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4th International Symposium of the Journal ANTROPOLOGI INDONESIA:
Indonesia in the Changing Global Context: Building Cooperation and Partnership?
July 12 – 15, 2005, University of Indonesia, Depok, Jawa Barat

Conference Panel Theme:
*Cosmopatriots: Globalisation, Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism in Indonesia
and Comparative Asian Perspective*

Conference Paper:
~ Musical Worlds in Jogjakarta: Contexts, Genres, Identities ~

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Submitted June 15, 2005



**Breakdown of Conference Paper, based on Chapter One and
Preliminary Conclusions of Wider Study**

DE-POLARIZING PERCEPTIONS OF INDONESIA

Hotbed of Conflict, Exemplar of Tolerance

Cultural Abundance, Cultural Emaciation

SENSORIAL ETHNOGRAPHY AND MUSICAL WORLDS

Musicology, Ethnomusicology, Popular Culture

Ethnography, the Senses, Musical Worlds

Music in Social Conflict *and* Integration

JOGJAKARTA

'Santai aja', 'Kampanye'

Musical Worlds: Contexts, Genres, Identities

TABLE

Chapter Breakdown by Cultural Space, Social Relations, Concepts, and Musical Genres.

1	<i>Cultural Space(s)</i>	<i>Identity Theme(s)</i>	<i>Bordieusian and related concepts</i>	<i>Predominant Musical Genres</i>
2	Street / Lane	Class	Social Capital	<i>Campursari, Dangdut, Folk-rock/Jalanan</i>
3	Commercial venues	Gender (and Class/Intl)	Habitus	Pop/Rock, Folk <i>Dangdut</i>
	Neighbourhoods	Gender (and Generational)		<i>Dangdut Campursari</i>
4	State Institutions	Nationalist and Cosmopolitan	(Bureaucratic) Field; Cosmopolitanism	Pop/Rock Epic-theatre <i>Jalanan</i>
5	Sultan's Palace	Religious and Ethnic	Culture	<i>Campursari Etnik Jalanan</i>



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Introduction

In this paper I propose a formulation of socio-musical identities in Jogjakarta. I draw on the activities of particular groups and individuals to demonstrate how musical transmutabilities (*perubahan musik*) are bound up with constantly shifting identity themes and social relations. A focus on music, I argue, can contribute toward dispelling dichotomous perceptions of contemporary social relations and culture in Indonesia. The ‘cosmopatriotism’ panel theme, of which this paper is a contributor, provides an important avenue for addressing such perceptions. My current study, of which I am approaching completion and on which the present paper gives an overview, aims to articulate cosmopatriot and similar conceptualizations by attending to musical phenomena and identity themes at various social settings in Jogjakarta, particularly those around and outwards from the downtown Malioboro Street. Most of the musical performances that I analyse were on or close to public space and open (at least aurally) to the general public, and can therefore be expected to bring out relatively candid cases of both accommodative *and* conflictual actions among and between groups. General news media and much academic analysis lays great stress on violence in Indonesia, which in a sense is reason enough to highlight the socially positive aspects of music in Indonesia. However, the complex and occasionally violent nature of daily life there, I argue, demands a simultaneous engagement with conflict and contestation.¹ I have three aims in this written paper: to set the context for the study by discussing particular

¹ Downplaying or ignoring the presence of violent episodes risks doing a disservice to the victims of violence and related crimes. At the same time, my focus on ‘more’ and ‘less’ violence is not intended as ‘advice’ on how to improve social relations in Jogjakarta, and the dangers of contributing to inflated notions of the extent of violence in Indonesia remain high.



dichotomous perceptions of Indonesia; to outline the rationale for focusing ethnographically on sound and music; and to present an overview of the case study of Jogjakarta.

1. De-polarizing Indonesia

Indonesia is often perceived of and portrayed as either violent or tolerant, and as culturally rich or lacking.² To address these in turn, violence and tranquillity are especially pronounced in news media and travel/tourism respectively. International media, and in many cases academic analysis, often represents Indonesia as a hotbed of political and ethnic conflict.³ On the other hand, through the lens of travel and tourism we generally find a more idyllic world, one in which representations in glossy brochures, despite obvious commercial agendas, often find considerable support in first-hand experiences of friendliness and apparent calm. In this sense representations of Indonesia as either conflict-ridden or as exemplar of tolerance vie for dominance in the popular imagination outside Indonesia, with news media and tourism virtually uncontested by Indonesia's under-represented popular culture products.

