POPULARIZING THE INDIGENOUS OR INDIGENIZING THE POPULAR ? TELEVISION, VIDEO AND FUSION MUSIC IN INDONESIA

R. Anderson Sutton
University of Wisconsin-Madison

INTRODUCTION

Music in Indonesia has undergone numerous innovations and experiments over the last 150 years, including various attempts to combine disparate styles and genres. Only in the last decade, however, has this kind of creative exploration come before the wider public, gaining unprecedented support and interest. This paper is an inquiry into what I call "ethno-pop fusion"—music that combines elements of one or more indigenous "traditional" music with elements of Western-style "pop" music. I am particularly concerned with the broad exposure provided for this music by television and, now, video compact discs (VCDs). Beyond the sonic dimension, I believe the visual appeal of the juxtaposition of indigenous "traditional" instruments and players with those of the Western-influenced pop sphere makes these genres especially attractive to television and VCD producers.

Since the introduction of private commercial stations in Indonesia in 1989, the medium of television has played an increasingly active role in presenting and shaping musical and related performing arts in Indonesia. Yet while television may broadcast genres of dance and drama that are clearly identifiable as belonging to one or another regional tradition, with roots going back centuries, the music broadcast on television has largely been Western-influenced popular music. From a survey of all scheduled programming I made in early August 1998, a full 12.5% of all airtime was devoted to Indonesian and Western popular music (music videos and live or recorded stage shows).[1] Much has been said by musicians, scholars, and government officials over the last three decades of the need to nurture traditional arts through the powerful medium of television,[2] but traditional music has been judged by Indonesia's private stations, and even by the government-funded station, to have limited appeal and is therefore rarely broadcast as such.[3]

The reasons for such programming decisions are not difficult to understand. Any commercial television station needs to attract sponsorship in order to remain in service, and sponsors determine their advertising budgets based on the size and profile of their audience. Traditional music and other traditional arts in Indonesia, because they are created by and for people of a particular ethno-

linguistic region, rather than for the entire country, have less potential appeal nationally than do shows in Indonesian language, presenting issues of interest to Indonesians of many regions or dramatic situations that are not specific to a particular region or ethno-linguistic group. There is little chance members of any ethnic group on the island of Sumatra, for example, would wish to watch Javanese playing their *gamelan* percussion instruments, or of Javanese staying tuned to Makassarese playing their *kacapi* lutes and *kesok-kesok* fiddles. And when language is a factor, as in vocal music, the potential appeal across local cultural boundaries dwindles even further, as none of the traditional arts utilize the national lingua franca, Indonesian, but instead use one or another regional language.[4]

One can argue that the varieties of local music are more appropriately presented and disseminated through other media: local or regional radio, audio cassette tapes, and CDs. And, indeed, these are all significant in the overall picture of music and media in Indonesia, as in much of the rest of the world. Yet television is contributing to the development of several varieties of musical experimentation, now beginning to be marketed on video CDs as well.[5] These varieties all involve a mixture of indigenous and Western or "international" musical elements—musical instruments, scales, rhythms, melodies, textures, and ethos.

The idea of mixing indigenous and Western music is hardly a new one in Indonesia. Countless varieties of combinations have been attempted since the Portuguese and other Europeans came to Indonesia in the 16th century (see Notosudirdjo 2001). By the mid 19th century the sultans of Java celebrated their most important ceremonies with the simultaneous playing of the Dutch national anthem played on Western band instruments (by Javanese musicians) and a traditional Javanese piece played on the indigenous percussion ensemble (gamelan)—even though these two ensembles employed completely different musical scales and rhythms (see Sumarsam 1995). By the late 19th century adjustments were made to enable better accommodation between these two very different musical styles. Trombones, trumpets, clarinets, and field drums were played along with Javanese gamelan percussion instruments in performance of a repertory of traditional Javanese pieces and attempted to bend their pitches to match the Javanese *pélog* scale. Even then the idea of combining these very different musical traditions can be seen as a musical means of negotiating with the very bases of colonialism, attempting to incorporate the "Other" without being swallowed by it. For Javanese sultans, whose real political power had been usurped by the Dutch during their conquest of Java in the early 17th century, the ability to display Western and indigenous musical arts in combination represented a kind of symbolic power that was highly prized and carefully guarded. Scholars have commented on the symbolic power Javanese attribute

to the combination of seemingly incompatible opposites, from the male-female figure Ardanari, to the musical combination of European and Javanese instruments (see Anderson 1972, Sumarsam 1995).

In the late 20th and now early 21st century, the combinations of indigenous and Western music no longer represent overt displays of regal power. But in my estimation, the popularity such musical combination enjoys begs an interpretation that sees this as a cultural strategy negotiating artistic and cultural legitimacy for Indonesian musical expression in the contemporary world—a world that even Indonesian villagers and mountain dwellers increasingly recognize as globalizing. And currently the format that seems to be most widely acknowledged and accepted involves experiments at fusion between what is widely referred to as *musik tradisi* (lit. "traditional music") and commercial Western-style pop music performed by Indonesians— *musik pop Indonesia*. This approach to music making, sometimes called *pop etnik* ("ethnic pop"),[6] following pioneering efforts by Guruh Soekarno Putra in the 1970s (see below), had become a major form of creative activity in the Indonesian music world by the late 1990s. Some musicians have specialized in it (e.g., Krakatau and others discussed below); others have dabbled occasionally (the groups Gigi and Arwana, the *dangdut* stars Ikke Nurjanah and Itje Trisnawati, etc.). Despite its grounding in Western-derived pop, it is often, curiously, described as promotion, or even preservation of "traditional music."[7] The other side of the same hybridic coin is represented by *campur sari*, a genre defined by its combination of gamelan instruments with Western pop instruments, but with a repertory that is strongly Javanese and more firmly rooted in Javanese musical style than in Western-style pop. Before considering several examples, I wish to elaborate on the discourse that forms the context for my description.

