

DEBATES AND IMPRESSIONS OF CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN INDONESIA'S MUSICAL ARTS SINCE THE FALL OF SUHARTO, 1998-2002

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This article discusses changes and continuities in Indonesia's musical scene since the resignation of President Suharto and his New Order regime in May 1998 following the Asian economic collapse and monetary crisis (*krismon*) in 1997. These events led to the beginning of the *reformasi* (reformation) period in 1998, which was instituted under the quick succession of Presidents B.J. Habibie (from May 1998 to October 1999), Abdurrahman Wahid (from October 1999 to November 2000) and Megawati Soekarnopoetri (from November 2000 to the time of writing). The fall of Suharto did not bring an opposition group to power; nor was there an expectation that Habibie would discontinue the policy of giving priority funding to "music for the elite" or halt the centralisation of the arts in Java, especially Jakarta, at the expense of the other regions. However, changes did occur under his rule, and those of the other two Presidents, which have had an affect on the production, distribution and consumption of the musical arts.¹

Though I shall focus on the changes and continuities in the musical scene, they need to be seen in their broad socio-political context; and the discussion will therefore, range broadly across the cultural sector. I shall discuss the new *reformasi* cultural policies in relation to the policies under Suharto, including those that affect musicians' livelihoods, such as broadcasting, the music industry and youth culture. Of particular concern are the changes in the make-up of the various publics for the different kinds of music in Indonesia, a topic which raises the issue of what constitutes national culture, whether it still exists, and if so in what relation to the ethnic music-cultures of the regions. Changes in the public presence of music-culture have resulted from shifts not only in what is understood by culture but also in the actual structures of culture itself and the experiences of the artists, their chain of administrators and the public. The discussion below will therefore be based on debates among artists, art administrators, business leaders, media entrepreneurs, scholars and the public on what they perceive to be the most important issues, making particular reference to three broad categories of music: the traditional ethnic/regional music, the popular (including fusion/crossover) music, and the new music genres.

After an introductory account of relevant events, this article will review early *reformasi* cultural policy issues as seen by some key players writing or

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Thus, Suharto’s arts administrators gave formal support to Indonesia’s many traditional court, urban and rural musics as well as new, experimental music, both of which are sometimes referred to in the discipline of cultural studies as forming part of “high culture.”³ The music market has developed niche audiences of traditional or new “classical” music, which includes the symbiotically related village and court-related culture and its recent developments in some regions, such as around the palaces in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. As has been noted, the government left the commercial development of popular music (referred to in cultural studies as part of “low” or “mass” culture) mainly to the national and multinational markets.

In the *reformasi* years, I have heard many artists expressing criticism of arts funding under the New Order. Although it had supported existing performing arts institutes, academies and high schools and even created new ones in some provincial centres, it gave only very limited funding to promote a select number of high quality art troupes. Moreover, it treated the regencies (*kabupaten*) unequally in these respects, giving support only to groups of artists who toed the political line and showed unswerving loyalty in preferred areas. Various levels of government also supported festivals and competitions in selected urban and rural regions, which helped promote activity among private and state art troupes. Critics also point out that the primary and secondary school system at all levels offered little in the way of artistic educational opportunities to children, though private schools of music and other performing arts compensated for this to a degree among the middle and upper classes.⁴

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economic miracle.” The regime is accredited with having achieved an average annual rate of 6% economic growth from the 1970s to 1997, though the economic decline that began from the 1997 Asian collapse wiped out the effects of the years of growth. For the music industry, growth had meant increases in the sales of the inexpensive cassettes of popular music that were allowed to flood the market. Growth was also partly achieved by the rapid development of cultural ecotourism in the 1980s and 1990s. However, artists found tourism to be a two-edged sword. True, it offered employment and financial benefits to many troupes, but it also exploited traditional musicians through poor employment conditions and inadequate payment. Moreover, the quality of the performances suffered, as they had to be adapted to suit the short attention span of tourists. Items taken from ritual contexts had to be shortened and restructured and they lost their ideological meaning in the commercial tourist context.⁵

Even more detrimentally in the long run, the government permitted free trading among local and foreign musical distributors, importers and exporters and failed to curb subversive trade practices, including widespread selling of pirate cassettes and videos. “At the least internationalised end of the market is the provincial cottage industry producing local music (e.g. *wayang* shadow puppet theatre music in Central Java [my example]) with local performers for local audiences... They are generally not members of ASIRI (*Asosiasi Industri Rekaman Indonesia* [Association of the Indonesian Recording Industry]); and survive largely due to their ability to cater to the forms of music or performance most popular in their local areas, a niche not served by large national and multinational companies” (Sen and Hill, 2000: 173).

Although one of the main bones of contention among musicians was that the New Order government offered little or no protection of musicians’ rights and livelihoods, their most stringent criticism once *reformasi* had started was the large amount of government arts funding that apparently disappeared into private pockets. As Ben Pasaribu said in an interview in *Eksponen*, (Anon. (a), 1998: 10), the Rp.1.1 milliard budget allocated for the arts by the *Inpres* (*Instruksi Presiden*, Presidential Instruction) in 1997, for example, should have been enough to support artistic activity in all the provinces⁶, but it was not forthcoming in the New Order era, which today’s dominant *reformasi* critics in Indonesia describe as a time of unacceptable *kolusi, korupsi dan nepotisme* (collusion, corruption and nepotism)⁷.

DEBATES IMMEDIATELY AFTER SUHARTO FELL

Soon after Suharto resigned, formal and informal debates and dialogues about *reformasi* issues among musicians, administrators, private radio announcers and entrepreneurs at festivals and conferences and in academic institutions were reported in the press. The discussions had intensified in the latter part of the New Order when many pro-*reformasi* demonstrations had become headline news, but only by the time of the 1999 elections and the subsequent appointment of Habibie as President in that year could changes begin to occur. However, their implementation was to begin later still, as changes of appointments of heads and personnel in the government's arts offices in the provincial capitals, districts and subdistricts were yet to occur. In some cases, new reformist *bupati* (district heads) and their art and culture personnel, for example, took office a full two years after Suharto resigned.

The content and mood of critical thinking about the music scene two months after Habibie became President were captured in a special music issue of the Yogyakarta newspaper *Eksponen* (dated the third Sunday in July, 1998), which contains 32 relevant interviews and articles, including some about private radio stations, which had proliferated in number - in the mid-1990s there were about 700 (Sen and Hill, 2000: 91)⁸. The views of the authors and interviewees presented in the most pertinent of these articles were euphoric about *reformasi*, critical of the past, and thoughtfully hopeful for the future. They even discussed practical means of solving problems of equity of access, musicians' livelihoods and promotion of the commercially less viable musical genres, such as through joint ventures between arts media personnel, ethnomusicologists and artists.

In his lead article interview,⁹ Zainal Suryokusumo, a member of the Code of Ethics Commission and spokesperson for the National Private Radio Union (*Persatuan Radio Siaran Swasta Nasional Indonesia's [PRSSNI]*), commented that on the macro-level, the political situation had changed totally since *reformasi* began. Artists and media personnel were now free to express themselves as they wished, and singers, dancers and comedians were all breathing easily again. Indonesians could no longer accept the heavy hand of government through corrupt and predatory Department officials, though the transition to democracy is never easy, Suryokusumo wrote. The government needs henceforth to be more democratic and transparent in its activities, maintaining a cadre system of organisation, and to work now from the bottom-up to protect the interests of its artist and media members in the *reformasi* era. Meanwhile, media personnel - including song writers - should find a more professional way of informing the public democratically and freely about matters of moment in their lives; and

technological improvements needed to be better funded, despite the monetary crisis (Suryokusumo, 1998: 3).

In another article, Errol Jonathans was interviewed about the poor state of public awareness of ethnic music and was asked about possible solutions to the problem of improving its promotion. Jonathans had served as the coordinator of a conference¹⁰ in early 1998 to promote ethnic music through greater cooperation between radio entrepreneurs and ethnomusicologists. Delegates had expressed the opinion that ethnic music should not be confined to radio jingles, station IDs, smashes, musical programs and talk shows, but that it should be seriously programmed and explained to public audiences who will eventually learn to enjoy it. Delegates at the conference had recommended that recording companies and ethnomusicologists should make a concerted effort to cooperate so that more ethnic music be heard on radio stations, and that given the size of the collecting task in the provinces, radio employees should be sent on ethnic music recording expeditions, and some stations had already done so (Anon. (g), 1998: 9). In mid-1998, it was reported, eleven private radio stations in Bali were broadcasting ethnic music, while in Ujung Pandang ten stations were doing so and three are preparing to do so. Other stations reported that in future they intended to broadcast more discussions between composers and ethnomusicologists about ethnic and new music (Anon. (f), 1998: 9).

Similar and related topics were discussed in an interview with the Director-General of Culture, Edi Sedyawati, who presented a constructively critical account of Indonesia's past and future musical needs (Anon. (d), 1998: 7). She pointed out that the traditional music is of marginal interest to many Indonesians, especially members of the younger generations who know little about it and rarely hear it on the media or in commercial recordings. Indeed, she said, they know more about music originating in the West than the rich music-cultures of their own homeland. Therefore, her directorate-general had been concentrating on protecting and reviving traditional musical forms that had almost been forgotten. It had also found it productive to organise art festivals from time to time to promote traditional music, though more events in future should occur in the provinces rather than just centrally so that the richness of Indonesia's regional music will be more widely realised. She confirmed that the peak government cultural body¹¹ had plans to adopt a program to develop ethnic music in the regions, including special music festivals held in several regional centres at once to which artists in the provinces would come to perform (as at such a festival held in 1998), while musical instrument exhibitions would also be held to help promote the careers of ethnic artists. She also referred to a project to restore regional music by publishing examples of traditional music from all of

government always to blame for their lot. Franky Raden, who when interviewed was completing a PhD in ethnomusicology in the US, criticised the government for insisting simply on "saving" ethnic music when in fact it should be providing the means for educating the wider society to appreciate it, so it can be part of daily life as opposed to being just museum art. He also criticised the recording industry and the mass media for making deals only with musicians who seek fame and popularity, ignoring the need for traditional musicians to survive (Anon. (e), 1998: 7). Madura resident Zoel Mistortoify, who has an ethnomusicology degree from Gadjah Mada University, argued that the new *reformasi* society needs new music based on its composers' knowledge of Indonesia's musical ancestry; for example, he argued, processional *gamelan munggang* music is a rhythmic prototype for music in many parts of the archipelago. He also defended music that has "Islamic nuances" (*nuansa Islam*), i.e., musical genres that are "tied to Islamic/Arabic culture" (*musik-musik yang berkaitan dengan kebudayaan Islam [Arab]*), such as *salawak dulang* (Minangkabau vocal music with tray percussion), which should be valued as a traditional Indonesian art form with partly foreign origins (Mistortoify, 1998: 8).