The seemingly opposed positions of news media and tourism reflect differing tenors, motivations and agendas, but they also share a common history involving missionaries, traders, ethnologists and others. Boon traces the case of Bali in great depth, noting 'a long history of formulations by outsiders that schematized Indonesian peoples, obscured their complexities, and made them appear both alluring and repelling' (1990: 3). Indonesianist scholars still tend to depict Indonesia as either predominantly violent or peaceful, even if largely for political reasons.⁴ The detrimental influence of foreigners on perceptions of Indonesia should not be understated, but any contention that these polarized depictions are wholly foreigner-derived is problematic.⁵ For example, domestic media in recent years have been flooded with stories of crime and violence (while, paradoxically, some crimes are not reported), yet locally there remains the fairly prominent view that Indonesians have retained a sympathy for the poor that has been lost in the west.

² While the Schapelle Corby case has recently given rise to intensely debated cross-national perceptions between Indonesia and Australia, these perceptions obviously have longer histories. See as examples Kitley et al (1989), Broinowski (1992) and Gerster (1995). Perceptions of Indonesia in my social circles are broadly derived from news media, travel experiences and educational outcomes.

³ Many commentators, it seems clear, are slow to acknowledge the major developments that have taken place in Indonesia's political, mass media and other structures over recent years.

⁴ This is to an extent discipline-based, with political scientists tending to focus on violence, and anthropologists seeking out its life-affirming opposite. The 'Indonesia Today: Anthropology and the Politics of Culturalism' panel at this Conference seems set to discuss this and related issues.

⁵ The need to engage in dialogical anthropology through means such as these is outlined concisely by Werbner (2005).



A critical engagement with the concept of culture can provide valuable insights into social conditions and their causes. Here I define 'culture' as 'art, as way of life and as power'.⁶ Indonesia is in various guises often seen as an enormous storehouse of ancient 'mini-cultures' comprising hundreds of ethnic groups and a vast array of indigenous languages and art forms. Alternatively, given its location as a meeting point between trade winds, others argue that the archipelago's populations are amongst the most culturally porous in world history. Again, dichotomous perceptions in relation to culture in Indonesia are not the sole preserve of foreigners. For example, it is not unusual to hear a local Indonesian lament the '*fotokopi*' quality of artistic output in Indonesia, particularly in relation to modern art or popular music,⁷ yet one also occasionally hears, for example, that 'Australian's don't yet have a culture', and a major international survey in 2003 suggested that many Indonesians were unusually proud of their culture.⁸

Reference to trends in anthropology helps us to move some way toward connecting perceptions of Indonesian society as violent/non-violent and as culturally rich/poor. Moore (1997) conceptualizes anthropological theory from the 1930s to 1990s as shifting from 'evolutionary, adaptationist and materialist theories' to those concerned with 'structures, symbols and meanings'. In recent decades, we can add, there has been a growing emphasis on cultural globalization and power.⁹ While cognisance of cultural globalization processes is a

⁶ This accords roughly with Taylor and Turton's overview of the culture concept: '[(1)] elite conceptions of culture as the superior values in society[ie, Art; (2)] holistic or pluralistic views of culture as, respectively, a whole shared way of life, or a more or less balanced co-existence of distinct value systems and codes of social behaviour; and [(3)] hegemonic culture[,] in which [...] there is a sustained, persuasive effort [by dominant classes and groups] to assert their political and moral legitimacy and acceptability [ie, power]' (1988: 177). I diverge from this position to the extent that Taylor and Turton purport that culture should be understood solely in terms of power.

⁷ Wallach (2002) discusses 'xenocentrism' as a way to understand the self-deprecation among some Indonesians in relation to their popular culture.

⁸ The BBC hosted a large international television survey on perceptions of the USA, involving 11 countries and 11,000 participants. One question was: 'Do you think your country is more cultured than America?', with the guideline that "Cultured" should be taken to mean showing or having good taste, manners, upbringing and education'. The highest proportion that agreed that their citizens were more cultured than Americans was the Indonesian respondents (82%).

(<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/programmes/wtwt/poll/html/cultural/consumer.stm> , cited March 2005)

⁹It is possible to propose a four-pronged schematic of predominant perceptions of cultural globalization and its effects:

-The optimistic homogenist:

'A globalizing world is bringing the rest up to the standards of the west'

-The pessimistic homogenist:

'Diversity is dying; the McDonaldization of the world'

-The optimistic heterogenist:

'Look at the wonderfully innovative uses of modern technology in traditional settings'

-The pessimistic heterogenist:

'Today's world is characterized by fragmentation and fundamentalist backlashes'

This formulation begins to bring together the seemingly separate sets of perceptions relating to culture and social conditions. For example, the arrogance of the optimistic homogenist sees globalization as westernization, and in turn sees such cultural influences as ultimately beneficial to social relations. The pessimistic homogenist, taken to its extreme, sees in the same phenomena severe loss of cultural diversity through cultural imperialism. Heterogenists recognize increased cultural diversity in today's world, but are at odds over perceived consequences: the optimist



necessary contextual factor for research into any contemporary phenomenon, in my current study I draw more centrally on critiques of anthropology's extended engagement with 'the text' and with literary conventions more generally. This is taken up in the next section.