The latter half of the twentieth century has seen a precipitous decline in the popular base of support for indigenous performing arts in Indonesia, as it has throughout Asia. Most of the practitioners of these arts, along with many intellectuals and government spokespersons, decry the insidious penetration of "international" cultural practices and values, which seduce the local populace away from their own "traditional" heritage to an imagined modernism that is Western in origin. So widespread is this view that I would think it foolhardy to reject it altogether, though it presumes a rather static notion of "traditional" (and, therefore, of "indigenous"). In the realm of music, some performers and composers continue to work within the musical system and repertory they have learned through oral tradition. But a growing number of younger musicians, thoroughly trained in particular local musical traditions, are now boldly experimenting with the techniques and structures that previous generations largely

sought to maintain with only slow and incremental modification. What they are attempting to accomplish, supported by various efforts in the electronic media, is to popularize the *idea of* "traditional" music, thereby ensuring a place for the performers and for the sounds of this music, even as the context and the ethos of the music are profoundly changed.

In Indonesia this kind of experimentation is taking two rather different paths: one towards a kind of esoteric "art music," accessible only to an interested and educated elite, performed in concert halls for small and dedicated audiences; the other towards a viable fusion between indigenous and popular music, often described as a mix between "traditional" and "modern" musics. Prior to the economic crisis that overcame Indonesia in late 1997, enormous amounts of money were being devoted to the support of music festivals and media presentations involving creative combinations of indigenous music with popular, commercial music. Although these activities largely ceased between January 1998 and late 1999, and although the economic crisis is still not over as of January 2002, the situation has improved and activity resumed somewhat in 2000. In most cases, the intentions of the sponsors have been to promote Indonesia's unique indigenous musical practices, and at the same time to "indigenize" popular musical practice. The efforts in some cases may seem primarily to give pop music a local Indonesian feel and in others to give local music a pop feel (making pop more "Indonesian" and local music more "pop" than they had been previously). Though nuanced in each particular case, a set of binaries permeates the discourse about these musical developments, aligning pop with "modern," "Western," "international," "dynamic," "youth oriented" and indigenous forms with "traditional," "Indonesian," "local/regional" (only sometimes "national"), "static," "for all ages" within a particular society (but predominantly the older generation).

ETHNO-POP EXTRAVAGANZA—GURUH SOEKARNO PUTRA

Some of the most spectacular of the new musical activities have been sponsored and broadcast by Indonesia's private television stations. Through the national exposure afforded by television broadcast, these shows have penetrated widely and deeply, informing public discourse and private opinion about new directions in Indonesia's music. These include music specials, often involving top-name popular musicians performing in the studio or on public stages with traditional musicians. In 1997, during the three-week period officially designated by the New Order government as "the campaign" (prior to the vote for members of parliament), a gala program of live performances was broadcast on all television stations simultaneously. Many of the items presented involved some form of

combination between indigenous, local Indonesian cultural expression and Western or Western-derived forms. Dancers appeared in Bugis short-sleeved blouses (*baju bodo*), jewelry and silk skirts, dancing to a Western dance band. For some numbers, indigenous musical ensembles were combined with a full Western orchestra, such as the piece "Janger Janger" by Guruh Soekarno Putra, the youngest son of Indonesia's first president and a pioneer in ethno-pop fusion in Indonesia. This piece was originally composed in 1975 and released on an audio cassette in 1976 (*Guruh Gypsy*) and consists of a melody inspired by the traditional Balinese *janger* (hence the name; a genre combining group singing and dance movements), arranged and harmonized by Guruh for a combination of Western orchestra, chorus, and Balinese gamelan ensemble. This extravagant performance took place at Jakarta's Convention Center in tacit support of the incumbent Golkar party, even though Guruh himself has never supported this party, as its leader Suharto was responsible for deposing Guruh's father from power and for erasing his name from public discourse for nearly 25 years. The performance involved a full Western orchestra with conductor (dressed in semi-formal Western attire), a mixed chorus (dressed in Indonesian Islamic garb), a lead singer (pop star Dewi Gita dressed and dancing in what can best be described as Balinese-inspired style), and a dancing chorus of young women (dressed as *janger* dancers and moving in a style clearly Balinese-inspired, although not reproducing the movements of traditional Balinese *janger* specifically). As is often the case in televised presentations, the visual impact of the indigenous dance costumes and musical instruments was striking, even though the actual sound mix emphasized the Western instruments and harmonies, leaving the Balinese ensemble almost inaudible.

This was part of a two-hour special, "Thank you, my Indonesia" ("Terima Kasih, Indonesiaku") funded by the Golkar party and all but forced onto the air. It was simultaneously broadcast by all five private stations, with no commercial breaks. (Since Suharto's resignation in 1998, no party, incumbent or otherwise, would be able to coerce stations into broadcasting promotional shows, even if they featured extravagant entertainment numbers such as this.) Although it was certainly ironic that the son of Soekarno, the president deposed by Golkar's incumbent strongman Suharto, played a key role in this pro-Golkar extravaganza, it was by no means the first large-scale stage show centering around Guruh's works. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, with his group of elite Jakarta youth (Swara Maharddhika), and an entourage of big names in the Indonesian pop music world, Guruh presented some of the most extravagant stage shows ever mounted in Indonesia, some with tickets costing as much as US$100 in the early 1980s (an amount only Indonesia's very wealthiest elite could afford).