In another interview, the well-known Bandung-resident composer Harry Roesli advised on how to become viable as a composer or ethnic musician. Although the government contributed far too little to promote the livelihood of musicians, he said, musicians should realise that they have to rely on their own strengths to make a living. They should also do their bit to convert young popular music audiences to an appreciation of ethnic and other forms of music instead of just rock and roll or punk. And composers should not simply give up if a producer rejects their songs; they should instead take the initiative to find ways to produce their own recordings (Anon. (b), 1998: 10).

According to Waridi (1998: 10), further discussion of the future of ethnic and new music took place at the Kemah Komponis (Composers' Forum) of the Asosiasi Komponis Indonesia (Indonesian Composers' Association), held at the arts academy (STSI) in Surakarta from 8-11 July, 1998 as a warm-up for the Asian Composers' League Festival to be held in September 1998 in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The two most remarkable aspects of the Forum were that a large number of composers and broadcasters attended from many of the regions and that both new and popular music composers attended. They came from Padang Panjang, Medan, Flores, Bali, Bandung, Jakarta, Madura, Surabaya, Semarang, Sragen, Banyumas, Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Composers familiar with the international new music scene included I Wayan Sadra and Sapto Raharjo, while Karno KD and others represented popular commercial music, he said. Ethnomusicologists and broadcasters present decided to take joint action

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to promote ethnic musical traditions. Workshops were held to prepare performances of new contemporary compositions (*komposisi kontemporer*) using both traditional and experimental instruments, facilitated by well-known composers such as Al. Suwardi and Harry Roesli¹³.

A year later, the July 1999 issue of *Berita MSPI* (News of the Indonesian Performing Arts Society)¹⁴ commented on some of the same issues as those covered in the interviews in *Eksponen* in July 1998. In the editorial by Mohamad Sobari, the rationale behind the organisation of the forthcoming *Festival Demokratisasi Kebudayaan* (Festival of the Democratisation of Culture) in October 1999 was discussed. In the festival performances, workshops and scholarly seminars, which were to be held consecutively in Tirtagangga (Bali), Pontianak (West Kalimantan), Tanjung Pinang (Riau) and at Taman Ismail Marzuki in Jakarta, the topics set for discussion included *pluralitas budaya* ("cultural plurality") and *gagasan demokrasi di bidang kebudayaan* ("thinking about democracy in the cultural field"). Sobari commented that the committee's choice of theme for the event, *Suara-suara Milenium* (Voices of the Millennium), was intended to encourage discussion of the cultural and political relevance of democracy in the cultural field in the new cosmopolitan and globalised century (Sobari, 1999: 2).

DEBATES ABOUT THE TRADITIONAL AND POPULAR MUSIC MARKETS AND GOVERNMENT INTERFACE

A separate topic of discussion that has been gathering strength among members of the popular music industry and government leaders since *reformasi* began is the relationship between traditional, popular, and crossover music and their respective markets. As has been noted, some ethnomusicologists (such as Ben Pasaribu) and contemporary composers (such as Harry Roesli) have expressed strong opinions about these matters to the media, as did Edi Sedyawati. More significantly still, views of multi-national and national business leaders about the kind of music that their market research suggested they should use in their advertisements have been reported in the press and discussed by the community.

Under the New Order from the late 1960s, and especially in the 1980s and 1990s, the music-stylistic and marketing boundaries between traditional and popular cultures became blurred, despite the fact that the marketing analyses and strategies of the music industry were clearly based on making a strong distinction between them (as in other countries as well). It was not that traditional cultural forms no longer carried prestige, but that a series of crossovers had occurred between the domains in terms of markets, technologies, institutions and values (Bennett and Carter, 2001: 4) as well as styles, for example, in the

case of Indonesia's *dangdut* music. Thus, the products of popular culture were increasingly differentiated into separate genres and markets (e.g. regional pop or jazz) while traditional genres (e.g. Batak *gondang* drum and gong ensemble music) and traditional crossover genres (e.g. the syncretic Malay-European *kroncong* and *orkes Melayu* [Malay ensemble] music) formed "niches" in the overall cultural market. A small specialist niche market for recordings of Balinese and Javanese gamelan and other regional music had been absorbed within commodity production and sold by multinationals on the national and international market, though not in great quantities. Meanwhile, as pointed out by Edi Sedyawati, composers were increasingly combining elements of regional/traditional and popular Indonesian music in newly created works or genres. An example she could have referred to is the Swami group's performances of Muslim rock music *Kantata Takwa* ("Faithful to God Cantata"), some performances of which used Muslim-associated and rock band instruments and simulated orchestral sounds to create a grand crossover sound in which choirs chanted such phrases as *Allahu Akbar* ("God is Great") to Arabic-sounding and other melodies. Performances were held in various cities, for example, in Surabaya's Stadion on 10 November 1990.¹⁵ Another example would be *campur sari* (lit. "a nice mix" [of gamelan and other sounds]) and similar crossover music styles based on combinations of elements of pop/rock band, Middle Eastern Muslim and European orchestral instruments and styles, which seems to sell well.

Despite widespread reservations about President Habibie's intentions, *reformasi* under Habibie almost immediately breathed new life into the artistic psyche, particularly as a result of the relaxation of the New Order's tight control of the press and the freeing up of the system of elections and the number of political parties allowed. The emphasis was on transparency, accountability, and freedom of expression. No longer was press comment on the arts constantly stifled. No longer was the New Order political party Golkar in automatic control of most political and artistic activity, the purse strings and the artistic directions of the Department of Education and Culture. No longer were most recognised artists throughout the regions expected regularly to contribute performances to election campaigns, government functions and official guest-welcoming occasions. Despite the fact that many of the same administrative-artistic practices continued to exist (and still exist), the *reformasi* governments' widespread questioning of New Order values and quest for clean government and democratic ideas had a considerable impact on the psychology of artists and audiences. It also affected, though rarely for the artists' benefit, the marketing of music by the private sector and artists' participation in and remuneration from the tourist industry.

After 32 years of stifled expression of opinion under the New Order, then, the artistic policies and practices of the central government in Jakarta and the regional and local governments of the 27 provinces, 246 *kabupaten* (regencies) and 3,586 *kecamatan* (subregencies) of Indonesia¹⁶ at last came under scrutiny. Above all, discussions on the need for regional autonomy in the arts accompanied the firm calls for the political and economic autonomy of the regions, as the apparent centralisation of most funded activity in Jakarta came to be severely criticised.

The demands for greater regional autonomy resulted in structural changes being made in government. By 2001, Indonesia had been divided into a total of 30 provinces, 268 *kabupaten* and 3,997 *kecamatan*.¹⁷ Each regional government came to an agreement with the central government about the proportion of its natural and human resources it was allowed to keep. In some cases the proportion increased quite substantially. However, as the former level of central funding was considerably decreased, the total available government funding for the implementation of projects was substantially reduced, and art projects were not necessarily given high priority. By 2001 the central government retained responsibility only for fiscal, defence, religious and educational matters, leaving other domains such as economic and social planning to the regional governments. "To the extent that [officials] will be forced to leave central departments, they will also be cut off from the extensive patronage networks which developed at the centre; indeed these networks will themselves wither as they are deprived of resources" (Booth, 1999: 6). Central and regional governments have therefore been encouraged to engage in joint ventures with business in their state enterprises, including those involving the performing arts.

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I shall now home in on a few of the recent debates and policy changes, beginning with the debate about regional autonomy and cultural plurality/ethnic diversity versus national culture. I shall then discuss the new freedom of distribution of information and critical commentary in the media, followed by a discussion of the protection of musicians' livelihoods, the role of audiences, and the issue of public access and marketing, including the provision of funding by the public sector, the private sector and public-private partnerships.

THE NEW *REFORMASI* POLICIES OF REGIONAL AUTONOMY AND CULTURAL PLURALITY

Before I discuss these new policies, I need briefly to review relevant policies under the New Order, including national culture, national unity and security; the appropriation of music for economic and political purposes; and the development of cultural ecotourism.

From the early twentieth century, the nationalist leader Soekarno encouraged the development of a national culture that would unite all Indonesians, despite their cultural diversity, though agreement was not reached about what national culture constituted.¹⁸ Suharto also aimed to develop a national culture, one that would be at the service of his policies of economic development, national security and unity. In practice, however, New Order artistic policies served primarily to promote selected art forms of some ethnic groups, especially those that were important for the regime's political purposes and cultural ecotourism, including those of the Balinese, Javanese Sundanese, Torajans and Minangkabau.

In addition, the New Order government presided over the increasing integration of Indonesian citizens and communications - especially the television sector - into global cultural and economic markets; and, as has been noted, its culture officials appropriated selected musical performances of many Indonesian ethnic groups for political purposes and the development of tourism¹⁹.

However, the use of traditional music for the expanding New Order tourist market as well as for government functions forced artists to make radical adjustments. Traditional dance performances were required to be choreographed and gorgeously costumed and music performances needed to be shortened, with moods and tempos changed for live and televised performances, so as to be able to reach "national" and "international" artistic quality and make a worthy impression at home and abroad.²⁰ The New Order pressured artists to adapt their song texts so that they could spread the developmental and other political messages during election tour campaigns. Cultural ecotourism and the images it constructed and generated have been used to transform, some would say to destroy, the economic - and artistic - integrity of the regions (Naphali, 1997: 22) and to encourage prostitution, drugs and gambling. The policy of promoting national security and unity involved censorship and the appropriation of the arts to strengthen the legitimacy of the regime.

Since the *krismon* in 1997, the tourist industry has declined, and the focus of the *reformasi* government has shifted from the search for national culture, about which little consensus of opinion had been reached, to the diversity of regional and popular culture. Even the possibility of ever achieving a national culture has been widely questioned. The emphasis on regional autonomy, including promoting an appreciation of the extraordinarily rich cultural heritage of Indonesia's 300 ethnic groups and over 250 regional language-speaking communities in the 13,000 islands of this vast archipelago is not, of course, a new thought. Lip service was given to it even under the highly centralised New Order (see Omar Kayam, 1985: xvi), but it was not acted upon. The new *reformasi* policies of promoting ethnic diversity or cultural pluralism and regional autonomy have given regional cultures a new importance in their own right, with the leaders of each region being allowed a relatively free hand to plan their own programs without any longer having to follow the edicts of the central government in Jakarta.

