didn't turn around Genjer-genjer is brought home now
Genjer-genjer tied up for sale
Lined up, now sold in the market
Mothers buying with a large container
Genjer-genjer is now processed
Genjer-genjer is put into a pot of hot water
Half-cooked served as a side dish
Rice on a plate with orange chilli on the side
Genjer-genjer is now eaten

Banyuwangi music is an ethnic popular music. It is music that is analysed as a marker of ethnic identity (Eko Crys Endrayadi; Nawiyanto 2019). According to (Andrew Weintraub 2012), the characteristics of ethnic popular music are (1) sung in the local language; (2) has indigenous musical elements; (3) produced in local recording studios for the local market. This research answers the questions How is the revival of Banyuwangi local music after the violence events of 1965? Why did artists change the genre of Banyuwangi pop music after the violence events of 1965? This study offers a unique perspective by focusing on the shift from social genres to Islamic genres as a deliberate adaptation strategy after 1965, an aspect that has not been specifically examined in previous studies, which generally emphasize identity politics or nationalism. There are several studies on Banyuwangi music. The first is an article by (Eko Crys Endrayadi; Nawiyanto 2019) entitled Berjuang Dengan Melodi: Musik Banyuwangian Sebagai Media Revitalisasi Identitas Using. This research explains the efforts of the Osing community to fight for their identity through Banyuwangian music. Banyuwangian music is a form of cultural expression and a symbol of the identity of the Using community. The involvement of Banyuwangi artists in the Lekra organization, which led to the arrest of artists and the banning of Banyuwangian music to be played in the early of New Order era, has also formed a negative image of the Using community. Through Banyuwangian music, Using artists tried to put elements of creativity and modernity in the color of their music, so that it became a social and cultural medium to fight for Using identity.

The article (Albert Tallapesy; Ikwan Setiawan; Sariono; Agus Suwargono; 2019) with the title *Wacana Nasionalisme Kritis dalam Musik Banyuwangian Pada Masa Orde Baru*. This article explains the representation of critical nationalism discourse in

Banyuwangian music during the new order. Using local terms or idioms for song lyrics that are close to the daily lives of Banyuwangi residents is a strategic effort by artists to market songs while negotiating Using locality and offering critical nationalism. The local diction game proved to be able to aesthetically wrap the artists' resistance to the New Order rulers whom they saw as not bringing much good to the citizens, especially the subalterns.

Furthermore, an article by (Kelana Wisnu Sapta Nugraha 2021) with the title Bersenandung di Tengah Badai: Musik dalam Dinamika Kekerasan Antikomunis. This article aims to use music as a source of historical writing to see the internal responses of survivors in the dynamics of anticommunist violence in Indonesia. One of the songs discussed in this article is a song called "Mbok Irat" created by Endro Wilis. This song tries to show an overview of the violence that occurred in Banyuwangi from the perspective of the villagers.

From the research on Banyuwangi music that has been done, no one has written about the history of Banyuwangi music specifically and what Banyuwangi artists did to revive Banyuwangi music after the 1965 violence. So, this research is important to change the bad stigma of Banyuwangi music after the 1965 violence.

This study not only reconstructs the historical traces of Banyuwangi music but also highlights its uniqueness. While previous studies have explored Banyuwangi music as an expression of identity or resistance, none have examined the specific shift from social genres to Islamic genres as a deliberate adaptation strategy after 1965. This is the main contribution of this study. In order to understand the dynamics of change in the Banyuwangi music genre after 1965, a cultural theoretical approach is essential to explain how music functions as a space for negotiating identity within power structures. Stuart Hall states that identity is not something fixed, but rather formed through a process of representation that is closely related to social and political contexts. Music, as a form of cultural representation, not only expresses the identity of a community but also serves as a arena where identity is negotiated, challenged, and reshaped (Stuart Hall 1997).