INDONESIANIZING INDONESIAN POP? RCTI'S "DUA WARNA"

Inspired by Guruh's experiments of the 1970s and early 1980s, Indonesia's premier private TV station RCTI initiated a regular series in 1996, discontinued in early 1998, but revived in August 2000, called "Dua Warna" ("Two Colors"), in which musicians representing a wide variety of Indonesian popular genres collaborate with a group of young musicians trained in various of Indonesia's regional traditions and known for their bold experimentation (exploring both the "pop music" and the "art music" worlds in contemporary Indonesia). The second example I would like to describe was part of a 90-minute "Dua Warna" show broadcast on Indonesian Independence Day (August 17) 1997: Ruth Sahanaya's hit song "Astagha" (short for "Astagfirullahal'azim", an expression of shock at bad or immoral behavior). Along with six other famous pop music figures, singer Sahanaya and some of Jakarta's top studio musicians performed with Kua Etnika (from *kualitas etnika*, lit. "ethnic quality" but also interpreted by some as *qua etnika*— "as if ethnic"), a group led by Javanese musician and composer Djaduk Ferianto and consisting of nine musicians, mostly Javanese, playing indigenous percussion instruments. Though the title of the show suggests a balance between two "colors"—pop/international style on the one hand and "ethnic"/indigenous on the other—neither the audio nor the video components of the broadcast presented anything approaching an even balance. Before describing the RCTI presentation of this particular song, I offer some background about Djaduk, Kua Etnika, and the pop arranger, American-trained Aminoto Kosin.

As noted, Kua Etnika was founded and is directed by Djaduk Ferianto, one of Indonesia's most famous ethno-pop figures of the 1990s and early 2000s. The son of Bagong Kussudiardjo, a famous Javanese dancer, choreographer, batik artist, teacher, and arts manager, Djaduk grew up in a family of performing artists in Yogyakarta, one of Java's two urban court-centers, an environment rich in Javanese performing arts traditions. His father was an accomplished Javanese classical dancer whose creative urges led him to study with Martha Graham in the United States, and to develop a corpus of new dances (*kreasi baru*) and dance-dramas that incorporated Western modern dance elements into choreographies whose basic movement vocabulary and musical accompaniment were rooted in Javanese tradition. At his two schools (Pusat Latihan Tari Bagong Kussidiardjo, founded in the 1960s, and Padepokan Seni, founded the mid-1970s), Bagong regularly hosted students from various other Asian countries as well as Europe, Australia, and the U.S. Thanks to his father, Djaduk experienced frequent and extensive contact with music and dance not only from Java, but also from the many other Indonesian regional traditions represented in his father's schools and from abroad.

His Kua Etnika, established in 1995 and still active in 2001, has consisted of nine or ten young male musicians, all of them Indonesian and most of them Javanese (as of August 2000, two were from Bali, one from North Sumatra). They have played on a range of instruments: *gamelan* instruments of Central and West Java, as well as Bali; drums from many parts of Indonesia (including Bali, Central and West Java, and South Sulawesi) and from other traditions (Ghana and the United States); bamboo flutes from around Indonesia, as well as Japanese *shakuhachi* (which Djaduk studied further in Japan during fall 2000, on a three-month grant from the Japan Foundation); plucked string instruments from several regions of Indonesia (Toba Batak *hasapi*, from North Sumatra; Makassarese *kacaping*, from South Sulawesi; and Kenyah *sampe'*, from East Kalimantan); many indigenous bamboo percussion instruments (referred to by ethnomusicologists as "idiophones"); and an electronic keyboard.

The local press attributed the idea for the "Dua Warna" show, combining pop music with something more traditional and regional, to producers at RCTI, even though this idea differed little from Guruh's approach two decades earlier, except in the matter of regional emphasis. Indeed, where the "ethnic" music Guruh emphasized was almost exclusively Balinese, the RCTI idea was to avoid representing one Indonesian ethnic group over others. Although Djaduk and most of his musicians are Javanese, they have striven from the beginning to de-emphasize any particular regional style. All the players are well versed in a range of Indonesian instruments and musical styles. RCTI approached Djaduk because of his well-earned reputation as a creative experimenter, someone who sought new musical patterns rather than repackaging existing regional traditional styles. The musical arrangements performed by the Western-based pop studio musicians were the work of a Chinese-Indonesian keyboardist, composer, arranger, and orchestrator, Aminoto Kosin, trained at Berklee School of Music in Boston (U.S.A.). Aminoto was unequivocal in his explanation to me in interviews in August 1998 and again in August 2000 that he had no first-hand experience with any of Indonesia's regional traditions and did not find any of them particularly appealing or interesting in and of themselves. However, he was enthusiastic about the challenge he experienced in working on a "pop-ethnic" synthesis.

In the example I referenced above—chosen somewhat randomly as "typical" of the "Dua Warna" offerings—the pop element predominates over the "ethnic." Many of the camera shots focus on the pop star, Ruth Sahanaya, with only occasional pans of the Kua Etnika musicians. Some of the shots away from the singer focus on a small chorus or "back-up group" of young, heavily made-up singers, dressed in traditional North Sumatran dress (Batak *kain ulos*), swaying

back and forth as they stand behind a pair of microphones. Ruth herself gyrates her hips, flashes her eyes back and forth, and maintains an exaggerated smile through the entire performance. The Kua Etnika musicians appear busily playing away on their array of percussion instruments, but one can scarcely hear any of these in the sound mix. Only the drumming, provided on instruments deriving from various of Indonesia's countless regional percussion traditions, is somewhat audible. But the rhythms played are those that accent and enhance the rhythms already basic to the pop song. Take away the Kua Etnika contribution to the audio track and the song would remain essentially the same. Take away Ruth Sahanaya, her back-up group, and the studio players of keyboard, bass, electric guitar, and drum trap-set, and the number would sound woefully incomplete—the aural equivalent of a frame with no picture.

According to several of the members of Kua Etnika, whom I interviewed in October 1998 and August 2000, Djaduk was not given the opportunity to innovate new musical pieces for this show. Instead Aminoto would typically work out the pop arrangement first, and only then begin to collaborate with Djaduk, the two of them taking the basic framework of the song—its rhythm, melody and form—as a starting point and experimenting with the members of Kua Etnika to find sound combinations that seemed to work. At this point, Djaduk made most of the decisions, Aminoto being reluctant to suggest substantial changes to the addition of instrumental parts whose techniques of production were quite unfamiliar to him. But the basis in pop was already firmly set. Thus, from the start, the balance was tipped heavily toward the pop musical arrangements. Kua Etnika's primary contribution to the "Dua Warna" shows was its visual impact in the final video edit, conceived by the producers to "Indonesianize" the pop music; but in my estimation, and those of a number of Indonesian musicians and performing artists with whom I discussed this, also exoticizing the pop music in a kind of self-orientalization.