For the Suharto regime frequently did habitually issue such edicts. Tensions between Jakarta and the regions periodically came to the boil each time Jakarta required uniform artistic responses to the edicts they issued to the provinces. For example, in 1983 the Department of Education and Culture in Jakarta required that all its officials in the provinces throughout Indonesia produce a dance drama performance of a local legend accompanied by a local type of musical ensemble. This edict was issued so that regional artists could "develop" the local arts by learning from the experience of the doyen artist and choreographer Bagong Kasuardjo in Yogyakarta. Although local artists in Riau found ways to do as they were told, they commented informally that there is not, and never has been, a dance drama tradition in Riau, unlike in Java and Bali, and that artists of Riau did not wish to be directed from the centre by people who had no knowledge whatever of Riau's culture. Indeed, they were angered at being forced to develop a show that was antithetical to local artistic tradition.²¹

Since *reformasi*, such requirements from the centre have no longer been imposed or pursued. Though still severely constrained by funding problems, artists in each region may organise their own styles of performance, workshops, competitions and festivals, theoretically working in tandem with artists from another area if they wish, for the forging of economic and cultural links between regions is now encouraged (verbal communication from Lutfi Rauf). In late 2001, several provincial offices of the new Department of Culture and Tourism were seeking joint venture funding with local business, especially in Bali, where the decline in tourism and air travel has been less drastic than in some other

provinces and where joint government-airline artistic ventures can still be funded. Indeed, the debate has been turning in late 2001 from the desire for full recognition of Indonesia's cultural pluralism to adopting a more far-reaching policy of multiculturalism, in which the plurality of cultures would be encouraged to develop their unique qualities and dangerous ethnic and religious divisions could hopefully be normalised.²²

Under Suharto, traditional regional music also nominally played a part in the development of regional pop music (*pop daerah*).²³ Although *pop daerah* sold well, the regional governments themselves trivialised the contribution of their own ethnic music to the genre, as did the music producers (Yampolsky, 1989: 17). It was also in the interests of music producers to join in the trivialising of regionalism while maintaining a kind of pseudo-regionalism, because "from their point of view, truly distinct forms of Pop Daerah would cause unprofitable fragmentation of the market...The impulse to minimalise regionalism explains why...[musical arrangements] cut back on the few tokens of regionalism usually incorporated into the *pop Daerah* genre" (Yampolsky 1989: 17). Thus the musical products normally sound like any other Western pop, with any regional elements being purely additive, incidental and decorative (*idem*).

One notable result of the new respect for cultural plurality/ethnic diversity shown since the *reformasi* era began was the return of Indonesian-Chinese music-culture to Indonesian stage and street performances, after being forbidden under Presidents Suharto and Habibie. Under President Sukarno (as in Dutch colonial times), Indonesian-Chinese art forms such as Cantonese opera, glove puppet theatre *wayang potehi*, *barongsai* (lion dance) and *liong* (dragon dance) were frequently performed and street and temple processions were commonly held. At the time, latent expressions of racism were usually suppressed, though periodic violent outbursts still occasionally occurred²⁴. When Suharto assumed power, however, official policy was instituted which was prejudicial to the Indonesian Chinese on many fronts and stated that Indonesian-Chinese arts may only be performed in Chinese temple grounds (the size of which normally made it impossible for performances, let alone processions, to be held)²⁵. Thus, the Indonesian-Chinese population was expected to forsake its ancestral artistic and religious activities, unless a permit could be secured, but a permit was extremely difficult to obtain.

In the year 2000, however, the first real signs of a thaw appeared.²⁶ The new President, Abdurrahman Wahid, expressed his desire to improve relations with the Indonesian-Chinese population, including their business leaders, to gain their support and help to rebuild the economy again. He attempted to make up for

past racist wrongs and to persuade some of the Indonesian-Chinese people, who had fled from Indonesia after mass rapes against their women in 1999, to return - with their capital - to live in Indonesia again. Openly showing them respect and concern, he also made it possible for Chinese opera and other Chinese arts to be performed again after 33 years of suppression.²⁷ In fact, several newspapers reported that he even attended the Chinese New Year celebrations himself, as did two other party leaders – Megawati Soekarnopoetri and Amien Rais. In Jakarta, Chinese gong-and-drum music was played in various festive street processions, in front of the Museum Fatahila near Kota (Jakarta's China Town), and in several *klenteng* (Chinese temples), especially at the height of celebrations on Hari Raya Imlek (Chinese New Year) and Capgomeh.²⁸ In the cities of Jakarta and Surabaya, young *pribumi* ("native" Indonesians) actively participated in the performances that were enjoyed by large audiences of both *pribumi* and Indonesian-Chinese. The *barongsai* and *liong* dances and acrobats were even performed – for the first time since the 1950s - in the election campaigns in 1999, but only for the campaigns of Megawati's Partai Demokratik Indonesia – Perjuangan and Abdurrahman Wahid's Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, as witnessed by Siauw Tiong Djin (verbal communication).²⁹

For the celebrations in Jakarta, however, some artists had to be imported from Hong Kong, Singapore and Tangerang, as most local Indonesian-Chinese were too old or had forgotten how to perform the lion dance and other art forms (verbal communication from Mely Tan, July, 2000). Away from the capital, in Malang and Semarang, the local *klenteng* (temple) still had an elderly *wayang potehi* (Hokkien glove-puppet theatre) puppeteer who, ever since *reformasi* began, had agreed to resume training youngsters to perform festive theatre and dance. He also travelled with his troupe to perform *wayang potehi* with *pa tim* (the Hokkien string, wind and percussion ensemble) accompaniment in several Javanese cities. A group from the Chinese temple in Semarang also performed *Barongsai* at the peak arts academy in Surakarta (STSI) in early and mid- 2001 (verbal communication from Al. Suwardi). In addition, a festival of and seminar on Indonesian-Chinese arts was organised at the Institute of Indonesian Arts and Sciences (LIPI) in Jakarta by the LIPI scholar Mely Tan in early November 2000.

At the time of writing, Megawati is extending Wahid's tolerant attitude. She even took the initiative to revive usage of terms of respect for the Indonesians of Chinese descent in her speeches, referring to them as *Orang Tionghoa* (Chinese) and to China as *Tionggok*, instead of the disrespectful term *Cina* used under the New Order. She took steps to promote closer ties with the People's Republic of China and encouraged performances of Chinese performing arts. Such measures

as these do not yet, of course, amount to a revival of Indonesian-Chinese musical culture, as the community is still wary about presenting performances after the destruction of Indonesian-Chinese property and the rapes that occurred in 1999. Despite their newly revived artistic freedom, many of the Indonesian-Chinese themselves remain apprehensive, fearing a recurrence of the violence that has plagued them at intervals throughout the late colonial and independent eras. But the measures taken by the latter two *reformasi* Presidents do serve to signal the intended return to the relative tolerance of Indonesian-Chinese culture that marked most of the Soekarno period between 1945 and 1965.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

I shall now briefly review the perceived effects of oppression on musicians, especially dissident ones, under the New Order regime, and then of the freeing up of information under the three *reformasi* Presidents. Due to bottled up resentment under the Suharto regime from 1965 to 1997, some music consumed via the media³⁰ was used to convey powerful political and economic messages of social criticism, youth rebellion, as well as anti-colonial and anti-imperialist themes. Indonesian popular music became a forum for social comment, and traditional and popular songs which subtly – or sometimes directly – attacked government oppression, especially regarding topical themes of militarism, the corrupt practices of officials and private business leaders, poverty, overpopulation and domestic violence, were widely performed live and distributed on cassettes and videos, especially after any of them were banned, as in the case of the “weepy” (*cengeng*) popular song *Hati yang Luka* (“Wounded Heart”).³¹ Not surprisingly, Suharto’s government came to regard popular youth culture as having features that contradicted the government’s political ideas and it therefore periodically banned certain popular songs as well as tours by dissident musicians such as Iwan Fals.

The music of Iwan Fals, who became the idol of millions of Indonesia’s youth, grew in popularity from the 1970s. Originally associated with the working class and writing in country style using acoustic guitar and harmonica, he added an electric guitar and a synthesizer in the 1980s, producing a full electronic rock sound only from the 1990s. In 1989 he gained further notoriety when the first concert of his planned tour of 100 cities ended with violence and vandalism, as an emotionally charged young audience wrecked public and private property, after which the Jakarta police banned the tour along with all other rock music shows in Indonesia until further notice, a decision that was a bombshell for the industry (Harsono, 1989: 14).³²

Beginning in the 1950s, the Department of Information had controlled censorship of many artists, including Iwan Fals. It had also controlled the mechanical reproduction, distribution and consumption of aural, written, and visual texts, including cassettes, compact discs, videos, radio, television and the press. Under *reformasi*, however, the pendulum has swung away from the New Order's strict control of the media and the arts; Abdurrahman Wahid abolished the widely hated Department altogether. A year later, Megawati created a new Ministry of National Communications, one of ten new "state ministries" that did not have the resources of a Department. When she was criticised for retaining "Information" in the name of the new ministry, her spokespersons replied that its brief was restricted to technological improvements in – not the content of – information communicated by the media and artists (verbal communication from Lutfi Rauf).

Another recent change is the diminished number of new protest songs sung. In the early *reformasi* period, very few new political songs appeared, though there were one or two exceptions that cannot be named (verbal communication from Al. Suwardi). No songs or artists have been banned under Megawati, yet protest songs are still not fashionable at the time of writing. Composers and performers of protest songs under the New Order such as Iwan Fals and Sawung Jabo³³ have apparently felt uncertain under *reformasi* about what the new Presidents stood for (verbal communication from a member of Sawung Jabo's *Genggong* group). If, as the evidence suggests, they are no longer actively writing political songs, this may be a temporary lull, given the volatile nature of the political scene throughout the archipelago.

PROTECTION OF MUSICIANS' LIVELIHOODS IN THE FACE OF MARKET PRESSURES, CASSETTE PIRACY, COPYRIGHT, PARALLEL IMPORTING AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Indonesia's music industry is still small by world standards, though it is the largest in Southeast Asia, with sales totalling \$US 290 million p.a. (3% of the US total) (Sen and Hill, 2000: 169), excluding internet digital recording studio music production.³⁴ In Indonesia today, music is sold largely through radio and television. Of music played on these two media, about 55% is American popular music. The American influence persists in most home-grown popular music. According to the generic categories established by ASIRI, 45% of the recorded market is Western style pop music, 35 % *dangdut* music and 15% ethnic or traditional music (Sen & Hill, 2000: 170). Local regional musical styles are

perceived as being increasingly swamped by Western popular music and the homogenized world music product emanating from the major record companies.