2. Sensorial Ethnography and Musical Worlds

Musical and other sonic phenomena offer an exciting approach to understanding social relations, one based on what may be called sensorial ethnography.¹⁰ Here I present a brief overview of musical studies and then lead into considerations of ethnography, the senses, and musical worlds.

Musicology is a highly specialized discipline which historically has analysed society principally through 'great works' and their composers, generally at the expense of attention to musical 'practices' in society.¹¹ Ethnomusicology on the other hand studies the lived experiences of 'oral cultures', but has been prone to essentialise peoples according to 'cultural elements' found in their music (eg, Heywood, 1956; Nettl, 1956). More recent attempts to transcend such essentialising mirror many of the dilemmas characterising contemporary anthropology (See for example, Titon et al, 1992), as attested to by a number of *gamelan* and *wayang* studies (See for example Sumarsam, 1995). The notion of 'popular culture' helps to address concerns such as these, particularly by incorporating globalising technological and related changes into studies of societies too-often deemed 'outside the modern world'. On the other hand, while popular culture studies generally seek on-the-ground agency from the outputs of mass-scale entertainment industries, like musicological studies they tend to end up privileging 'great artists and their works', even if couched in consciously non-elitist terms.¹² In this sense Kahn's 'level of the 'popular'' (2003: 409) to refer to localized, everyday social relations is a useful phrase. This leads us into the ethnographic method.

senses a wondrous flowering of new, yet traditionally-grounded manifestations, while the pessimist connects increases in cultural traffic with loss of identity and, in turn, increased inter-ethnic conflict. This schematic builds on Featherstone and Lash (1995).

10 For a seminal collection of essays in sensorial anthropology, see Howes (1991). Sensorial ethnography can be seen as a sub-strand of sensorial anthropology, with the latter drawing more broadly on historical and cross-cultural data.

11 A search through the 'Current Musicology' journal suggests that individual composers still receive great emphasis.

12 Other problems with 'popular culture' include the following: Middleton (1990) points out that classical music on CD such as that by Mozart is squarely tied in to high technology and commodification. Conversely, a few people 'jamming' on a Bruce Springsteen song on guitars at a party are reversing the technologically-distancing process by re-applying 'commodified' music in a 'folk' situation. Additionally, while classical music is often taken as everything that popular music is not, Walser (1993) among others points out connections between heavy metal and European classical traditions. Similar arguments may be made for 'traditional', 'ethnic' and indigenous musics in Indonesia and elsewhere; while the preservation of such musics is a laudable aim in order to stem cultural imperialism, in practice the players variously draw on, &/or their products are reproduced on various sources.



For all the crises surrounding fieldwork-based research, it remains the anthropologist's principal stock-in-trade.¹³ Small alludes to the importance of ethnographic attention to music when he states that 'music is not a thing [ie, text] at all but an activity, something that people do' (1998: 2).¹⁴ Regarding the senses, Erlmann notes how 'anthropologists have [not] given short shrift to the body and sensory perception[, b]ut few ... have actually approached the senses as more than just another "text" to be read' (2004: 2). This suggests that cultivating alertness through the senses opens many avenues of enquiry that the metaphorical emphasis on 'text' forecloses. This does not require merely replacing vision for hearing, but rather aims to foster a 'democracy of the senses' (Berendt, quoted in Bull and Back, 2004: 2). Such attention potentially expands the researcher's awareness of context and, in the case of music, 'soundscapes',¹⁵ and broadens the scope for understanding how others sense and understand the world.

In turn, the notion of 'musical worlds' expands our understanding of socio-musical context beyond purely sonic considerations and any notion of complete and isolable musical pieces.¹⁶ It calls attention to the vast numbers of musical events that occur, with the case of Jogjakarta being an excellent example. 'Musical worlds' also highlight the extra-musical organizational work involved in generating and sustaining these events. Additionally, the notion provides a perspective from which to consider inter-connections between, on the one hand, a wide array of musical forms and practices, and on the other how participants merge, interact and/or conflict. The 'worlds' concept is also arguably less problematic than that of 'culture', in that people move between worlds rather than being 'of' one or another culture. Finally, Adorno employs the term 'culture worlds' to highlight how administration is inextricably tied into the arts (1991 [1978]: 107). Along with the concepts of Bourdieu, this prevents issues of structure and power from being sidelined. With this outline of sensorial ethnography of musical worlds in mind, we can now return to relationships between musical events and the conflictual and integrative tendencies in social relations.