In the context of Banyuwangi music, the representation of Using identity, which was previously associated with folk narratives through social music, has shifted to religious expression. This shift is not merely a result of changing tastes, but also a response to political pressure and stigmatization due to the artists' relationship with LEKRA.

METHOD

This research using historical method. The historical method was used as a guideline to obtain and use data from primary and secondary sources, including assessing how the information obtained contributes to understanding the development of Banyuwangi local music. There are four stages of historical method, namely: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Nugroho Notosusanto 1971).

The heuristic stage was conducted through the collection of primary and

secondary sources. Primary sources consisted mainly of oral history obtained through interviews with senior Banyuwangi artists who were active during the period 1950–1960. Informants were selected based on their direct involvement in Banyuwangi music performances and productions, with criteria including age, active participation in performances, and songwriting in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, song manuscripts and handwritten lyrics kept by the artists were used to verify the information obtained from the interviews.

Secondary sources consist of academic books and journal articles that provide historical, cultural, and theoretical perspectives relevant to Banyuwangi music. The table below shows these sources and their roles in the development of Banyuwangi music. The author used these sources because they were active during the same period as this research.

Table. List of speakers¹

No.	Name	Role
1.	Andang C.Y	Song writer
2.	B.S Nurdian	Song writer
3.	Nasikin	Singer
4.	Slamet Menur	Dancer
5.	Suhalik	Historian

Sources: primary document

The second stage is source criticism. External criticism was applied to verify the authenticity of song manuscripts, while internal criticism was used to test the credibility of oral testimonies by comparing the narratives among different informants. The third stage is interpretation, where all sources were analyzed thematically, particularly on issues related to music, politics, and cultural identity. Interpretation was strengthened by using content analysis of song lyrics and discourse analysis of interviews, which helped connect the musical practices with broader socio-political contexts. The last stage is historiography, namely the writing of this article. Triangulation was used to ensure validity and reliability, by cross-referencing oral testimonies with song manuscripts and existing scholarly literature. Bias was minimized by comparing multiple perspectives and situating the narratives within the historical context

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Banyuwangi Music Before 1960s

The political events of 1965 marked an important turning point in the history of Banyuwangi music. Prior to this event, Banyuwangi music developed with themes related to social issues and everyday life, one of which was the song *Genjer-genjer*, which represented the unrest of farmers. However, the song later faced stigma due to its

¹ When this article was published, artist number 1-3 has passed away.

association with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). This stigma has placed Banyuwangi music in a socially discredited position, in line with Goffman's concept of stigma as a discrediting attribute that reduces the social acceptance of a group (Goffman 1963). Several artists were arrested, and musical activities stagnated. This situation demonstrated how performing arts are vulnerable to political and ideological intervention (Heryanto 2014).

Muhammad Arif is a milestone in the transformation of Banyuwangi pop music. Beside the phenomenal song *Genjer-genjer*, there are several song titles created by Muhammad Arif including Nandur Jagung and Lurkung. The song Lurkung tell about the suffering of the people due to the romusha system implemented during the Japanese occupation (interview with Andang C.Y, Banyuwangi, March 29, 2014)². Muhammad Arif joined LEKRA in the 1950s. Later, Muhammad Arif founded the Angklung Group Srimuda (*Seni Rakyat Indonesia Muda*). Angklung is a very popular Banyuwangi music art. Angklung Banyuwangi emerged and grew as a folk art. Angklung Banyuwangi is played by beating using a special Banyuwangenan technique. Angklung Banyuwangi has characteristics of making, shape and playing techniques that are different from other regions (Elvin Hendratha 2021). The Angklung Srimuda group became increasingly famous and often filled PKI political events in Surabaya, even in 1955 the Srimuda angklung group was sent to Bandung to perform at the Asia Africa Conference (interview with Slamet Menur on October 23, 2022)³.