Indeed, Indonesian artists and audiences have been profoundly influenced by the growth of the international popular music and entertainment industry throughout the post-colonial period. As noted, Sukarno banned Western rock music in the early 1960s while Suharto opened the floodgates for commercial popular music to enter the country from the US and elsewhere from the mid-1960s. Television, radio and cassette/video sales helped consolidate the popular music scene and industry, creating Indonesian megastars who found a huge market for their songs, video-clips and the like. The introduction of cassette technology from the early 1970s had a dramatic economic and social effect, marking the beginning of a shift from state to largely private control of the media and the extremely lucrative domestic music industry. Sales expanded as both pirated and legal cassettes were sold even in remote villages. The domestic music industry also grew as the result of a proliferation of urban pop bands whose audiences had previously been limited to the middle and upper classes (Yampolsky 1987:2ff).

Indonesian governments have always routinely expressed an interest in the arts and artists, and the *reformasi* governments are no exception. However, legislation to protect the interests of Indonesian musicians has not yet been given high priority. Nor have *reformasi* governments regulated to prevent monopoly of ownership of the media or to impose import restrictions that would protect local musicians. Copyright, which has been emerging as a central issue in the debate on globalisation of the music industry the world over, is only beginning to be enforced.

Under Megawati, the combined results of deregulatory policies, global musical marketing trends and "borderless" telecommunications and media technologies continue to make an increasingly greater impact on the music scene. A particularly serious problem is the increased flooding of the market with pirated cassette and video copies of popular Indonesian and Western music, which diminishes artists' financial returns. Meanwhile, globalised corporate takeovers and foreign ownership continue to threaten the local music industry as much as they do other industries. The globalisation of production and sales not only affects music performers, producers and sales but also has its technological impact on performance practices. It is feared that it may even result in the demise or transformation of regional music-cultures, few of which have shown they can adapt to the current market structure. Indeed, the convergence of media and broadcasting technologies has been changing the very nature and

control of production, for example by facilitating further multinational takeovers of Indonesian production and distribution companies.

A source of contention among musicians who are members of ASIRI has been the parallel importing practice, which legally permits license holders in one country to exercise their intellectual property rights by selling their cultural goods in another. That is, Compact Discs and other recordings can be sold directly into the Indonesian markets in competition with local license holders. Musicians and others who are opposed to the practice complain that the local music industry is being swamped by cheap and/or illegally produced or pirated imports, leading to the decline of the regional music scene³⁵. Business leaders and others who are in favour argue that it means ending the exploitation of music consumers by preventing restrictive trade practices that advantage local license holders by sustaining artificially high prices. Yet the local license holders are mostly subsidiaries of foreign-owned multinational corporations.

The primary mechanism that controls the profitable use of music is, of course, copyright. In the late 1990s, as has been noted, Indonesia was still making its own specialised and government-condoned contribution to cassette piracy, in as much as the international copyright convention was flagrantly flouted and its profits legitimised (Sen and Hill, 2000: 171). Indonesia's first copyright law appeared in 1982 (Sen and Hill, *ibid.*), but detailed copyright laws only really began to be developed in the early 1990s, when private and state companies were set up (verbal communication from Toeti Heraty, 1997).³⁶ Throughout the 1990s, however, copyright was not a priority law, nor did the authorities on the whole enforce it. Indeed, "Indonesia's music business has been highly successful, domestically and regionally, in subverting the marketing strategies of the Western recording industry through pirating" (Sen and Hill, 2000: 171). The marketing strategies of the Western recording industry have been successfully subverted through pirating (Sen and Hill, *ibid.*). For every legitimate cassette sold in 1996, the Association of Indonesian Composers and Music Arrangers (*Persatuan Artis Pencipta Lagu dan Penata Musik Rekaman Indonesia*) calculated, there may be up to five pirated copies sold (Sen and Hill, 2000: 26, 171, 188 n.33). Last year, in the top department store (Matahari) in Solo, a salesgirl offered me a legitimate CD and another, pirated CD with the same musical content at a third of the price. What can be done to rectify the situation for both the traditional and the popular musicians?

In Indonesia, as in virtually every other country, artists find that copyright schemes are inadequate for the protection of indigenous music. The existing laws appear to be particularly inadequate to provide protection in cases where

traditional or crossover music are projected into the commercial music industry. While the law regards music as constituting individual property and gives its owner (theoretically) the exclusive right to perform, copy, record and distribute a song or a piece of music, there is much activity below the surface of individual ownership in most cases, and especially in the case of traditional or world music production. By all indications, musicians in the popular music sector feel that copyright laws do not properly protect them either.

Some artists and observers told me in late 2001 that under the new Minister of Justice and Human Rights, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, copyright laws are beginning to be enforced with increasing effectiveness. Court cases are reported in the media or by word of mouth. For example, in mid-2001, the Chairman of the Association of Producers, Bp. Candra Darusman, won a campaign and court case about a breach of copyright (verbal communication from Lutfi Rauf at the end of 2001). Police raids to confiscate cassettes pirated by syndicates in the recorded music sales centre at Glodok in downtown Jakarta were commonplace in 2001 (*ibid.*). Thus, public consciousness of artists' creative rights (*hak cipta*) is spreading. On the other hand, the parallel importation of recorded music continues to damage the livelihoods of Indonesian musicians and their products, which not only constrains policy making but has also revealed disturbing monopoly issues of Internet selling and downloading of music.

Some commentators are sceptical about multinational corporations' defence of their ownership of exclusive copyright in Indonesia, which was integrated over three decades of New Order media policy and globalising communication technologies into global cultural markets (Sen and Hill, 2000: 219). Multinational corporations give a "political" rationale for holding exclusive copyright and cultural trade regulation by saying they are defending the local industry and national culture, yet the Indonesian market is demonstrably overseas-dominated and the national culture is in a state of doubtful health, given these levels of ownership and control over musical production exercised by corporations based in other nations. In fact the policies and practices of foreign industry organisations result in Indonesia remaining subordinate, while the power of the European, Japanese and North American companies is further entrenched. "This is one of the besetting ironies of the currently dominant globalisation practices that produced what can only be described as the parallel importing fiasco" (Rowe, 2001: 56). In any case, the idea of a "sovereign cultural nation," if it ever was a reality, is an illusion in any country in this age of transnational, especially digital, communication (Rowe, 2001: 62). Under present global market conditions, the Megawati government cannot in fact create a cultural policy that is not already hemmed in by international obligations and established,

structural industry interests. Such contradictions have created the strange anomaly that is the cultural institution of Indonesian music and its industry.

What about the access to music employment and audience consumption by the little people (*wong cilik*, Jav.), who live in a world apart yet are affected willy nilly by global marketing conditions? In the 1950s and 1960s, most Indonesians could employ traditional artists at their celebrations, but increasingly since then, only the well-off could do so. This is partly because until the 1980s local artists would often perform for minimal returns (transport, food and cigarettes) at their equally poor neighbours' celebrations, while artists now claim greater rewards for their contributions (personal communication from Al. Suwardi, late 2001). Nor can more than a few Indonesian musicians rely for their livelihood on the booming tourist industry that provided state and private sector employment in the late New Order period. Recent discourses on cultural ecotourism, which was integrated into cultural policy at local, regional and national levels since the 1980s, emphasise the major problem of its conflicts with industry policy. Local musicians' limited earning capacity and popularist choice of repertoire have long come into conflict with the expectations of tourists, the tourist industry and the objectives of national cultural ecotourism. Artists since *reformasi* say that they hold out little hope for making a living from the tourist industry.

Nor has the government any concrete plans to assist small-scale musicians, even indirectly. Due to the monetary crisis and chronic funding shortages, the Megawati government cannot even invest much funding to build or maintain cultural centres, as did the New Order. Subsidies from government to institutions such as museums, radio, cinema, television, the internet and tourism, which affect artists' livelihoods at the centre and in the regions, are also minimal. However, the government still gives some moral and financial support to them, as well as organising the arts festivals, competitions and awards on which some of the best musicians rely, and which are funded by government under *reformasi* as long as some private sector input is made as well.

As noted, there were some structural changes in the government's organisation of the arts and cultural tourism in the *reformasi* period, especially under Megawati. This was partly as a result of a growth in the number of provinces and regencies, each of which employ officers to promote the work of the Department of Culture and Tourism which are supposed to invigorate the search for regional autonomy in the arts. This was also partly because Megawati's new August 2001 ministries and budget linked culture with tourism rather than with education, as in Suharto's time, when culture was widely perceived as being a poor relation of education.³⁷ Megawati's government feels that art and

culture could benefit from a close association with the potentially lucrative cultural tourist industry and vice versa, and that the two fields should therefore be developed in tandem in the one ministry. However, since 1999 there has been a serious decline in the number of foreign and domestic tourists, and funding sources for the arts have therefore not increased by this means. Even in the former tourist hotspots in Bali and West Java, let alone in fledgling tourist areas such as Flores and regions of current unrest such as Maluku, West Papua and Aceh, tourism is much less viable under Megawati than in Suharto's time and there is a corresponding decline in tourist dollars for the employment of traditional artists. The New Order's Department of Tourism under minister Joop Ave is widely believed to have presided over a more lucrative industry and to have possessed much greater financial power than the present State Minister of Tourism and Culture, I Gde Ardika, under the economically less endowed government of Megawati.

If the livelihoods of commercially linked musicians are difficult to maintain, what are the survival prospects for musicians who run their own private traditional music performance business from an urban area, let alone musicians who operate at the rural village level? With the continued spiral of the commercialisation of music, it has become increasingly difficult for middle-class musicians, let alone the *wong cilik*, to survive as artists. Many cottage industry musicians, most of whom are not members of ASIRI in any case, cannot survive just by catering to a local market, though a few educated and well-connected ones manage to do so. For example, in the year 2000, the traditional Sundanese musician Lili Suparli and his *wayang golek* and gamelan troupe, which operates in the urban and rural areas of Bandung and Sumedang, just survives; but apart from its leader, its members live mainly from the food they produce as farmers. The group makes some recordings and is often employed to give performances at rural and urban village celebrations. However, with more widespread poverty in the villages, there is less money, time and energy for traditional weddings and agricultural and other rites since the New Order collapsed and it is more difficult for small artist troupes to survive (verbal communication from Lili Suparli, late 2000). Poor Indonesians have access to popular and traditional music mainly through inexpensive, often pirated, cassette sales and the media. No longer able to afford to pay for traditional dance, drama and music performances (such as *gondang* ensemble music in Batak Sumatra or gamelan and puppet performances in Java), they can only afford to welcome guests with cassette recorded music at their weddings and other family celebrations³⁸. While artists and audiences of all social classes feel these and other effects of the global music industry market, a process that seems to have

been spiralling since the beginnings of *reformasi*, they are felt particularly acutely among the working class and unemployed in rural or urban village communities.