All social contexts and musical contents affect and are affected by social divisions, although opinions vary over the extent and nature of such affects. In popular perception, music is

13 Here I refer in particular to epistemological and political crises of representation, as discussed in *Writing Culture* (Clifford and Marcus, 1986) and elsewhere.

14 This also reflects shifts from 'culture as text' to 'culture as performance', as highlighted by Herzfeld (e.g., 1985) and others.

15 'Soundscapes' were formulated by Murray Shafer (1977). For a discussion of soundscapes in Indonesia, see Nakagawa (2000)

16 I draw the notion of 'musical worlds' from Ruth Finnegan (1989), who in turn derived her formulation from Howard Becker's 'Art Worlds' (1982).



generally seen as relatively benign compared to political and economic activities, or if anything as a unifying force. In the social sciences, Stokes argues, music is still widely considered to be outside 'real life' (1994: 1). One response to this he suggests has been to overstate the significance of music, as in Levi-Strauss's claim that a structuralist analysis of a tribe's music reveals the essence of their mythic thinking (*ibid*, 1-2). The response of which Stokes is representative, I argue, is to highlight the role of music in conflict and contestation.¹⁷ This is a matter which I seek to redress.

The acknowledgement of tension and conflict in musical arenas is necessary in order to dispel its more romanticized understandings. Indeed, connections between music and social conflict can be very straightforward, as in the ways war party songs glorify and even invoke violence (Nettl: 1956: 9). However, relatively few studies of music and social relations both acknowledge contestation but also go on to examine the bridging of various social divisions.¹⁸ Some relatively recent examples that I have noticed in the case of Indonesia include 'Poco-Poco', a song and dance from Eastern Indonesia that enjoyed great popularity in Java, and *lagu pop* such as 'Bruce Lee' by Jun Fan Gung Foo. These were widely embraced at the level-of-the-popular, which helped to transcend inter-ethnic tensions, these being Java/non-Java and Indonesian/ethnic-Chinese respectively.¹⁹ The study on which this paper is based explores the bridging and otherwise of social divisions through musical events as they occur on the ground.

17 From home CD collections to collective dances, Stokes argues, 'music is socially meaningful ... largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them' (*ibid*, 5). This function of music often manifests in violent ways. In Northern Ireland for example, the pounding drums of Protestant Orangeman parades demand that the surrounding public either march in time or give over the space to them; at the same time, the 'idyllic' world of 'Catholic' session music can entail the violent expulsion of 'non-Irish' guitar players (*ibid*, 8-10). As another example, Stokes cites the horon dance in Turkey, where local claims that the dance promotes peace and unity contrast sharply with his field experiences of the violence and bloodshed that erupt when normally separated people are brought into intense and even explosive proximity (*ibid*, 10).

18 Some scholars who do so are as follows: Victor Turner (while not particularly cognizant of cross-cultural influences) in a Durkheimian vein argues that ritual (in particular theatre) brings social tensions to the fore, yet in doing plays a central role in maintaining social order (e.g., 1982). More specifically, Eyerman and Jamison identify inter-generational conflicts in the social movements of 1960s USA, but also contend that music (and, paradoxically, its commercialisation) linked 'rebellious working-class rockers [and] disaffected suburban middle-class youth' (1998: 110). Martin contends that the rave phenomenon is anti-establishment, but promotes egalitarian values among the participants because rave hierarchies are determined more by degree of involvement than signs of affluence, gender, race or ethnicity (1999). Moulin (1996) suggests that in the Pacific context globalisation has increased quests for distinctiveness, but concludes that music can facilitate greater equality between local and global interests. Epstein (2000) asserts that punk music in Korea expresses inter-generational conflict but also to an extent resolves tensions over national and global identities. Finally, Wong argues that a positive outcome of Death Metal music in Malaysia has been its ability to at least partially cross boundaries across otherwise largely separate ethnic/racial groups (reference forthcoming).

19 Although the music of Jun Fan Gung Foo is 'ska', the name of the band derives from 'Jun Fan' (Bruce Lee's original name) and 'Gung Foo', a play on words from Kung Fu. Most importantly in this context, the name deliberately sounds 'Chinese'.



This process of seeking to identify socio-musical divisions and their transcendences parallels to a significant degree the effort to transcend simplistic depictions of harmonious and violent social relations (tourism and media respectively) outlined earlier, and relates directly to the ‘contradictions, anxieties [and] hopes’ laid out for the cosmopatriots panels. As shown in the Table (see Page 2), the framework I have developed systematically explores particular identity themes and Bourdieusian concepts through particular cultural spaces, in each case seeking to illuminate how music-centred events variously maintain, exacerbate or transcend social divisions. In the final section I elaborate on this by addressing the particular case of Jogjakarta, firstly in terms of how it is generally perceived, and secondly through the phenomena of musical performances.