Modern music in Banyuwangi began to emerge after the development of the Angklung Srimuda Group. Keroncong music groups developed in Banyuwangi. The Keroncong groups that developed at that time were Irama Gaya Masa and Keroncong Mawar Merah, which developed in the northern part of Banyuwangi. In addition, a Latin rhythm music group was also born in Banyuwangi, Ramona Kombo. This Latin rhythm music was led by LEKRA, but some of its members were from LESBUMI (an artists' organization closely affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama) and other cultural institutions (interview with Andang C.Y, Banyuwangi, March 29, 2014).

Banyuwangi Music in the 1960s

In the 1960s, Banyuwangi had some great artists (and writers) who contributed greatly to the history of literature and art in Banyuwangi, among them were Muhammad Arif, Andang C.Y, Nasikin, B.S Nurdian, Mahfud Hariyanto, Endro Wilis, A.K Armaya, Fatrah Abal and Nasikin (a singer). B.S Nurdian provided many of the songs in the poems composed by Andang C.Y and Mahfud Hariyanto. B.S Nurdian also created his own song. A.K Armaya is a Banyuwangi writer who also has several works in the form of songs. In addition, there is the name Fatrah Abal in the line of Banyuwangi artists and writers at that time.

² Interview with Andang C.Y, Banyuwangi, March 29, 2014. Andang C.Y is an music artist at 1960s, song writer and also secretary of LEKRA.

³ Interview with Slamet Menur on October 23, 2022. Slamet Menur is dancing artist also a member of LEKRA.

Although there were keroncong music groups in the 1960s, Banyuwangi pop music was not yet recognised. In 1963 Nasikin attended a music festival in Semarang. At that time Nasikin performed 6 songs, all of which were Moluccan songs. 3 jazz songs and 3 Latin rhythm songs under a band called Nekarama. Nasikin represents East Java province because there is no representative from Banyuwangi (interview with Nasikin, Banyuwangi, March 28, 2014)⁴.

From the explanation above, it can be seen that in Banyuwangi modern music has begun to enter, although it has not really developed. The existence of keroncong groups, Malay music and the band Nekarama, which performs many Latin rhythm songs, shows the influence of modern music in Banyuwangi. Meanwhile, according to Nasikin when festival in Semarang, there was no representative from Banyuwangi who performed his local song. This shows that Banyuwangi pop music had not yet developed at that time. It was Latin rhythm music that was popular in Banyuwangi that year. On the other hand, more and more angklung groups are growing. Each angklung group complements its group with singers and dancers. They started singing songs during their performances.

The music genre that developed around the 1960s was social realism, which was in line with LEKRA's ideology of populist social ideology. The works of this period lead to social themes that look at the portrait of the little people and 'pasemon' to the government through poems and songs. It is undeniable that LEKRA has a very important role in the development of Banyuwangi pop music.

During this period, each political force had its own arts organization Lembaga Kesenian Nasional (LKN) belonged to the Indonesian National Party (PNI), the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) had the Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat (LEKRA), Nahdatul Ulama formed the Lembaga Seniman Budayawan Muslimin Indonesia (Lesbumi), Partindo had the Lembaga Seni Budaya Indonesia (Lesbi). Besides having art institutions, these political forces have newspapers as a tool to voice their cultural activities. For example, the products of LKN members are voiced through Suluh Indonesia newspaper, the products of LEKRA members are voiced through Harian Rakjat and Bintang Timur, the products of LESBUMI are voiced through Duta Masyarakat newspaper (Ayu Sutarto 2004). LEKRA is the arts organization that most of the Banyuwangi artists have joined. Because LEKRA provides space and facilities for artists to develop themselves.

The artistic life was influenced by the political situation at the time. It is not surprising that artists' artistic creativity is inspired by party ideology (Ayu Sutarto 2004). Language and art are powerful symbols to cultivate feelings, and change and maintain moral values (Wijaya Herlambang 2013). It's no surprise that Banyuwangi music is considered leftist, because the composer of Genjer-genjer Mohammad Arif was the head of LEKRA's arts department in the 1950s. Although at the time of the song's creation, Mohammad Arif was not yet a member of LEKRA (Arif Zulkifli 2014).