AUDIENCES, PUBLIC ACCESS AND MARKETING OF SELECTED MUSIC GENRES

I shall now examine issues of public access to the musical arts, focussing briefly on the background and commercial promotion of four kinds of music since the *reformasi* period began, namely (i) *dangdut* (ii) popular Muslim music (iii) *campur sari* and (iv) new music composition.

In the *reformasi* era, commentators have been expressing concern about the uneven distribution of the arts across the various publics and the need to find ways of broadening audience access, taking into account the effects of the expanding transnational or globalised markets, and noting that globalisation is not a new phenomenon.³⁹ They find that more and more regional, national and transnational markets are being controlled by, or have become integrated into, multi-national corporations. For example, Sony Music Indonesia, which controls a considerable and growing proportion of the music industry in Indonesia and operates mainly to satisfy the huge national, regional and local markets among Indonesia's 220 million people (as well as for export, especially to Malaysia and Japan), has conducted its own market research to analyse the musical tastes of audiences targeted by media advertising. Sony and other corporate leaders see their public as being class, age and gender-based. Indeed, recent dialogue about the class links of commercially-functional music among music industry leaders, other business leaders, political party leaders, television channel and other media directors has focussed primarily on the popular music.

Yet the nexus between culture and class, though still important in their thinking, has partly been blurred through the broad reach of popular music, television, and other forms of popular culture as well as the pervasiveness of the media in reshaping the broader field of culture. Corporate press comment about *dangdut* and its extraordinary commercial development, which further sky-rocketed under *reformasi*, is a good example of this.

DANGDUT

Mainly through its creator and leading exponent Rhoma Irama, the popular genre *dangdut* began to dominate the homegrown pop music scene from the mid-1970s. Like the genre from which it originated – *orkes/pop Melayu* (Malay pop) – this social dance music is a crossover between Arabic, Malay and Western

pop music. Due to Indonesians' predilection for Hindi films and the many similarities of *dangdut* to Hindi film music (Frederick 1982 and Manuel, 1988: 210) it eventually became extremely popular, sometimes being performed on pop-style stages, with social protest texts that often spoke to people at the short end of the stick, and were consumed by all social classes.⁴⁰ Though most songs had secular texts, Rhoma also used the genre as a medium of Muslim evangelism, tapping the early 1980s resentment against the New Order.⁴¹ By the time Suharto fell, *dangdut* comprised over a third of the domestic music recording market (Sen and Hill, 2000: 174).⁴² Whole radio stations still specialise in broadcasting it, as for example, Radio Deimarga Nusa in Metro, Central Lampung (Anon. (h), 1998: 14).

By late 2001, not only political parties but also major advertisers were reported in *The Straits Times* as saying that the two homegrown music products – *dangdut* and Malay pop – “can sell anything from hamburgers to political parties” (Kearney, 2001: 46). Business and political party leaders have noted publicly that *dangdut* and *pop Melayu* have more influence and commercial value among all classes than any other music in Indonesia, whether imported Western popular music, *pop Indonesia* (popular music in Western styles sung in Indonesian), *pop daerah* (popular music in a regional language containing superficial musical-regional elements [Yampolsky, 1989: 14]) or specific home-grown popular genres such as *jaipongan* (indigenous Sundanese popular music rooted in an older style). During the 1999 election, the Suharto-created party *Golkar* – like almost all the other political parties – realised that a performer of *dangdut* was essential in its campaigns if it wanted to attract the crowds and members of all the social classes. Companies also chose it as the most lucrative music tool to increase their sales, appropriating some of this previously working class-linked music for their advertising across the classes, age-groups and genders, though they did not admit to the existence of these social classifications.

Thus, although the market research of big corporations like Sony evidently distinguish between and target the various classes, age-groups and genders in their market research, they allege in their public pronouncements that the taste preferences of the different social classes, age-groups and sexes are “merging,” even disappearing. Despite the fact that divisions between social classes are as deep as ever, music industry leaders are now arguing that “*dangdut* – Indonesia’s very popular Bollywood-inspired music... has developed a huge following which cuts across all classes in Indonesia” (Kearney, 2001:1). As the journalist Kearney wrote,

In 1998, the soundtrack for a very popular Indian movie, Kuch Kuch Hota Hai, which has a Hindi dance beat very similar to dangdut, was so popular that it outsold every Western and almost every local album in Indonesia, with 800,000 copies snapped up. This figure rivals sales for the world's best pop performers, who make it into the top-selling ranks when they sell two million copies worldwide. Only one Western pop band, Westlife, and the Indonesian boy band Sheila on 7 have beaten Kuch Kuch Hota Hai's sales. They sold over one million copies each in Indonesia... (Kearney, 2001: 2).

Its success made the pop music industry and television directors sit up and take notice. Thus, in 1999 the television company MTV Asia decided to launch a program entitled *Salam Dangdut* ("Dangdut Greetings") devoted entirely to Indonesian and Malaysian *dangdut*.

Meanwhile, major multinationals such as MacDonaldis used *dangdut* in 2001 to advertise their hamburgers and Sony their musical and technological wares, analysing the market data on a class basis and arguing in favour of making high quality video advertisements as a major promotional tool. Recognising publicly that *dangdut* was not just music of the poor but was also hugely popular among the middle and upper classes, Sony Music launched its *dangdut* label in late 2001, signing up Ikke Nurjanah, a young performer whose *dangdut* is heavily pop inspired. Sony Music Indonesia's General Manager Sutanto Hartono commented that this music has strong potential in the long term. "Look at the TV stations," he said, "their highest rating shows are *dangdut*, and in the music sales I've noticed a change in people's taste. Local pop music and Malay pop are the most popular." Although the economic crisis has dented the sales of both *dangdut* and pop music, Mr Sutanto said, he believed that the leading *dangdut* performers on the new label would easily outsell anything Ricky Martin or Britney Spears had to offer. "But *dangdut* needs to lose its village image," he said. "A lot of videos are shot with a low budget, in one single location, with little reworking. We want to develop music videos similar to pop videos and develop a storyboard. Low quality recordings and badly-arranged recordings of many artists' work had also reduced potential sales" (Kearney, 2001: 2). However, he added, the repackaged *dangdut* would still be aimed at the low to middle-class market, and Sony would focus on selling *dangdut* tapes and cutting the price of CDs (*ibid.*).

Sutanto's view that *dangdut* needs to lose its village image betrays recent attempts by big business to appropriate *dangdut* for itself, aiming to make it more profitable through glossy advertisements that appeal to the middle class market,

which already has its own pop music tastes and musicians, such as Guruh Sukarnoputra (Iwan Dzulvan Amir, verbal communication). Yet *dangdut*'s huge success is precisely because of its *kampungan* (village) image and its romantising of the daily suffering of the life of poverty (*hidup menderit*a) of the masses, as shown in the lyric of the spectacular hit *Gubuk Derita* (House of Suffering):

<i>Aku rela hidup menderit</i> a	I'm willing to live in poverty
<i>Asal saja aku tetap hidup bahagia</i>	As long as I still live a happy life
<i>Walaupun sudah tua</i>	Even though I am old
<i>Sudah bau tanah</i>	And nearing death

Like the blues genre, *dangdut* celebrates life despite depressing poverty. In a country where the "us versus them" dichotomy between social classes is so pervasive, *dangdut*'s lower class adherents are likely always to regard its appropriation as "skyscraper building *dangdut*" (*dangdut gedongan*) for entertainment in grand hotels as being "phoney," not authentic *dangdut*⁴³.

Due largely to big business, the popularity of *dangdut* - including its offshoot *dangdut takwa* (which contains Islamic religious or ethical messages), now extends beyond Indonesia to transnational markets in Malaysia, Japan, Britain and elsewhere. The world music industry has opened up a small pocket of the global market for Indonesian popular styles. Recordings of *dangdut* sung by the first female *dangdut* star - Elvy Sukaesih - are still selling in Indonesia, Japan and Malaysia; an album by the Muslim *qasidah* band Nasida Ria Group is on sale not only in Southeast Asia but also in Germany; the Sundanese singer Hetty Koes Endang's recordings of *kroncong* and other popular songs are marketed in Malaysia; and recordings of Jakarta's pop singer Detty Kurnia are on sale in the United Kingdom (according to recording labels). Eventually perhaps *dangdut* may become as well known across the globe as Trinidad's *calypso* or Jamaica's *reggae*.

POPULAR MUSLIM-ASSOCIATED MUSIC

Along with *dangdut*, "music tied to [Muslim] religion" (*musik yang dikaitkan dengan agama*) experienced a boost under both the mid-to-late New Order and under *reformasi*. Ever since 1965, when communist thinking was outlawed and every citizen had formally to adhere to one of five permitted religions,⁴⁴ there seemed to be a proliferation of (segregated) groups of young women and men of all ages performing devotional songs. In some areas, Muslim-associated music seemed even to be replacing traditional local music to entertain guests at weddings and the like. Separate gender groups sang and played frame-drums (*rebana*)

and other instruments such as the *gambus* (a lute of Middle Eastern origin), violin and drums in some genres (e.g. the *gambusan* genre, which is vocal and instrumental music led by a *gambus* player); other groups use body percussion. Indonesian forms of Middle Eastern-based *kasidah* (*qasidah* Ar.), *nasit*, *hadrah*, *gambusan* and regional devotional forms such as Acehnese *meuseukat*, Minangkabau *indang* and Sumatran-Malay *rodan* also thrived, with artist groups who performed at government-organised performances and festivals⁴⁵ receiving some small sponsorship for travel and subsistence costs or payment in kind at privately sponsored celebrations. Musical activities by followers of the other four religions received relatively little patronage, but as they are minority groups, their musical expansion and market share has in any case been much smaller than that of the majority Muslim population.⁴⁶

Some time in the 1980s, leaders of the music industry saw that Muslim-associated music, live or recorded, could attract an enormous market. There was a gradual increase of available recordings not only of traditional Indonesian and Middle Eastern Islam-associated music but also of newly created crossover songs with pious Muslim song texts, combining foreign Muslim instruments such as the *gambus*, *rebana*, and *tabla* with Western instruments such as the flute, piccolo, horn, violin, keyboard and electronic organ, even – especially from the late 1990s – with gamelan and other regional instruments. In the *reformasi* period, the consumption of traditional Muslim-associated music performed live or recorded on cassette apparently continued to expand among both the lower and the middle classes in the urban and rural areas.⁴⁷

Attracting a much larger following than the traditional Muslim-associated music, however, is the crossover pop or rock music with a Muslim religious or moral theme. The expansion of Muslim crossover popular music, which was already apparent from the late 1980s, has apparently continued to grow since the fall of Suharto.⁴⁸ Especially under President Abdurrahman Wahid, a highly respected Muslim scholar and long-term leader of the Nahdatul Ulama movement claiming 30 million members, many cassettes of songs with Muslim texts hit the market. While some other artists (who do not wish to be named) said they were unclear about the kinds of music that the new President favoured, some Muslim groups felt that they knew he enjoyed classical Middle Eastern, Javanese and Western music and took the opportunity to perform and sell new, pious, Muslim crossover music on cassette, with many texts combining Indonesian and Arabic words and using elements of gamelan, Arabic, Indian and Western instruments and styles in a process of crossover composition.