3. Jogjakarta

Jogjakarta is well known as the cultural heart of Java, as a student city, and as one of Indonesia’s cultural and political barometers. Being the so-called ‘real mini Indonesia’, it is in many ways a micro-case prone to the same dichotomies as those above: exemplar of tolerance or hotbed of conflict; culturally abundant or increasingly emaciated. From my own ethnographic experience, I along with many others struggle to balance and integrate these apparently conflicting perceptions, as the following reflections attest.

Jogjakarta is a kind of utopian paradise, with a laidback, ‘*santai aja*’ (take it easy) lifestyle; it is pleasantly clean and quiet yet vibrant, and is, even to those from other Indonesian cities, generally affordable, with many university graduates choosing to stay on long after completing their studies. It is characterized by polite ‘high’ culture, as well as high inter-ethnic and inter-class tolerance, as exemplified by the open interactions between seemingly disparate figures such as shoe-shiners and professors at the numerous tea stalls (*angkringan*). At the same time, nature and ‘human error’ sometimes combine to inflict suffering in Jogjakarta; the ongoing economic crisis hampers many positive political developments; longstanding hierarchies ranging from language use to territorial claims seem to close-off much scope for any real degree of genuine equality; and finally and more concretely, the shifting political climate occasionally manifests in terrifying activities ranging from murders to large-scale streetside political campaigns (*Kampanye*).

All of this takes place at the same time; the calm, friendly and tranquil along with the exclusivist, politically loaded and occasionally violent. Additionally, Jogjakarta is an



‘indigenous city’ with fascinatingly complex combinations of horse and cart (*andong*) and manual typewriters alongside SMS texting, VCDs and Internet Cafes. For these reasons I have found it necessary to attend to both harmony and conflict, and to assess the extent to which this can be linked to the ongoing *craft* and the *technologization* of musical activities. These are analysed as musical worlds through factors of context, musical genre and identity.

Contexts

In general, the musical performances I analyse can be broken down into two overarching contexts: impromptu, informal, non-stage music-making; and the more planned, large-scale events that involve numerous organisers, sponsors and audiences as well as performers (see Table again). Chapter Two consists largely of descriptions of the informal kind, particularly among street guides and *becak* drivers, while the remaining chapters focus on larger-scale performances and their various organisational and thematic aspects, most of which were to a fair degree open to the public. The settings for the large-scale music performances range from neighbourhoods and commercial venues to state institutions and the Sultan’s Palace, with themes ranging from birthdays and circumcision rituals to those of national commemoration or regional religious significance, as well as routine evening entertainment.

Genres

I refer to many genres either in passing or as relatively isolated cases. These include: *gamelan*, *kroncong*, *gambus*, *langgam Jawa*, *jatilan*, *etnik*, *tekno*, *pop* and *metal*. These are all relevant to socio-musical identities in Jogjakarta, particularly in the ways that they intermingle with and feed into the main genres under consideration. The main genres I focus on are: *campursari*, *jalan-an*, and to a lesser extent *dangdut*. Socio-musical identities became particularly pronounced with *campursari* and *jalan-an* aspects of public music making in Jogjakarta.

Campursari: The *campursari* genre, combining ‘mixture’ (*campur*) and essences (*sari*), has gained in popularity in central Java since the early 1990s, in particular through the pioneer Manthous,²⁰ and more recently Didi Kempot. In 2001, people tended to interpret the genre in one of two ways: either as a catchword to denote the combining of any of a number of otherwise largely discrete genres; or, as was the case with most enthusiasts such as the *becak*

20 I spent over a week with Manthous at his Gunung Kidul studio, where he informed me of many aspects of the genre.



drivers, as the specific combining of Javanese instruments and musical structures, in particular those of *gamelan*, with ‘western’ instruments such as keyboards, bass guitar and drums and the western diatonic scale.²¹ It is difficult to exaggerate the frequency with which *becak* drivers in the inner-city praised the virtues of *campursari*, a theme I take up in Chapter Two.

Many songs played in the *campursari* mode were slightly modified versions of earlier *langgam Jawa* and related folk tunes, and quite often such a song would be termed *campursari* even though it was played on, for example, solo guitar.²² Overwhelmingly however, *campursari* was associated with the numerous orchestras in the region that, as stated above, combined *gamelan* and western/popular music instruments. It is not possible to calculate how many *campursari* orchestras existed in Jogjakarta and central Java in 2001, but Manthous estimated that there to be around 500.