In 1965 violence broke out in Banyuwangi. Many artists were arrested for their

⁴ interview with Nasikin, Banyuwangi, March 28, 2014. Nasikin is a singer at 1960's.

alleged involvement in the G30S (30 September movement). The artists were arrested on the grounds that they were associated with LEKRA. Some artists were detained in Kalibaru Camp as political prisoners with category 'B', meaning those who were not directly involved in the G30S events (Kelana Wisnu Sapta Nugraha 2021).

The detention of regional arts activists shows the Army's fear of the influence of cultural and artistic activities at the regional level that could directly affect the people (Rachmi Dyah Larasati 2013). The instructions given by the Operation Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (Kopkamtib), according to (Douglas Kammen; Faizah Zakaria; 2012), show that the violence against the left was not a horizontal conflict but the result of strategic calculations made by Soeharto and the army. The centralized command is then implemented down to the regional level. The system of categorization of artists from the village reflected political motives as well as the army's interest in maintaining surveillance of the left. It was this surveillance that had a transformative effect on the landscape of 'folk' music in Banyuwangi after 1965 (Kelana Wisnu Sapta Nugraha 2021; Bernard Arps 2009).

Banyuwangi Music After 1965 Violence

The G30S happened just as Banyuwangi pop music was starting to grow. After the G30S incident Banyuwangi pop music vacuum. Artists were afraid to work because all those associated with the PKI were arrested and killed. In 1974 Armaya and his friends (Hasan Ali, Faturrakhman Abu Ali, Pranoto) tried to revive Banyuwangi music. To avoid leftist accusations, Banyuwangi songs at this time were made Islamic (interview with Suhalik, Banyuwangi, May 3, 2019)⁵. This experience is in line with Sutivono findings, which show how the art of wayang kulit during the New Order era was dominated by the state to reinforce the dominant ideology. Performances were no longer merely artistic expressions but instruments of power that regulated narratives and public discourse (Sutiyono 2009). In the case of Banyuwangi, folk music had to adapt in order to survive under the shadow of similar political control. In addition, Kasman & Rahadian emphasize that cultural politics during the New Order did not only control artistic performances but also shaped the mindset of society through symbolic mechanisms. Performing arts were used as a political medium to reinforce power relations (Kasman and Rahadian 2020). This is evident in efforts to frame Banyuwangi music in more ideologically "safe" forms, such as through the symbolic Islamization of musical repertoires and lyrics.

The year 1965 was the most important milestone in Banyuwangi cultural history. Banyuwangi arts products had changed from before. after 1965, the Banyuwangi songs no longer spoke about social critiques, otherwise it is told about *klangenan* and heroism. There were no more songs which stood for oppressed society (Ika Ningtyas 2016; Setya Yuwana; Trisakti; Anik Juwariyah 2017). But from this research, after 1965 violence, an Banyuwangi music artist change the oppressive society to religious genre.

In 1974 Andang C.Y created a religious song arranged by B.S Nurdian called

⁵ interview with Suhalik, Banyuwangi, May 3, 2019. Suhalik is historian in Banyuwangi

Molimo (five sins). This song is about the struggle of a Muslim to fight against the prohibition of Islamic teachings as taught by *Walisongo* is gambling, drunkenness, stealing, drugs, adultery. Judging from the year of its creation, it can be seen that this song was an attempt to break out of the leftist stigma attached to Banyuwangi music (interview with Andang C.Y, Banyuwangi, March 29, 2014).