In 2000, the pop group Sanggar Ki Ageng Ganjur,⁴⁹ which claimed to have a connection to President Wahid, produced a commercially successful cassette of musical items dispersed among recorded sermons by the President about the meaning of the holy fasting month. With violins playing mixed Arabic-Indian-sounding melodies featuring melodic sequences and prominent drumming, a female vocalist sang “Lebaran” (the day after the end of the fasting month) to the text:

*Hari bahagia, kini t'lah tiba
Bersalam-salaman
Sanak saudara Muslim Muslimat
Berkasih sayang
Leburkan khilaf dan dosa di
Hari Raya
Hari yang mulia berikan zakat,
infak sekedah
Kepada dzu'afa fakir miskin,
yatim piatu
Yang kekurangan*

The happy day has arrived
Extend greetings
All Muslim brothers and sisters
Love each other.
Purge mistakes and sins on
Lebaran Day
On the holy day, give donations to
charity,
To the very poor,
to orphans
Who do not have enough.

*Chorus
Allahu akbar (x2)
Walillahil khamdu
Allahu akbar (x2)
Wallillahil khamdu*

Allah is great
Thanks to Allah
Allah is great
Thanks to Allah

Then a large ensemble comprising a pop band and selected gamelan and Indian instruments played a piece which is a syncretic mix of Arabic, Indian Muslim, Malay, Javanese and popular Indonesian styles, after which more Muslim texts were sung. Wahid's sermons were interspersed between items. Among the many other bands performing songs with a Muslim message was the famous Bimbo group,⁵⁰ which produced the hit song *Tuhan* (“Lord”), the text of which begins as follows:

*Tuhan
Tempat aku berteduh
Dimana aku mengeluh
Dengan segala peluh*

Lord
My place in the shade
Where I am relieved
Of all sadness and disappointment

Besides such Muslim-oriented syncretic styles, the past eight years or so have seen the commercial rise of another syncretic form known as *campur sari*, based on traditional gamelan music and selected Western elements.

CAMPUR SARI

The Indonesian or Javanese texts of *campur sari* (lit. "a nice mix") songs usually deal with such topics as love, the beauty of nature, children's experiences, and sometimes political themes such as the need for *reformasi* in various fields. The songs, which belong to a genre of popular regional gamelan music that is sometimes mixed with elements of *kroncong* style, are usually performed with a quickstep rhythm. Male or female vocalists may sing traditional Javanese vocal solo introductions in free metre (*bawa*), traditional metred songs for children (*dolanan*) or adults (in *macapat* or other metres), or other texts. Usually the singers perform with vibrato and vocal ornamentation, as in much *kroncong* singing. The instrumentalists perform *teplok* (rhythmically clapped passages as in some gamelan music) and *senggakan* (humorous gamelan-style vocal interspersions or comments). Performances of *campur sari* songs in syncretic gamelan and *kroncong* style have solo flute parts and harmonic or implied harmonic passages played on interlocking bowed and plucked Western string instruments, interlocking *cukcak* (alternating onbeat/offbeat) string plucking as in *kroncong*, and Javanese drumming. This popular music has been marketed on cassettes throughout Java and other areas where Javanese live, for easy listening and for playing at celebrations.⁵¹

The final segment of musical production to be discussed in this article is that of new, experimental music based on traditional or popular music, or combinations of both. As shall be seen, this portion of Indonesia's musical life has only peripherally been influenced by *reformasi*.

NEW MUSIC

Like in most other oral traditions, Indonesian traditional music is based on variability in performance; and its many genres must always have been in a state of flux. However, the concept of individual composers creating new music as part of a world-wide movement is relatively new. From the 1950s, composer-performers such as Ki Wasitodiningrat and Narto Sabdho had created many new compositions (*kreasi baru*) based on popular gamelan styles (including many in *dolanan* style) [Becker, 1980]. However, they were not intended to be part of any international musical vanguard.

New music began to be composed (in score or directions to performers) or newly improvised and established in rehearsal in the 1970s under the instigation of Gendon Humardani who, as has been mentioned, was Head of the Arts Academy STSI in Surakarta until his death in 1983 (Sutton, Suanda and Williams, 2000: 684). At STSI Surakarta, and later at other arts academies as well, music students who had hitherto learned only to play gamelan and other traditional music with creative skill were also required to write compositions demonstrating creativity and originality, and some subsequently pursued careers as composer-musicians (most of whom play as well as compose music). Thus, the first generation of new music composer-performers was born. Their works were in fact based on their appraisal and critical deconstruction of musical tradition, as opposed to taking refuge in it.

An important task of members of the new music scene was to build audiences. They began to be created from the 1970s, developing around the communities of staff and students and their extended families and friends at the music academies and institutes and secondary arts schools in several cities, such as IKJ in Jakarta, Sekolah Tinggi Kesenian Wilwatikta (STKW) in Surabaya, STSI in Surakarta, ASKI in Padang Panjang, USU in Medan, and ASKI in Makassar. These communities continue to provide increasingly larger audiences for concerts of new music. The concert platforms thus established have allowed not only the high-achieving performers, composers and music scholars to shine on the local, national and international stage but also young performers and other artists and troupes on the periphery of the state-funded artistic institutions to perform, all of whom bring their families and friends to swell audiences.

Since the 1970s, original new music works have been recorded and performed internationally by experimental composers and musicians for audiences in most countries of East Asia, as well as North America, Europe and Great Britain, Australasia and some other countries. Part of the reason why some Indonesian new music composers have obtained an international reputation is that overseas composers (such as Lou Harrison, Larry Polansky and Jody Diamond) and music scholars (such as Sean Williams and René Lysloff) have spread the knowledge of new works by Indonesian new music composers such as Rahayu Supanggah and Al. Suwardi (Javanese), Lotring and I Wayan Sadra (Balinese) and Nano Suratno and Harry Roesli (Sundanese). These overseas musicians and scholars have promoted these composers in Australia, North America, Europe, Japan and other countries by organising performances of their works, helping distribute recordings, publishing some of their scores (e.g. in the US journal *Balungan*), and writing articles about them in magazines, academic journals and encyclopedias.⁵²

Most of the well-known Indonesian composers have experimented with Javanese and Balinese gamelan concepts and instruments and vocal music, though composers working in all the major cities, including Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Surabaya, Banyumas, Sragen, Den Pasar, Medan, Padang Panjang, Larantuka, and Makassar, are also inspired by elements from other local traditions.⁵³ Some of these composers also admit to receiving inspiration from foreign sources. For example, Harry Roesli's work *Bedug Jepang* integrates traditional Japanese and Sundanese drum sounds and rhythms while Al. Suwardi's works are influenced, he says, by American composers such as John Cage and Harry Partch and the French composer G. Pierre Bollack. In the climate of festival and competition-driven composition under both the New Order and *reformasi*, composers continue to create "at a dizzying pace" (Miller and Williams, 2000: 130). At the time of writing, some very high quality works are being produced by leading composers who only rarely, however, receive government or private subsidy.

Although in *reformasi* times, the new music composers have been continuing their activities much as they did under the New Order, they now make open criticism of government corruption in the arts (Anon./Pasaribu interview, 1998: 9) and express satisfaction that they have been allowed greater freedom of expression since the beginning of *reformasi* (Waridi, 1998: 10). Although the domestic and overseas audience for new music concerts remains relatively small under *reformasi*, new music's influence and capacity to attract government funding is out of all proportion to its audience size.

For example, in early 2001 the pioneering new music composer Al. Suwardi received government funding to compose, rehearse and present performances of two new works at the third "Art Summit Indonesia 2001," at which domestic and overseas troupes presented many concerts of new music, dance and theatre, with associated seminars, throughout the month of October in Jakarta. The composer began work by designing and constructing an orchestra of new or altered traditional instruments. He then experimented with the sounds they could be made to produce, after which he composed the piece. Finally, after scores of hours of partly directed, partly experimental group rehearsals, he prepared the piece for performance (Bangun, 2001: 12). The orchestra he constructed and assembled consisted of 150 brass bells of various sizes, all of which he made himself, and other instruments designed for his new work, entitled *Swara Gentha* ("Sound of Bells"). He also assembled another ensemble of new or altered melodic and percussive instruments⁵⁴ for the performance of his other new work, entitled *Tumbuk* ("Coincidences").

In general, audiences of new music works are reported to have found them to be “largely experimental, conceived as artistic and intellectually challenging, rather than as accessible and entertaining” (Sutton, Suanda and Williams, 2000: 685). However, the audience and critical response to the performances of these two works by Al. Suwardi in Jakarta and Surakarta was appreciative and the press critic Jabatin Bangun emphasised their accessibility, musical beauty and high performance quality, emphasising how enjoyable they were to listen to, unlike some other pieces played at the Arts Summit, which were interesting but not very likeable. Such reports of growing public response suggest that new music audiences are likely to be increasingly appreciative in future.

Actually, Jabatin Bangun was highly critical of some aspects of the Arts Summit, including the uneven quality of the performing groups, and indeed the elitist idea of a Summit itself. In tune with the *reformasi* demands for equity of public access and cooperation between autonomous regions, he also complained that artists at the Summit had mainly performed in Jakarta, instead of touring other cities. Audiences in other regions, he wrote, should be able to share the privilege of exposure to very high quality performances, too often enjoyed only by Jakartans. Moreover, the potentially large regional audiences would have made the whole exercise more economically viable. Entitling his article “Tired Audiences,” Bangun wrote that there were too many performances in a short space of time for audiences in Jakarta to be able to enjoy attending more than a few, let alone take it all in (Bangun, 2001: 11).