Of particular significance to this study are the ways *campursari* did and did not merge with other genres. While nearly every *becak* driver I spoke with, observed or overheard seemed to love the genre, street guides and university students generally did not, instead favouring more westernized popular music and, to an extent, *wayang*. At the other end of the spectrum, occasionally an elderly street worker would lament the social conventions that *campursari* were promoting, and harked back to days when audiences sat still and watched the *wayang* while listening to the *gamelan* orchestra rather than hopping about in titillation. More ambiguously, *campursari* gave rise to interesting tensions and accommodations with *dangdut* (see below) at neighbourhood (*kampung*) and village events, particularly when the latter signalled a shift into more sexualized lead performance and audience participation.²³

Dangdut: *Dangdut* in Indonesia is variously associated with urban lower-classes, nationalism and Islam, and internationally vies with *kroncong* as Indonesia’s best known musical genre after *gamelan*. Its influences are to an extent evident in the instruments and rhythms employed: Melayu rhythms and *orkes melayu* ensembles (Simatupang, 1996: 62-3; Manuel, 1988: 210-212); the Indian tabla drum (and its onomatopoeic ‘ndang dut’ sound) and flute,

21 Manthous explained to me many aspects of the inputs of *kroncong*, *gamelan* and other genres into *campursari*. See also Perlman (1999).

22 Geertz makes a related comment in relation to *kroncong*, by stating that ‘many Mojokerto people refer to all popular songs as “krontjongs” (1960: 304). This calls attention to ‘etic’ and ‘emic’ considerations, which I explore in the main study.

23As I discuss in Chapter Three, supporters and opponents of such shifts cannot easily be classified along gender, generational or class lines.



particularly as heard in Hindi film music; and heavy metal guitar sounds and melodies.²⁴ Rhoma Irama is well known among many Indonesians as the most consistently prominent *dangdut* performer.

Examining *dangdut*'s many twists and turns in public perception is beyond the scope of this paper, but a couple of comments are necessary. Firstly, *dangdut* has consistently been referred to as *musik kampung* ('hick music'), generally derogatorily, to identify it with the urban lower-classes. Yet a broad spectrum of Indonesian society enjoys this musical form, even if only in particular circumstances. Second and related to this, many lead female *dangdut* performers dance and sing with particularly overt eroticism, something which at times has given rise to heated public debates relating to Islam, party politics and gender relations.²⁵

While in some senses *dangdut* is a relatively static musical genre, its popularity and ongoing uses certainly are not. In Jogjakarta in 2001, *dangdut* was sometimes a relatively discrete genre, as at the Purawisata Theme Park, while at others it was hybridised into or conflicted with other genres in significant ways. For example, most street guides and *becak* drivers did not display much affiliation with *dangdut* music and its associations, but each generally incorporated or rejected *dangdut* music in differing situations. Another example was the Arts Stage (*Panggung Kesenian*) of the *Sekaten* Night Fair at the Sultan's Palace (Chapter Five). While organisers banned *dangdut* and its associated costumes and dance-styles from the performances, it was occasionally snuck back in to the proceedings by various groups. Finally, as mentioned above *dangdut* and *campursari* at times merged or were contested over in significant ways.

Musik Jalanan: Given the issue of *anak jalanan* (street children) in Indonesia, *jalanan* ('of the street') is a difficult and sensitive term to employ in the seemingly celebratory musical sense.²⁶ However, *musik jalanan* (street music) was, like *campursari*, a term used around Malioboro Street with such frequency that it demands attention. Here I trace something of the evolution of the term, then describe some of the principal musical characteristics, and finally reflect on its inter-relations with particular cultural spaces and identities.

24 When Deep Purple performed in Jakarta in the late 1970s, Richie Blackmore apparently sold his equipment to Rhoma Irama, who soon incorporated it into *dangdut* music, changing its sound forever. This is a story I often heard, but I have yet to locate a written account of it.

25 Inul Daratista is a prominent recent case of this.

26 For a relatively recent update on the alarming figures regarding the related issue of child labour, see Database INDOC tentang buruh Indonesia http://www2.iisg.nl/indoc/browse/browse_9.in.asp, cited 20 May 2005.



My main informant's explanation of the recent etymology of the *jalanan* term shines light on its various connotations, particularly those tied in to *Jalan Malioboro* organizations, which are integral to many performances in this study.

Around 1985, the formation of a group named *Kelompok Penyanyi Jalanan* (Streetside Singing Group, KPJ) shifted the *jalanan* term away from applying solely to the homeless. KPJ first arose in Jakarta, inspired by the pop novel 'Ali Topan Anak Jalanan'. Ali Topan was a male youth from a broken home. Although his parents were very wealthy, he chose life on the street with stall-holders, street vendors and buskers. He was very heroic, defended the weak, and sometimes when weary would lean against his trail bike on the roadside just to play harmonica with the few buskers that existed at the time.