The collaborations between Djaduk and Aminoto, accompanying a range of Indonesian pop singers, including many of its most famous (e.g., Chrisye, Hetty Koes Endang, Iwa K., Rama Aiphama, Nicky Astria, Gigi, to name a few) have been packaged into six 90-minute shows, each broadcast by RCTI during evening primetime. In each of these, the *pop* has clearly predominated over the *etnik*, but especially so in the musical dimension, both the musical structure and the final studio sound mix. Indigenous Indonesian instruments of fixed pitch with distinctive tunings, such as Javanese *saron* and *gendèr* with *sléndro* and *pélog* tunings, are either retuned to conform to the Western scale used by the pop musicians or they are played too softly to clash aurally with the Western diatonically-tuned pop instruments. Even the percussion playing is structured

to support the established pop rhythms, rather than deriving from any of Indonesia's well developed percussion traditions. Perhaps even more basic is the consistency with which the musical forms are those not of any indigenous Indonesian regional tradition, but rather the verse-and-refrain forms and diatonic harmonies characteristic of Western-style pop music. As in the various regional pop music genres, the *etnik* musical elements must work around the pop, merely, in Philip Yampolsky's apt description, "decorating the edges or the backgrounds"(1989:15).

In comparison to the aural dimension, the visual one came closer to an even representation. Nevertheless, the constantly moving cameras show the pop star as the main attraction, with studio musicians and back-up singers featured periodically, and Kua Etnika shown mostly at the beginning and ending and during instrumental interludes. The décor in the studio, with its traditional sculptures from different parts of Indonesia (including Papua), large plants, grass, and a seemingly endless supply of dry ice, clearly mark this off from the many other pop music studio shows (as distinct from music videos) on Indonesian television. Yet most of the Indonesian viewers, I was told by several RCTI producers, were attracted to watch the show primarily because of the featured pop stars, and only somewhat by the still novel addition of obvious indices of regional culture, such as Javanese and Balinese gamelan instruments, tambourine-like frame-drums (*rebana,* often associated with Islam), and the various styles of traditional dress worn by Kua Etnika and back-up singers (but *not* by the pop singers). The video editing and audio mixing, then, both emphasized the "pop" and marginalized the "ethnic."

One may question the nature of Kua Etnika's role in these shows—whether mere "ethnic nuance" (exotic decoration), a curious addition to something already aesthetically viable, or a step towards a meaningful new synthesis. Yet the medium of television allows for the images of traditional musical instruments and musicians to be seen in juxtaposition with "modern" pop stars, even if the traditional sounds are barely audible in the final mix. It is also the case in many (though not all) Indonesian music videos, where traditional instruments are seldom portrayed or played, that the visual content may display or even emphasize traditional costumes and traditional dance.

Though predominantly "international" or "Western" in musical style, the "Dua Warna" formula clearly draws on Indonesian regional elements to create a hybrid that is self-consciously "less Western" than most Indonesian popular music. Yet the Indonesian regional portion of this mix serves to recast what is still primarily *pop Indonesia* into the category of world music/world beat, which depends for

its identity upon "exotic"/"ethnic" musical sounds in combination with established popular musical sounds and idioms. One finds these kinds of responses in many parts of the world (certainly in most of Asia—China, Japan, Korea, Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, etc.) It would appear to be aesthetically desirable and commercially viable for Indonesia. Yet it also may be a response to the concern voiced by Indonesian intellectuals, artists, and government officials over loss of national and regional identity in the face of globalization. Within the musical world, it also would appear to be a conscious endeavor to counter the popularity of Latin American, African, and African American rhythms, which have been widely known in Indonesia since the early days of radio and recording (1920s and 1930s), and which have become not only more popular, but even more "natural" for many than are the rhythms of Indonesia's indigenous regional traditions.[8]

The music on "Dua Warna" attempts to be "Indonesian" in a new and fresh way, rather than recycling tradition. To some extent, judging by the mostly favorable comments I have heard from many Indonesians who have viewed these shows, this attempt would seem to have succeeded. However, a close analysis of the product itself, as broadcast, suggests that it is not so much a true balance that characterizes this hybrid, but more a Western-style basis, with non-Western "tinge"—catering to the sort of taste for the exoticism that drives the world music/world beat market. In a sense, then, "Dua Warna"'s fusion represents explicitly, in musical sound and video image, the ongoing struggle between global and local forms. And it not only demonstrates, but celebrates, the ascendancy of Western popular music styles and structures over the Indonesian traditions it draws on. In this way, then, it can be seen to accomplish quite the opposite of what its creators claim as its primary goal. The gamelan instruments—*bonang* (small gong chime), *gender* (metallophone), *saron* (single octave metallophone), *kempul* (set of large hanging gongs)—only decorate the melodic contours and typical pop rhythms of the songs. The drums and other non-pitched percussion instruments do little more than enhance basic pop rhythms (their persistent backbeat, emphasizing the second and fourth beats of a measure of four, as well as some predictable syncopations). The result, as Indonesians would describe it, is pop music with an "ethnic tinge" (*nuansa etnik*). The term *etnik* ("ethnic"), as mentioned in note 6, is now often used by urban Indonesians in reference to the country's own regional musical traditions, and certainly figures prominently in the discourse about this television show, suggesting the marginalized status accorded these various traditions among popular musicians, television producers, and much of the audience.