CONCLUSION

In most parts of Indonesia, musicians have found that *reformasi* governments have been less repressive than that of the New Order, which they give as grounds for being cautiously optimistic about their musical future, despite the unpredictable political climate. Some observe that improvements may be made as a result of the new recognition of cultural plurality and an emphasis on transparency, democracy, and greater access to the musical arts for performers and audiences. However, substantial practical results of this rhetoric in the volatile situation in which the country finds itself are yet to be seen.

One change that was widely welcomed was the implementation of freedom of information. This resulted in the abolition of the more blatant examples of musical censorship underpinned by the replacement of the widely feared Ministry of Information by a new Ministry of Technology and Information, which was to control not the content of information but its technological improvement under *reformasi*. It also served to cancel previous bans on certain songs and bands, to

remove the restrictions on the Indonesian-Chinese performing arts, and (temporarily) to remove much of the perceived need for protest songs.

Another change was due to the new policy of giving fairer treatment to the regions in the provinces through decentralisation and greater regional autonomy. Artists and administrators in the resource-rich, culturally pluralistic provinces no longer needed to accept the heavy hand of Jakarta's edicts in carrying out their responsibilities. *Reformasi* governments continue to give some funding for and encourage public-private partnerships to fund festivals, seminars and competitions for artists, but the decreasing central government coffers have reduced their funding capacity. Most recently the debate has been turning from cultural pluralism to multi-culturalism, which if adopted may work towards normalising dangerous ethnic and religious divisions.

Some developments should mainly be seen as continuations – indeed intensifications – of trends under Suharto. One such change is related to recent socio-political developments in an increasingly overt Muslim society, especially from the time of the appointment of the former leader of the 35-million strong Nahdatul Ulama as President, resulting in the expanded production and marketing of music associated with Islam. Other such changes include the increased commercial proliferation of *pop Indonesia*, *pop Melayu*, *pop daerah*, *jaipongan*, *dangdut* and *campur sari* music. Meanwhile, the new music scene continues as before to produce a plethora of musical compositions supported minimally by the arts-educational institutions, government and private industry.

Although concern has been expressed about the working conditions and unemployment of musicians and other matters affecting their livelihood, little has been done to improve their lot. On the contrary, music marketing under *reformasi* simply continues as in the past, with little thought or means given to support artists' survival prospects. Government continues to allow international distributors a free hand to control public taste and to decide on the basis of their market research which kinds of music will be promoted and in what quantities. Although cassette pirating remains uncontrolled, the government is, however, attempting to enforce copyright laws, and there is some evidence in 2001 that convictions against violators are increasing.

From the time of the 1997 monetary crisis, poverty and the crime rate have further increased in the less ordered society of Indonesia. Less time and energy appear to be spent on the arts on the whole. Urban and rural villagers are perceived as spending less on musicians to perform at village weddings and the like and rely for their musical needs on inexpensive cassettes. The musical

situation in the present war zones such as Aceh and West Papua is likely to be suffering serious setbacks. Many species of traditional music are obviously endangered, and some are expected to expire as elderly artists die, without successors or documentation. Given the widely publicised social unrest in several parts of Indonesia, the cultural ecotourism market has been seriously reduced, as the result of which there are substantially less opportunities for artists to perform for tourists, thus artists' incomes from this source have either been radically reduced or in some areas no longer exist.

In everyday speech, many traditional and popular music performers and members of their audiences speak ironically about the increasing effects of big business's "globalisation" on their earning capacity, referring ruefully to the term as *gombalisasi* (gombalisation), that is, "treating artists and traditional/popular Indonesian music-culture as if they were dirty rags" (where *gombal* means "dirty rags," or more generally, "with empty promises").⁵⁵ They continue, as under the New Order, to see many signs that traditional music is being swamped by Western or homogenised Western-Indonesian musical products distributed by major record companies, as the market submits more and more to global business. Meanwhile, there is certainly no decline in puns and witty commentary by artists on the condition of the arts.

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NOTES:

¹The material for this article was drawn mainly from my interviews and conversations over the past few years with Indonesian artists, scholars, artist-scholars, entrepreneurs and other agents of the music industry, especially in Jakarta, Surakarta and Medan, as well as press articles, academic newsletters published in Indonesia, festival and art summit programs, and commentaries about the art policy and practices of the central, provincial, regional and sub-regional levels of governments, the media and the private sector. Indonesian musicians interviewed included Professor Edi Sedyawati (the Director-General of Culture in the late New Order and early years of *reformasi*), Toeti Heraty, Rahayu Supanggah (the Director) and Al. Suwardi of Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia in Surakarta, and Ben Pasaribu and Mauliy Purba in Medan. Mr Lutfi Rauf of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra also provided data, and Siauw

Tiong Djin and Mely Tan gave me eye-witness accounts of recent Indonesian-Chinese performances in Jakarta and Surabaya.

² The term "culture industry", once understood as inferior mass-produced culture, has recently come to be used in an increasingly positive sense (especially since the 1980s) which acknowledges that art and culture belong to the private as well as the public sector and are products of complex economic relations, institutions and technologies. The term "culture industry" was first used by members of the Frankfurt School, including the famous Horkheimer and Adorno, in the 1950s.

³ Despite their former rejection by scholars for sounding somewhat pejorative, "high culture" and "low culture" are terms commonly used in cultural studies since the 1980s as a convenient shorthand for a constellation of classical and new arts as high culture on the one hand and folk or rural and urban arts as low culture on the other, including music, film, dance, drama, visual arts etc. They are distinguished from each other by their partly different stylistic aspects, marketing methods and economic viability, kinds of audiences and government policy toward them.

⁴ Information in this paragraph was gleaned from personal communications from artists and data in articles promoting *reformasi* ideas, such as *Ekspone*, July 1998/III.

⁵ For example, I witnessed new, shortened tourist performances of western Manggarai ritual music and dance in Kampung Melo in 1996, when a new bitumen road made it easily accessible to tourist groups from the air-serviced towns of Labuan Bajo and Ruteng.

⁶ Ben Pasaribu's actual words were: *Sebagai contoh dana Inpres tahun lalu 1,1 milyar. Kita tetap harus mengakui bahwa uang itu cukup untuk manfaat bagi daerah-daerah di seluruh Indonesia (ibid.).*

⁷ It remains, of course, to be seen whether the Megawati or any subsequent government can maintain the trend toward instituting more democratic and transparent procedures, facilitate regional autonomy, abolish "collusion, corruption and nepotism," and prevent the military from another Suharto-like takeover.

⁸ The highest rating station in Jakarta reached a daily audience of over a half a million in the-mid 1990s (Sen and Hill 2000: 91). For a detailed study of the persistent survival of private radio, radio and local identity, see Lindsay (1997: 59-116), and of national radio, see Yampolsky (1987).

⁹ The interview was entitled *Kode Etik dan Moralitas* ("Ethical Code and Morality").

¹⁰ The conference was held in both Ujung Pandang (now Makassar) (with 27 delegates), and Den Pasar (with 30 delegates). In Ujung Pandang, the ethnomusicologists who participated included Irwansyah Harahap, Jabatin Bangun, Esther C. Siagian and Asep Nata, while the radio team included Yuzermin, Budi A Ce, Honi Irawan, Bagoes Ardiyanto and Errol Jonathans (coordinator).

¹¹ By the peak body, Professor Dr Edi Sedyawati meant the *Direktorat-Jendral Kebudayaan* in the Department of Education and Culture of which she was Director-General of Culture. Data from the interviews with her are contained in *Ekspone* (Anon. (d) and (e), 1998: 7).

¹² Pasaribu's words were: *Hak hidup musik etnik dengan musik pop itu sama.*

¹³ Other facilitators were Ya Sudah (Surakarta), Slamet Abdul Syukur (Jakarta), Jawami Imron (Madura), and Alex Grillo (France).

¹⁴ *Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia* is a performing arts journal published in Surakarta with funding from the non-profit Ford Foundation. It is read widely throughout Indonesia by arts academics and practitioners. Many Indonesian composers, including Rahayu Supanggah and Al. Suwardi, had works performed at the Forum and Festival.

¹⁵ According to an eyewitness account, the Surabaya concert performance of *Kantata Takwa* featured Indonesia's most famous pop singer Iwan Fals, the pop group Swami and the poet Rendra. Sponsored by businessman Sofian Ali, it "took place on an enormous temporary stage containing electric guitars, a timpani set, a large set of drums, two dozen speakers and ten monitors" (Thomas, 1993: 812). Setiawan Jody, Iwan Fals and Jockie S composed the work, with the lyrics by Setiawan Jody. A recording of the work with lead guitars, bass, drums, soprano saxophone, keyboard, *rebana* Muslim-associated (frame drums) and synthesiser, can be found on cassette reg. 0014738, issued by Airo Swadaya Stupa Records.

¹⁶ I am grateful to Dr Istutiah Gunawan and Dr David Mitchell for this information from the Department of Home Affairs.

¹⁷ Bp Lufti Rauf of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra kindly provided this information from the Department of Home Affairs. As the number of *kecamatan* is still, however, under discussion, it is expected that eventually the number of *kecamatan* will be higher.

¹⁸ This is not the place to review the national culture debate between the 1940s and 1997. Suffice it to say that on the musical front a number of thinkers proposed that the centuries old, syncretic popular Malay-Indonesian *kroncong* genre, with its Portuguese-influenced harmonies, constituted a national Indonesian style which could be appreciated by the many ethnic groups in Indonesia, partly because it symbolised the unified Indonesian struggle for independence from Dutch colonialism. However, since the 1980s, *kroncong* has been widely perceived as being the music preferred by the generation of the Indonesian revolution and of limited relevance to current youth needs and taste in music anywhere in the country. For a discussion of national identity under the New Order, which it saw as dealing as much with exclusion – of regional culture, local specificities and local allegiances – as inclusion, see Sen and Hill, 2000: 219.

¹⁹ By "appropriation" is meant a strategy adopted to gain control of a system of knowledge or beliefs after detaching it from its cultural source, then decontextualising it, and finally recontextualising it for a new set of purposes or situations. As Bourdieu argues (Bourdieu 1977: 183-4), when a state possesses considerable cultural capital as well as economic capital, its domination of society no longer needs to be exerted in a direct, rough and counter-productive way. Instead it can be applied in a more elegant, powerful and indirect manner, because it has been able to appropriate the mechanisms of cultural production. The New Order acted on this principle.