KPJM (KPJ-Malioboro) in Jogjakarta is credited as having formed a creative umbrella organisation for friends on the street who were escaping from family stress and other problems. Together life on the street built a strong sense of unity. Sometimes they made their own rules, which many highly valued. This was the roots of *premanisme* (gangsterism), but fortunately KPJM had something which can be considered positive: the public performance of music. It needs to be noted that, up to the present, the wider community still consider street arts as second-rate art – this is because of the prevailing image that street life is rough. People on the street are often those who are determined to do almost anything, without fear of consequences!

Secondly, network problems around the arts on Malioboro, as I see it, are always resolved through KPJM. KPJM were initially considered society's nightmare. However, step-by-step their good work of sharing each other's burdens and cares, and of helping people around them struck by difficulties, these efforts gradually increased the community's sympathies. Nowadays many groups readily queue up to become part of the KPJM body. Because of this we have formed a more flexible umbrella organisation, one able to include community energy toward the street arts; that is, the Malioboro Arts Community (*Komunitas Seni Malioboro*), which is still running strong.

Musik jalanan therefore derives as much from quests for public solidarity as from sympathy for, or expression by the homeless. While perhaps less identifiable as a musical genre than a subcultural identity, it is important for current purposes to briefly address its broad musical characteristics. It seems feasible to conceptualise *musik jalanan* along a spectrum. At one end is 'folk-rock'. While the least indigenously named,²⁷ it is nonetheless prevalent. In particular, figures such as Iwan Fals have elevated the potentiality of the politically-oppositional guitar-playing balladeer, yet 'fotokopi's such as Pink Floyd's 'Another Brick in the Wall' and the less-political 'Country Roads' by John Denver may also be considered *musik jalanan* when played on the street. In this study, it is the street guides, and to a lesser extent university

27 For example, the categories that my informant Satya suggested for a guitar-player survey did not include Folk-Rock. The categories were: Rock, Dangdut, Blues, Campursari, Jazz, Folk, Kroncong/Langgam, Classical, Pop, Top 40, Gambus, Latin, Others. I nonetheless find 'Folk-Rock' to be an appropriate term, which I borrow from Lockard (1998).



students who identify with, play, sing and listen to various strands of folk-rock, while as suggested above street workers such as *becak* drivers expressed little interest in it.

At the other end of the spectrum, *musik jalanan* also applies to music of the buskers (*pengamen*), much of which was *kroncong*, *langgam Jawa* and related genres. These forms were not dismissed by street music communities, such as the Malioboro Arts Community mentioned above, but they rarely took them up themselves. Instead the music that gained prominence in these circles seems to constitute a distinct category. Like *campursari* it combined ‘Javanese’, ‘Western’ and other elements and associations, but in markedly different ways. Guitars were most prominent, for example, yet many of the scales, rhythms, instruments and lyrical themes employed were consciously ‘Javanese’ and/or Indonesian. There were also groups such as *Jagongan* whose *qasidah* format was distinctly Islamic, yet they also drew on Indonesian language and ‘Javanised’ percussion. Finally, the *jalanan* musician most popular among street kids and guides but less so among *becak* drivers was Pak Sujud Sutrisno, a longstanding wandering *kendang* (drum) player who sang humorous and topical lyrics.

Identities

Identity is often discussed but rarely defined in the social sciences. While I am currently working to refine my understanding of the concept, here it suffices to state the following: by identity I mean the things (tangible or otherwise) that people hold close to their sense of themselves in the world, and/or the things through which people are defined by others.²⁸ Below I briefly refer to socio-musical identities in two areas: firstly, *aliran* (Geertz, 1960) and related ‘Javanese’ concepts, and second, the central concepts of Bourdieu.

To some extent a person’s fondness for *campursari* can be correlated with a living or idealized version of modern village life. Such ‘village ways’ cannot be denigrated as ‘backward looking’ however, given the integration of musical elements ranging from hi-tech sampling to *dangdut* drums. Nor, for the same reason, can *campursari* music and sensibilities be celebrated as wholly traditional. The village associations of *campursari* nonetheless call to mind the *abangan* variant of *aliran*. *Santri* and *priyayi* seem less applicable to the musical groups, particularly given the vast overlap of ‘Hindu-Java’, ‘Muslim’ and, not particularly connected to *priyayi*, ‘western’ elements in people’s musical and related social activities.