SUNDA-POP FUSION: KRAKATAU

Not all pop-ethnic fusion involves such compromise, however. The group Krakatau, which started as a jazz-fusion group in the late 1980s, made a conscious decision to emphasize one regional traditional music, the gamelan music of Sunda (West Java). The group leader, Dwiki Dharmawan, invited five accomplished Sundanese gamelan musicians to join Krakatau. And rather than have them retune their instruments to the Western scale, he found a way to program his electronic keyboard to play Sundanese scales (three of them), and the bass player switched to a fretless bass to enable him to play these scales. The music they make may sometimes still have a fusion jazz feel, but the tonal material is Sundanese. This group has also made appearances on television, though not as the only featured group for a full 90 minutes. It is unclear how well received they are in cultural areas outside of West Java, but in the past 20 years the music of this one region has, unlike those of any other Indonesian region, found a receptive audience in various parts of the country, due primarily to its infectious drum rhythms and also to the haunting and enticing sound of Sundanese female singers. In Krakatau's pieces such as "Impen-impenan" and "Barala Duit" (both from their album *Magical Match*, released in 2000), one can hear a fairly even blend between indigenous (here Sundanese) and Western pop (here jazz fusion and rap). The musicians are proud of this mixture and are committed to it, even though they know they would earn more from recordings sales and live performances if they played pop or jazz without the traditional component. Although Krakatau has apparently not yet produced a music video for television broadcast to promote their album, they have a promotional VHS video and have appeared live (or recorded) on television, where their juxtaposition of Sundanese and Western pop instruments is constantly apparent to the viewers.

CAMPUR SARI

Another realm of musical fusion between Western-style pop and indigenous music involves not so much the Indonesianizing of pop as the pop-izing of one regional style of music—that of the Javanese gamelan. The genre known as *campur sari* (literally "mixed essences") combines a small number of Javanese gamelan instruments with electronic keyboard, bass, guitar (or ukulele) and drum set. The repertory consists of extant popular pieces (in Javanese and Indonesian languages), new and standard *langgam* (Javanese songs formerly accompanied by a small ensemble of mostly plucked strings—guitar, ukulele, plucked cello or bass—or in some cases by Javanese *gamelan pélog*) and light classical pieces, along with some newly composed ones. Though some ensembles

do not bother to adjust the tunings so that the Javanese and Western instruments correspond, the more famous and popular groups, such as those of Manthou's and Didi Kempot, retune their gamelan instruments to Western tuning. This might seem a strange solution for a mixed ensemble that plays not Western or Western-style songs, but mostly Javanese songs. Yet the practitioners of *campur sari* have not experimented with micro-tuning their keyboards or with fretless string instruments. Instead, they alter the Javanese songs by playing them with standard Western intervals, thereby forcing the singer(s) to do the same, even though the words, melodic contours, and vocal style remain distinctly Javanese.

This genre has gained a vast audience through cassette and VCD sales (many of them pirated). In September 2001, I encountered more than twenty titles, mostly by Didi Kempot and Manthou's, at adjacent VCD street stalls in Jakarta (Blok M). *Campur sari* groups also appear on television. For example, a show broadcast in Indosiar's *Kesenian Tradisional* ("traditional arts") slot on Friday nights in January 1998 featured *campur sari* musicians accompanying a humorous spoof of traditional Javanese dance drama (*wayang orang*) in a story loosely based on the Mahabharata, entitled "Gathutkaca Edan" (lit. "crazy Gathutkaca"). The camera focuses mostly on the action of the dancer-actors, but pans to the musicians between scenes, enabling viewing audiences to see the Javanese drums, metallophones, and singer juxtaposed with electronic keyboard, electric bass and electric guitar—all players dressed in traditional Javanese batik skirts (*kain*), jackets (*surjan*), and headclothes (*iket kepala*).

While it would be stretching it to argue for the primacy of television in shaping this genre, it has clearly attracted television producers' interests precisely because it is not just the usual traditional ensemble. Though now too widespread to be considered a novelty, it remains a popular new genre, holding greater interest for television viewers, at least among the Javanese (who make up nearly half the population), than would standard Javanese gamelan music. Moreover, beginning in the late 1990s, a large number of *campur sari* collections have been released as VCDs, with text displayed for karaoke singing. These have tended to feature the singers (such as Manthous, Didi Kempot, Suhnyani, and others) wearing traditional Javanese dress in assorted rural or seemingly "traditional" settings. The video tracks usually exclude the other musicians, and hence rely on the aural dimension of the East-West mix that is *campur sari*'s defining feature, but on television the performers are routinely shown playing their hybrid ensemble of instruments, reinforcing the sense of cultural juxtaposition.

EMHA AINUN NADJIB AND KIAI KANJENG—ISLAMIC FUSION

One additional type of fusion stresses an Islamic feel (through use of Arabic language, singing style, and frame drums). Indonesia's well-known Islamic spiritual leader, poet, playwright, essayist, and now singer and music director Emha Ainun Nadjib has appeared on television (especially during Ramadhan, Islamic fasting month) and has released several VCDs with his group Gamelan Kiai Kanjeng, performing a remarkable hybrid of Javanese gamelan, Western-style pop, Javanese and Middle Eastern-derived singing, and sometimes even Chinese instrumental music. In his "Kenduri Shollatullah" (on his VCD *Perahu Nuh*, lasting more than 12 minutes), a long instrumental introduction wanders episodically between many Indonesian regional musical styles, but with electronic keyboard and electric bass prominent throughout. The vocals section begins with Emha himself singing in Arabic language, with Middle Eastern melodic style, followed by a female singer in similar style. The next singer, however, uses the vocal style of Javanese *langgam*, and the sound of the singing, as well as the instrumental accompaniment, is very clearly *campur sari*. After this strongly Javanese section, the music presents a highly unusual combination of Arabic and Chinese features. The scale changes from an equal-tempered version of *pelog* (hemitonic pentatonic: C E F G B c) in the *campur sari* section, to a Chinese pentatonic scale (anhemitonic pentatonic: C D E G A c). A Chinese plucked string instrument (*yueqin*) is featured, although the instrumentalist is clearly not ethnic Chinese. The visual component, afforded by television broadcast and marketing on VCD, enhances the Islamic feel by showing people in prayerful gestures and wearing what Indonesians call busana Muslim (lit. "Islamic dress") and also a group of male dancers in hybrid outfits (fez hats, white shirts and vests, short black pants, and batik skirts) that are immediately recognizable by Javanese for their association with village Islamic genres of dance and singing.