²⁰ Officials of the Department of Education and Culture vetted troupes and advised them on the quality of the music, costuming, sets, stagecraft and other aspects of so-called "international" quality in their presentations before allowing them to perform on a national stage or overseas (personal communication from Professor Dr A. P. Parlindungan, former Rektor of the University of North Sumatra, and the Dean of Arts, Professor Dr Amin Ridwan, who agreed to the Department of Education and Culture's recommendations for "improvements of presentation" of the University of North Sumatra's performing arts troupe before it was allowed to perform on national television and in Australia and Europe in the 1980s).

- ²¹ During a visit to Riau in 1983, I heard artists' responses to the edict directly. Bp Tenas Effendi, a wise and experienced Riau artist living in the capital Pekanbaru, helped his colleagues find a way around the problem. Needless to say, such central government interference, which was frequently imposed, was strongly resented by the artistic community in Riau.
- ²² The organisers of the Third International Symposium of the Journal *Antropologi Indonesia* to be held in July 2002 have chosen "Rebuilding Indonesia, a Nation of "Unity in Diversity": Towards a Multi-Cultural Society" as their theme.
- ²³ Regional pop songs are Western pop in a regional language containing superficial regional elements (Yampolsky 1989: 14).
- ²⁴ The conflict between the Indonesian-Chinese commercial interests and those of other Indonesians was the root of the racist persecution and oppression of the Indonesian-Chinese financiers, entrepreneurial traders, small business people, peasants, workers, and their families under the Suharto regime, which banned Chinese language and cultural expressions. The musical experience of the *peranakan* (lit. "of mixed blood") descendants of southern Chinese migrants to Indonesia was one of constant creative adaptation to changing social conditions and the search for workable solutions to the racial and socio-economic dilemmas which they encountered (Kartomi 2000: 271-317). A new chapter of Indonesian attempts to repair the relationship with this ethnic minority began in the *reformasi* period, though the periodic outbreaks of the past may still recur to make the community feel they would always need government protection (Arief Budiman, *The Jakarta Post*, 5 November, 2001).
- ²⁵ This is according to my field informants in Malang (1974), Singkawang and Pontianak (1992), Bangka and Belitung (1994), who do not wish to be named.
- ²⁶ In fact the thaw on the artistic level predated this; for example, a *wayang potehi* performance was held at a festival of and seminar on traditional music in Semarang on 14-16 October, 1999, as reported by the editor in *Berita MSPI*, no. 4, June 1999: 4.
- ²⁷ Under Suharto, Chinese performing arts were allowed to be performed only within the boundary of a Chinese temple, which was normally too small for such a purpose. This is according to my field observations throughout the Suharto era in Bangka, Belitung, Pontianak, Singkawang, Semarang, Malang and other towns.
- ²⁸ Capgomeh is the carnival held between the fourteenth and fifteenth nights after the beginning of the New Year celebrations.
- ²⁹ Most of the information presented in this and the following two paragraphs is from press reports and verbal communications from the Indonesian-Chinese scholars Mely Tan (in July, 2000) and Tiong Djin Siau (in late 2001).
- ³⁰ The role of the media in shaping the performing arts under the New Order is discussed by Sutton (1985), while the history of national recording company is discussed by Yampolsky (1987).
- ³¹ For a discussion of the reasons why this song was banned and how new texts were substituted for the original one on domestic violence, see Yampolsky (1989).
- ³² The tour was cancelled due to commercial interests and political expediency (Harsono 1989: 14), with the local music industry possibly having schemed to "borrow" the police to smash the new marketing method being introduced by the tour manager who had planned to use the tour to market Iwan Fals' new album directly instead of using the distributors centred in Glodok Plaza, one of the biggest business centres. This so-called "Glodok Mafia" had the power to determine which albums, lyrics and

musicians would make it onto the market. The Jakarta authorities also feared that the critical lyrics sung on tour might raise political awareness among the people about human rights, poor living conditions, corruption and militarism. In cancelling the tour, the authorities acted to stifle the growth of critical popular music in Indonesia.

³³ In Melbourne in October 2000, I witnessed Sawung Jabo and his *Genggong* group performing original and rearranged traditional songs from regional Indonesia and “funky crossover music which blended Javanese, West Sumatran, Bulgarian, Turkish musical elements with fiery drumming and a Javanese masked dance” (a communication from Suzan Piper), but there were no protest songs.

³⁴ Sen and Hill provide comparative data for other Southeast Asian countries, quoting journalistic estimates and comparing them with data collected for 1993, 1995 and 1997 (Sen and Hill, *ibid.*).

³⁵ However, Sen and Hill report in respect of popular music that after *reformasi* was instituted, “domestic live entertainment is reportedly booming... There is an explosion of cultural activities outside the large media institutions” (Sen and Hill, 2000: 222).

³⁶ Professor Dr Toeti Heraty is a well-known arts leader, poet and emerita philosophy professor in Jakarta.

³⁷ Under Suharto, the arts were directed by the Director-General of Culture, Professor Edi Sedyawati (an artist, archeologist and Javanist at the University of Indonesia) in the Department of Education and Culture. Under Megawati, however, the arts are administered by the Direktor Nilai Estetika (Director of Aesthetic Standards), Dr Hastanto (an ethnomusicologist and former director of the arts academy STSI in Surakarta) within the new Ministry of Culture and Tourism, while education is administered from the new Department of National Education.

³⁸ I have heard countless families in many parts of Indonesia make this comment.

³⁹ As they argue, the processes of globalisation, like imperialism and colonialism, have always been driven by economic imperatives, involving capital and exchanged goods from one part of the globe to another in a continual search for profit.

⁴⁰ *Dangdut* was first established among working class patrons in the 1970s, mainly in the hands of Rhoma Irama, a talented musician who wanted to create a new form of really Indonesian popular music based on the traditional *orkes Melayu* music which was practised from the early twentieth century in many coastal Malay-speaking parts of the archipelago. (In *orkes Melayu*, a soloist sings Malay poetry to Malay melodies, usually accompanied with thin Western harmonies on both Malay and Western instruments, including a flute, acoustic guitar, bass, harmonium, and Malay percussion - drums and optional gongs). *Dangdut* music is named after its strong fourth and first beats (rest-rest-*dang-dut*, rest-rest-*dang-dut*, etc.), with *dang* and *dut* representing two kinds of drum sounds (Wong and Lysloff, 1998: 104). Today it is performed by a singer and typical rock band instrumentalists playing electric guitars, synthesisers, drumkit, bass, etc.

⁴¹ For an account of *dangdut*'s history and political associations, see Sen and Hill (2000: 174-176), and of its secular and commercial impact, see Pioquinto (1995: 59-89).

⁴² Other forms of Indonesian pop, such as *pop daerah* (regional pop) with regional language texts and superficial regional elements in an otherwise non-distinctive international pop idiom continued to be supported but with relatively small markets (Yampolsky 1989: 17). An exception was *jaipongan*, a traditionally-based Sundanese regional music developed in a distinctive popular style (Manuel and Baier, 1986: 91-111), which gained an extensive market. The hard rock music of Swami and other groups attracted an even broader following.

⁴³ This paragraph is based on a communication from Iwan Dzulvan Amir in January 2002.

⁴⁴ The three million strong Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was destroyed from September 30, 1965. The five religions to which all Indonesians were required to adhere were Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism.

⁴⁵ For example, a Muslim performing arts festival I attended in the Taman Budaya (Arts Centre) in Pontianak in December 1992, presented many female and male performing groups from around the province and was funded by the provincial government of West Kalimantan.

⁴⁶ There has also been an increase in religious-oriented music of the Christian minority, but the size of its market at 5% of the total population has been relatively insignificant.

⁴⁷ This statement is based on my personal observations after visiting many music shops in cities in Java and Sumatra throughout the 1990s, and it is corroborated by the views of several Indonesian musicians and shop owners. It is very difficult to find statistical information about such sales.

⁴⁸ A personal observation as in note 52.

⁴⁹ This compilation of musical items interspersed among Wahid's sermons was released on "Puspita" cassette no. PQ309, 06/2000. The music director is Kh. Anwar, playing keyboard, piano, acoustic guitar, *konga*, *sitar*, *saron* and *bonang*; another musician playing *gendang*, *tabla* and *rebana*; and others playing violin, electric guitar, bass guitar, *saron*, *rebana*, *rantang*, *tamborin*, *bonang* and a tambourine.

⁵⁰ "Musica" cassette 12/97 (no other number), vocalist Rafika Duri.

⁵¹ See, for example, the cassette "Campur Sari Gunung Kidul Maju Lancar", Dasa Studio, ASIRI No. 170, 1995, led by Bp Sutrisno Maju Lancar, with singers: Manthou's, Minul and Lasmini.

⁵² Several new music scores have been published in the US journal *Balungan*, edited by Jody Diamond and others.

⁵³ Many of these cities were mentioned in *Eksponen*, (1998, July, III edition) as having produced composers who attended the Composers' Forum in Surakarta and Yogyakarta that year. Among the well-known composers of traditional, new and popular music under *reformasi* are I Wayan Sadra, Pande Made Sukerta, Rahayu Supanggah, A. Wahyudi Sutrisno (Dedek), B. Subono, Yaduk Ferianto, Sapto Rahardjo and Ben Pasaribu (verbal communication from Al. Suwardi). The staff of STSI in Surakarta are particularly active as composers.

⁵⁴ Al. Suwardi was inspired to compose this work by stories he had heard about a Thai orchestra called *gamelan genthana* ("bell-like gamelan") [that may or may not, however, have contained bells] which was presented by the Thai king to the Surakarta king (the Susuhunan) on his visit to Surakarta in the 1930s. Performed on brass bells, a Javanese *rebab*, a Japanese *koto*, ordinary or altered gamelan instruments, etc., and solo vocal and chorus parts, *Gentha* contains reworked gamelan melodic and formal structures. Suwardi called one of his newly made instruments *vibrander* (i.e., a bowed, modified *gender* (metallophone) with an electric motor and a resonator, inspired by a vibraphone) and he also gave names to the other new instruments he devised (verbal communication from Suwardi).

⁵⁵ The translation of the slang pun *gombalisasi* as "empty promises"- in this case promises to musicians by the globalising music industry - were given by Iwan Dzulvan Amir (cf. the term *lagu gombal*, "bullshit suitor songs").