Molimo lyric:
Siji main uripe mlarat
Loro maling po kal mesakat
Telu mabuk pikire keparat
Papat madon arek aja cacak-cacak
Lima madat akhire sekarat
Molimo lakuwan dadi cacat
Kang sing mupakat
Ayo kanca ngedohi molimo
Lakon kang dilarang agama
Molimo gawe rugine negara

Translation:

One played gambling his life was poor
Two stealing or mischief
Three drunk people's minds are in chaos
Four adulterers, kids don't get caught
Five do drugs, end up dying
A five sins make a defect
Those who disagree
Let's avoid the five sins
Acts that are prohibited by religion
Five sins that cost the country

A religious-themed song was also created by B.S Nurdian in 1974 entitled *Sang Nabi* (The Prophet). This song tells the story of a person's longing for the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Here is a fragment of the lyrics: (interview with B.S Nurdian, Banyuwangi, May 26, 2014)⁶.

Sang Nabi lyric:

 $[\ldots]$

Ya Nabi puji salam nong ndika Ya Rosul puji salam nang ndika Sang asih puji salam nong ndika Tuladha agung pinuji solawat nong ndika [...]

Translation:

O Prophet, praise and peace be upon you O Rosul, praise and peace be upon you Who loves praise and greetings to You Example of praise and peace be upon You

In the southern part of Banyuwangi, specifically Genteng and its Javanese-based

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⁶ interview with B.S Nurdian, Banyuwangi, May 26, 2014. B.S Nurdian is a song writer at 1960's

surroundings, Wiroso, Suroso, Sutrisno and Hawadin developed Malay music with a new concept, namely Banyuwangi *dangdut* or later known as *kendang kempul* music. The music of Banyuwangi *Kendang Kempul* is known as *dangdut Banyuwangenan*. This effort was supported by the Regent of Banyuwangi at the time, Djoko Supaat Slamet. Then in the 1980s came generations such as Sumiyati, Yuliatin Alif and Cahyono who performed *Kendang Kempulan* songs (Suhalik 2009). Sumiyati earned the nickname 'Queen of *Kendang Kempul*' (Purwadi 1992).

After the 1965 violence, the orientation of songwriting in Banyuwangi changed, from social-realism to social-religious. This was an attempt to break out of the leftist stigma attached to local Banyuwangi music in the 1965 period. After the 1965 violence, not a single artist dared to work. In order to maintain the local music of Banyuwangi, the artists changed the flow of music that had been in favour of the small people into a religious genre. By carrying religious themes, Banyuwangi songs can slowly be accepted by the public again. This is a form of finding a new identity for local Banyuwangi music.

The reception of *Kendang Kempul* can differ between rural working-class communities who experience it as a form of folk music, and younger urban generations who may view it as a local heritage that has not been fully accepted into the mainstream of national popular music. This difference reflects the tension between dominant and subordinate cultures, as explained by (John Fiske 2010) and (Stuart Hall 1997), where local music becomes a symbolic space for negotiating identity, class, and generation.

CONCLUSION

This study found that the revival of Banyuwangi music after the events of 1965 was not merely a passive adaptation to political pressure, but rather a creative strategy by artists to maintain the continuity of local art. The shift from social-realist music to religious music was not only intended to avoid political stigma due to its association with LEKRA, but also served as a means of rebuilding social legitimacy and public acceptance of Banyuwangi art. These findings reveal the transformation of genre as an active strategy employed by artists in reconstructing the cultural identity of Banyuwangi and negotiating its position within the political order of the New Order. Thus, post-1965 Banyuwangi music did not merely survive, but also found a new form capable of uniting religious values, political adaptation demands, and the continuity of local traditions. The contribution of this research lies in its affirmation of music as a space for identity negotiation and a medium for social recovery post-conflict. These findings enrich studies of music and Indonesian cultural history by showing that artistic transformation is not only triggered by repression but also by artists' creativity in utilizing genres as a strategy for recovery. The implication is that regional music studies should be understood not only as aesthetic products, but also as social archives that record strategies of survival, reconciliation, and the creation of new meanings in society. This research opens up space for further study on how artistic transformation can function as a mechanism for cultural recovery in other regions experiencing similar political trauma.

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