CONCLUSION

Television and VCDs, both primarily visual media, have become major means by which the public in Indonesia and most of the world now experience music. In most cases this does not represent a mere return to presentation of the visual element of performance. Instead it usually represents a creative music video vignette (narrative, abstract, suggestive, seeming to enact the song lyrics, seeming to obscure them). Music videos usually show the musicians performing, but almost always in odd circumstances, with edit cuts and costume and locale changes that obliterate any sense of a live performance. Indeed, since the early

days of MTV (founded in 1981), live performances on television have been seen as old-fashioned, documentary, and, for many younger viewers, mostly dull. Not that live performances themselves have been made obsolete; these remain exciting experiences due to the audience members' participation in a group event (some would say ritual), with volume levels often set high enough to physically move the body. Video could not hope to reproduce the experience of live performance and, therefore, largely has moved in other directions. In Indonesia, where music videos have an enormous presence on all stations, not just MTV, live music shows are also still fairly frequent. And the ones that present the big stars are popular; Gebyar BCA, a Saturday night musical variety show, broadcast live on Indosiar, has been one of the highest rated of all kinds of shows. But the intersecting worlds of Indonesian videography (television and VCDs) and Indonesian music (in all its regional and pop varieties) have yet to produce music video clips of the ethno-pop fusion I have been discussing here. Instead, the viewer is always shown the musicians actually performing the music live or mimicking live performance (lipsynching) to a prerecorded audio tape. It would seem, then, that in the combination of indigenous musical features with Western-style Indonesian pop in "ethno-pop fusion," the visual juxtaposition is an essential element in the overall aesthetic appeal. The viewer, it is presumed, wants to see the instruments, wants to see the musicians working from two different (and incompatible?) systems—as it were, defying the enormous gulf between them.

We should not be surprised to learn of visual elements being important in what is thought to be primarily a "musical" presentation. It has only been the media of radio and sound recording that have enabled musical audiences to perceive the musical sound product without seeing the circumstances of its production. The performance of many kinds of music is constrained by particular codes of expectation that govern many visual aspects of music, from the dress and body movements of the musicians and of the audience, to the physical décor of the stage or performance setting and even the musical instruments themselves. Yet television and video presentations of the well established genres, whether indigenous/traditional or any of the varieties of pop (Indonesian and foreign), do not seem to require visual representation of the musical act itself. These are well enough known, not especially interesting to watch as mediated rather than live. But for ethno-pop fusion the situation is different—audiences want to see that it really is a Javanese *saron* or a Minangkabau *saluang* being played along with the standard instruments of the global now—electric guitars, keyboard, and drum set.

Do viewers not quite want to be tricked? Must they see the music being made in order to believe it really is mixing Western and indigenous instruments (or some

more complicated combination)? Ward Keeler (1987) argued that the reason Javanese watch shadow puppetry mostly from the puppeteer's side of the screen, rather than the shadow side, is that they want to see the source, to see that it is really a human being doing all that puppet movement, signaling his musicians by knocking on the wooden puppet chest, singing and speaking the array of character voices into the ever-present microphone wrapped around his neck. They are willing to forego all the clever shadow effects they could see from the shadow side in order to view the agent who produces them. In a similar fashion, ethno-pop fusion musicians and their instruments are fascinating in themselves, maybe more interesting than the sound of the music, which, as I have argued, can be almost indistinguishable from pop music in some instances. In the forms that are now gaining popularity, it is as if the incompatibility is resolved and must be seen and heard.

Considering the question posed in the title of this article in light of the diversity of cases described, no simple answer emerges. All of these hybrid forms engage issues of indigenous identity (Indonesian and regional/local) and of popularity. Yet if Krakatau creates music that is popular and does so by using Sundanese instruments and sound structures, is it popularizing a type of indigenous music? The result is ambiguous, for at the same time that it emphasizes elements of Sundanese tradition, it also can be seen to devalue them by insisting that they combine with Western-derived pop and jazz elements. If we understand "tradition" to involve not just "elements" but complex and culturally-sanctioned ways of combining these elements, then the music of Krakatau could hardly be taken as a popularization of tradition. Granted, Krakatau offers a more even balance than the "Dua Warna" show. Yet in both cases, and in the works of Guruh Soekarno Putra from previous decades, indigenous elements are showcased for effect, as indigenous tradition is shown to be insufficient, unable to stand on its own. The case of "Dua Warna" is indeed more problematic still, because of the apparent effort to avoid emphasis on one particular regional music of Indonesia. Djaduk's group provides a variety of sounds and visual shots that many can identify as indigenous (Indonesian), but which are, yet again, unable to stand on their own.[9] And yet the pop songs presented on "Dua Warna" would seem to be "more Indonesian" with the addition of Kua Etnika than without it. In this sense, then, it would seem that these kinds of ethno-pop fusion experiments can appropriately be seen as indigenizing the popular, even if the methods of indigenization are rather calculated and, at least for "Dua Warna," ephemeral.

With regard to *campur sari*, I have heard a number of younger Javanese musicians claim that it is helping to preserve Javanese gamelan tradition by

incorporating Javanese instruments and singing styles in a genre that is modern and popular. As they see it, vast numbers of Javanese, particularly younger ones, enjoy and consume this music (live and through the media) who would otherwise be listening to Western pop or its Indonesian imitations. Better a compromised Javanese music than none at all, perhaps? My older teachers and acquaintances offered just the opposite interpretation—that *campur sari* is as great a threat to the gamelan tradition they know as is Western-style pop music, for *campur sari* emphasizes a pop, commercial ethos and takes the place of more traditional gamelan playing (of much higher artistic value, they would say)[10] in village and family rituals, not to mention in the regional cassette industry. Thus, in the opinion of these knowledgeable and concerned individuals, *campur sari* does popularize some aspects of the indigenous, but at the same time severely compromises the indigenous tradition on which it draws. While it may sustain a certain repertory of light pieces, an appreciation for a distinctly Javanese vocal style, and an acceptance of Javanese gamelan instrumentation and timbre, it transforms and quite literally replaces other indigenous practices—rather than popularizing them. Still, compared to the music of Guruh, the Dua Warna show, Emha's Kiai Kanjeng, and even Krakatau, this music projects a strongly indigenous identity and in that sense can unequivocably be said to "popularize the indigenous" more thoroughly than the other musical hybrids discussed.