28 For a concise discussion of ‘Identity’ as employed in cultural studies, see Edgar and Sedgwick (1999).



Aliran is nonetheless important, if mainly for historical reasons, and other concepts such as *rukun*, *lahir batin* and *wong cilik/gede* are all relevant to 'Javanese identity'. However, I have found that focusing on music in the inner-city broadens the scope for employing and devising other concepts, in particular those developed by Bourdieu. As mentioned, in this study I engage with Bourdieu's analyses of capital, *habitus*, fields and culture, largely by examining the particular cultural spaces in which the musical events took place (See Table again).²⁹

Given that the musical events I analyse often involve the same people, collectively these variables highlight how different aspects of identity and musical expression come to the fore depending on the context (in particular cultural space and event theme). At the same time, there are also people who closely associate with particular genres and distance themselves from others. The identity themes rise and ebb, meld and split off on many levels. In particular this applies to the main characters (informants) who were representatives of *campursari*, *jalanan* and/or other musical worlds. Jogjakarta thereby provides an interesting case in which to understand how social groups mix and maintain boundaries in generally peaceful ways.

Conclusion

This paper has presented an overview of the broad claim that socio-musical identities in Jogjakarta can be fruitfully formulated by contrasting 'cultural spaces', identity themes, Bourdieusian concepts and musical genres. An underlying aim of such conceptions is to depolarize perceptions of social relations in Indonesia as either excessively violent or impeccably tolerant, and in the realm of culture as either magically rich or emaciated by globalization. I seek to formulate these identities through music making in everyday life in Jogjakarta. The final step, which I am currently working on, is to better articulate musical

29 On the street and in the lanes, I argue, employing the concepts of in-group and inter-group social capital helps to understand the entanglements of class and related markers in the production of and participation in different music worlds, in particular those of *campursari* and folk-rock/*jalanan*. In the discussion of commercial zones and neighbourhoods I employ the concept of *habitus*, meaning roughly the processes by which internal (mental) and external (social) structures constantly reinforce or challenge each other, and how these manifest in physical behaviours. While gendered aspects of socio-musical identities are prominent in both commercial zones and neighbourhoods, in the former these interact most distinctly with those of class, and the latter in particular with those of generation. In the state institutions of the Regional Council (DPR-D), UGM and IAIN tertiary institutions, and the National Air-Force Academy (A-AU), cosmopolitanism and nationalism sometimes combine and at others act in relative isolation from each other, phenomena obviously of central relevance to the *Cosmopatriots* theme. I considered presenting a version of this Chapter at the Conference, but had already done so at an ICOC Conference in 2003, with the title: 'Being National and Cosmopolitan: Music Performance around Three Arms of the State'. Finally, at the Sultan's Palace (Kraton) I return to the culture concept in order to analyse religious (Islamic), ethnic (Javanese, or more particularly 'Jogjanese', and 'western') interactions in musical performances and their settings, noting particularly how religio-ethnic dimensions are contested over and integrated into ongoing notions of 'Jogjanese identity'.



worlds, social divisions and the associated identities, and to articulate when, where and how socio-musical activities help to transcend such divisions.

As suggested at the outset, I consider that the Cosmopatriots theme forms an important in-road to such considerations. Patriotism does not readily carry the same heavy and often negatively-perceived nuances as nationalism. In turn, cosmopolitanism conveys a positive openness to the world, a sensibility too rarely recognized by commentators on Indonesia. At the same time, marrying cosmopolitanism with patriotism is a necessary process in order to avoid the vacuous notion that such sensibilities can exist completely divorced from national, ethnic and other dimensions of identity.³⁰ Finally, inserting globalization squarely into the formula demands that scholars of Cosmopatriotism remain attuned to the massive flux engendered by technological and related social changes.

It is tempting to posit my current study as a series of engagements between cosmopolitanism and various identity markers (class, gender, national, ethnicity and religious respectively). However, for my current purposes I consider each of the key Cosmopatriot concepts as necessary at different times and to different degrees, these being: in relation to ‘music at state institutions’ (patriotism and cosmopolitanism); and for overall context (globalization) in order to avoid the futile endeavour of ‘salvage anthropology’. As suggested earlier, my primary aim is to apply a sensorial ethnography of musical worlds to the problem of perceptions of Indonesia as either violent or non-violent, and as either culturally abundant or wanting. I do this by formulating socio-musical identities according to the variables of cultural space, identity theme, Bourdieusian concept and, in particular, musical genre. Through these means it is possible to identify, characterise and, to some degree categorise the multifarious social activities in Jogjakarta’s musical life. These are not wholly peace or conflict inducing, nor culturally overflowing or fabricated. Rather, an analysis of musical activities helps toward accurately portraying social life in an Indonesian city, with all its pleasures, conflicts, sorrows and joys.

30 See Kahn, 2003 and 2005.



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