Emha's Kiai Kanjeng, in more innovative and various ways than *campur sari*, seems largely constructed to popularize the indigenous, as it combines various indigenous practices (whole ensembles, pieces, and performance idioms, rather than isolated "elements"). His primary intent, however, is the promotion of Islam, rather than of any particular music (or dance) traditions *per se*.

Rather than focus on one region or genre, he draws eclectically on various indigenous musics, often Javanese (including *campur sari*), but also from other Indonesian regions (South Sulawesi, Banyuwangi, etc.) and even Indonesia's Chinese. In some ways, his approach and the resulting musical sound can resemble that of Djaduk's Kua Etnika (not surprising, since they formerly worked together, before Djaduk split off and formed his own group in the mid-1990s), but Emha legitimizes and popularizes under the banner of Islam and infuses his music with musical indices of Islam (Middle Eastern and Indonesian). Djaduk, from a Catholic family, does not. Perhaps more than any of the other hybrid creators, even the great creator of hybrid spectacles Guruh Soekarno Putra, Emha seems to thrive on a density of multiple genres, styles, even languages (one hears Arabic, Indonesian, Javanese, and other regional languages in his music).

Finally, I have tried to stress the importance of the representation and dissemination of these various hybrid musics through the visual mass media of television and VCD. For some these media have played an important role. Dua Warna, after all, was a series of television shows, not audio cassette or CD (and not formally a "genre" as such). For others, aural media (radio and audio cassettes) have been arguably at least as important as visual media, but in all cases the visual impact of Indonesian musicians playing indigenous and Western instruments together has contributed widely to the fascination and appeal these musics have generated. To whatever extent Western-style *pop Indonesia* is being indigenized or indigenous music and musical elements are being popularized (being made *pop*), the fusion is on full display for all to wonder at; and it is television and now VCDs that make this possible beyond the appearances by these groups in live performance.

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NOTES

[1] In a survey of television viewing preferences in the late 1980s, just before the introduction of private television, only world news (*Dunia Dalam Berita*) and a film show (*Film Akhir Pekan*) rated higher than pop music shows (*Aneka Ria Safari* and others), as reported by Ishadi SK (1999:102).

[2]As a student of traditional musical forms in Java and South Sulawesi, I frequently heard invective against the dominance of Western pop music forms from my teachers and complaints that the powerful medium of television should dedicate much more airtime to traditional forms. At the 1999 annual conference of the Indonesian Performing Arts Society (Masyarakat Seni Pertunjukan Indonesia, Karangasem, Bali), a heated debate on this topic occupied much of the question and answer period following a presentation by Ishadi SK, media scholar and former Director General of Radio, Television and Film. The many performing artist-scholars present were unwilling to accept Ishadi's explanation of the market-driven reasons for what he readily acknowledged as the very limited airtime devoted to traditional arts. Indonesian audiences have mostly preferred other kinds of programming, particularly in the era of choice between a variety of TV stations, the national station TVRI and a growing number of private stations (see further Kitley 2000:91-99). Scholars advocating for better representation of traditional arts on television have not only argued for more broadcast time, but for more sensitive production than has been the norm (see Soemanto 1997, Sapada 1997:59-64, and even the early Indonesian TV critic identified as "M. L. W." cited in Kitley 2000:43).

[3] The national television station, with its regional branch stations, has been best equipped to broadcast regional arts, both locally and nationally, and has done so, but with greater emphasis on regional drama and regional pop music than on traditional music. The private stations have mostly avoided regionally-based traditional arts, with the notable exception of Indosiar, which has broadcast some form of "traditional drama" (usually Javanese), on Friday nights after prime time, and puppetry (usually Javanese, sometimes Sundanese), from late Saturday night until dawn Sunday.

[4] Inevitably, some Indonesian language finds its way into more and more of Indonesia's traditional verbal performing arts, such as Javanese *kethoprak*, but the primary language remains the local language.

[5] The explosion of VCDs begs further research. An enormous variety of cheap, pirated discs are now widely available. In September 2001 in Jakarta, I found street vendors offering VCDs of music and movies at a price of only Rp. 5,000 (about US$ 0.60), sold in little paper envelopes, thereby not even incurring the cost of a hard plastic CD case. This price substantially undercuts the cost of a domestic audio cassette as sold in stores (usually Rp. 11,000 or more) and is cheaper than even some pirated audio cassettes one finds sold by street vendors. Electronics stores offered VCD players as cheap as Rp. 500,000 (about US$60) new; second-hand and black-market prices are no doubt considerably cheaper. I have seen relatively little even in the public press about the production and consumption of VCDs in Indonesia, despite their ubiquitous presence in stores and street stalls. Most of the 35 music VCDs I have seen were produced for karaoke, with song texts printed across the bottom of the screen to enable the amateur consumer to sing along. How widely these are used by families or businesses for karaoke singing I cannot report, though I know Indonesian families who use VCDs for private karaoke singing in their homes.

[6] The term *etnik* (also *etnika*) is often used in contemporary Indonesia, particularly by the popular press and literati, to refer to a variety of non-Western cultural practises, from music to clothing. In the discourse on Indonesia's music it may refer to African, Indian, Aboriginal Australian, Native American, and other sorts of music from outside

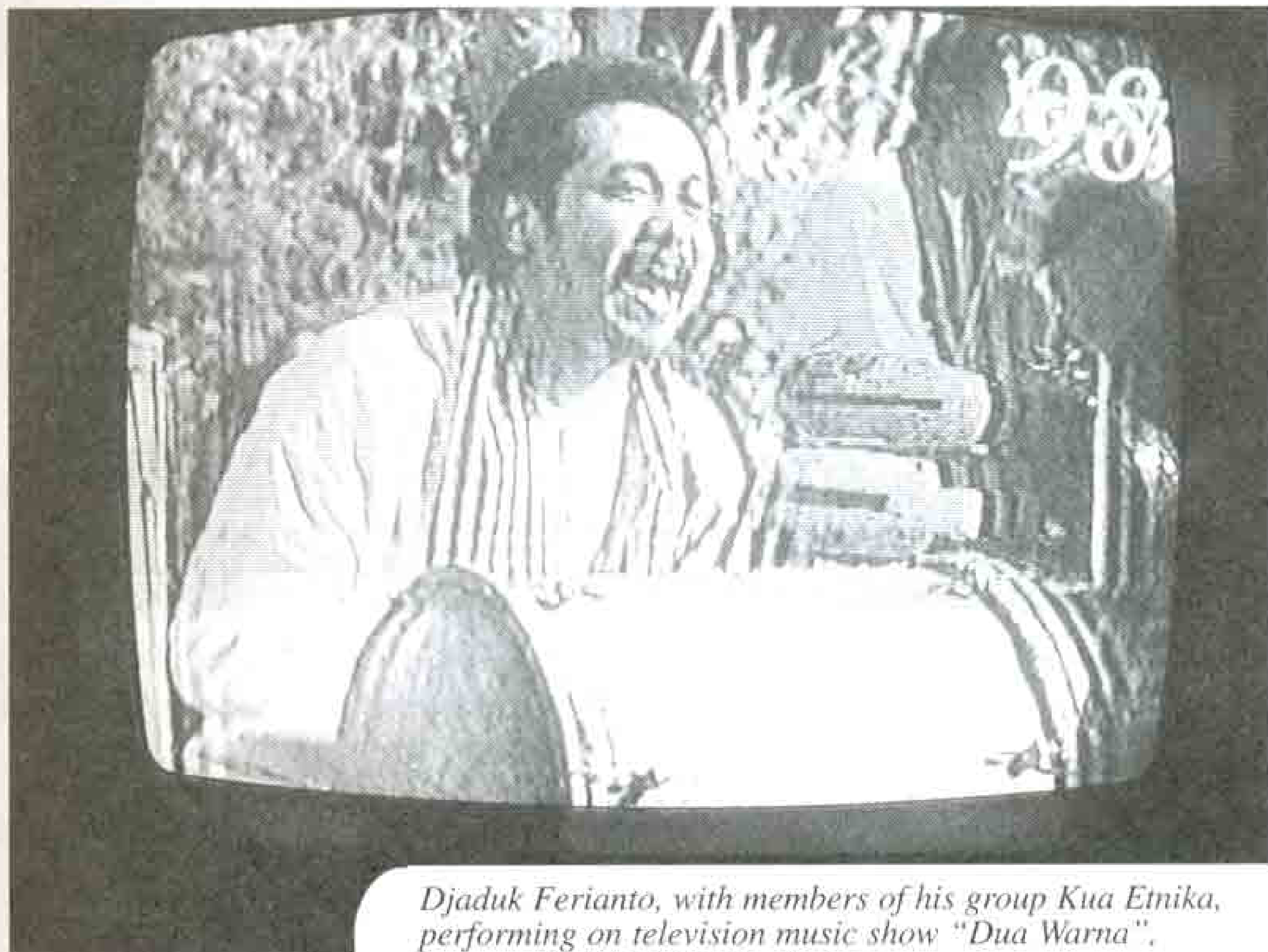
Indonesia, but it is also used now to refer to Indonesia's regional traditions. As I have pointed out else where (Sutton forthcoming), it avoids the dichotomy between "traditional" and "modern," even though it suggests others no less insidious. Within the music industry, it may be understood as synonymous with the English phrase "world music," but it tends to imply a less commercial and less fusion-oriented range of musical genres than does "world music" (or "world beat"). Indonesians also use the *musik tradisi* ("traditional music") and *musik daerah* ("regional music").

[7]For example, the announcer (*pemandu acara*) for the fusion show "Dua Warna" on RCTI television, made references on the episodes I saw (from August 1996 and January 1998) to the combinations featured on the shows as efforts at preserving ("melestarikan") traditional music. This perspective echoed the remarks of producers and others involved behind the scenes (Dradjat Usdianto, Jay Soebiakto, and Duto Sulistiadi). Rhetoric surrounding "traditional" culture, especially the performing arts, has trumpeted the cause of "preservation" over the last three decades and has, thus, permeated local thinking about Indonesia's music, dance, and theater. Preservation is widely accepted as a positive act, and thus may be claimed in a bid for legitimacy or approval, even in cases in which only certain aspects are being "preserved" and others changed.

[8]As I note in a forthcoming article on Indonesian music television, the pop singer Chrisye, in an interview included in the January 2, 1998 broadcast of "Dua Warna," described the Indonesian apparent distaste for local elements, particularly rhythms, in their popular music as a kind of "allergy" (Sutton, forthcoming).

[9]In other performances and recordings, Djaduk's Kua Etnika plays non-pop hybrid percussion music—an interesting ongoing experiment, deserving of scholarly inquiry. An initial effort in this regard is the M.A. thesis just completed by Raharja (2001), one of the original members of Kua Etnika.

[10] The term often applied by older gamelan musicians and by the more conservative younger ones is *adiluhung* (Javanese for "exalted"; "noble"). On Javanese notions of high art and *adiluhung*, see especially Florida (1987) and Sumarsam (1995:113-130).



Djaduk Ferianto, with members of his group Kua Etnika, performing on television music show "Dua Warna", January 2, 1998, RCTI television.