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POPULAR MUSIC IN INDONESIA SINCE 1998, IN PARTICULAR FUSION, INDIE AND ISLAMIC MUSIC ON VIDEO COMPACT DISCS AND THE INTERNET

By Bart Barendregt and Wim van Zanten

Abstract

In this article we analyse some developments in the popular music of Indonesia, especially those that have occurred during the last five years. The concept of “popular music” in present-day Indonesia is discussed briefly along with an analysis of how it is used in the negotiation of the identity of particular communities, playing a vital role in a dialogue of power at local, national and global levels. We ask how the different pop scenes comment on and act to change society in an age of shifting identities and sensibilities. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, issues of copyright and intellectual property rights seem to have become even more important than they were in the 1990s.

Examples are taken from both the national and regional pop musics with attention being paid particularly to the emergence of “world music” or “fusion”, Islamic music and the *Indie* music scene. The question of how these different types of pop music are represented in and shaped by the new forms of mass mediation, in particular the video compact discs and the Internet, is raised and discussed. With the demand for political change (*Reformasi*) and fall of President Suharto, the figurehead of the “New Order” regime, in 1998, these developments seem to have accelerated more than ever before.

Introduction¹

The notion of “popular” (*rakyat, populer*) music is important in Indonesia, although it is defined there in ways that are distinct from the ones familiar to observers of popular music in, for instance, Europe or the United States. Our focus is on dominant and emergent musical forms created by Indonesian artists, mostly within living memory, which are “clearly commercial, rooted in the music industry (including production and distribution) and a clientele able and willing to purchase the commodity” (Lockard 1998:19). “Rooted” does not mean entirely embedded; live concerts, *karaoke* renditions, popular songs sung in folk drama and social dance, and impromptu rehearsals while taking a bath are understood to

¹ In this article we make use of some sections of a research plan written by the authors in 1999 together with Saini Kosim M., Paula Bos, Matthew I. Cohen and Kees Epskamp. We are grateful for their contributions. Together with Paula Bos, the authors presented a panel on popular music in Indonesia at the ICTM conference in Rio de Janeiro, July 2001, concentrating on three regions (West Sumatra, West Java and East Flores), and the role of the World Wide Web and video-CDs. We thank Tuti Hasanah for checking our translations of Sundanese song texts. Last but not least, we thank the two anonymous reviewers of this article for their valuable suggestions for its improvement.

be selected moments in a circuit of production and consumption that incorporates music videos, television variety show performances, audiocassettes and (video) compact discs.

Relatively little research has focussed on Indonesian popular music. Overviews of Indonesian popular music are presented in Manuel (1988), Yamashita (1988), Hatch (1989), Lockard (1996, 1998), and Wong and Lysloff (1998) while some general information on recordings may be found in Broughton et al. (1994:425-32). Scholars have paid attention to certain aspects of *kroncong* (Becker 1975; Heins 1975; Abdurachman 1977; Kornhauser 1978; Kartomi 1998), *dangdut* (Frederick 1982; Mona Lohanda 1983; Murray 1991; Pioquinto 1995; Browne 2000), and selected other “national” genres (Remy Sylado 1983; Yampolsky 1989; Arps 1996; Sutton 2000), but about regional popular music much less has been written. That of West Java has been studied to a reasonable extent (Manuel and Baier 1986; Wright 1988; Subagio 1989; Williams 1989; Hellwig 1989, 1993, 1996; Cohen 1999; Jurriëns 2001) and recently one of the present authors published an article about Minangkabau popular music (Barendregt 2002). The popular music of central and East Java, or the other islands, however, is far less represented in the literature.

Hence, there is a need for mapping the topography of Indonesian popular music in more detail. Indonesia’s music industry, centred in Jakarta, defines Indonesian popular music as either “national” or “regional”. National genres, including rock, hardcore, rap, country, jazz, disco, house, Hawaiian, *pop Indonesia*, *kroncong*, *dangdut*, *qasidah*,² generally feature lyrics in Indonesian (though sometimes in English) and are marketed primarily in urban regions throughout the archipelago, both as audiocassette and compact discs (mainly in video-CD, less in audio-CD form). The music trend, both on the national and regional levels, is shifting towards popular music, which is almost entirely a product of the recording studios, live performances being rare.

A regional popular music is targeted at consumers who are the residents of a specific region, or the members of specific ethnic groups, rather than at Indonesians in general (Yampolsky 1989:12-13). Lyrics tend to be in “local” or “ethnic” languages and dialects such as, for instance, Sundanese or Ambon Malay. Instrumentation and the musical idiom used are also likely to be related to residual local traditions of music making. The relatively lower volume of consumption by and the lower economic class of most purchasers of regional popular music mean that few audio compact disc (CD) recordings are made: the regional popular music industry since circa 1970 has been almost exclusively an audiocassette industry (Sutton 1985; Yampolsky 1987). Since 1997-1998 the video compact discs (VCDs), which are cheaper than audio CDs (see below), have gradually been taking over the role of the audiocassettes.

Generic definitions and meta-generic clusters are responsive to market demands; the name for a musical form may shift depending on how well it sells, while new popular genres are constantly being invented by audiocassette

² Also written *quasidah*.

producers and enterprising performers.³ More than one regional-popular musical genre can be found in many regions of Indonesia. Sometimes, though not always, these genres are grouped together and classified as *pop daerah* (regional pop). *Pop Jawa*, *pop Sunda*, and *pop Minang* are particularly well known, and refer respectively to the Javanese in central and East Java, the Sundanese in West Java, and the Minangkabau in West Sumatra.

Traditional Indonesian art often aids in consolidating a collective identity by stressing a group's historical tradition and thereby invoking a shared past. For instance, many song texts in *tembang Sunda Cianjuran* accentuate a shared tradition going back to the semi-legendary, pre-Islamic kingdom of Pajajaran, which evokes a cultural participation in an imagined Sundanese homeland in West Java (Van Zanten 1989:70-1, 75-9). Below we will give examples of how Sundanese pop music still employs texts and music that evoke such a shared past which, by being contrasted to other realities, reshapes Sundanese identity.

Many devices have been employed for determining the character of *pop Minang* (West Sumatra), including the use of emblematic instruments. Images iconic of Minang-ness are also widely used on cassette covers and posters, while song texts refer to popular folktales and proverbs. However, three components stand out in the current discourse on how to shape a genuine Minang music, which can withstand the challenge of the twenty-first century: the politics of language, the representation of the motherland and the musical expression of longing for home (Barendregt 2002). *Pop Minang* addresses an overall Minang community, and is, in an era of scale increase, technological innovations and the growing need for re-localisation of this Minang identity, one of the fastest and most direct ways to react to these developments.

Indonesia's hundreds of regional language groups do *not* have equal representation in the recording studios. The policies of Indonesia's media tycoons, mainly ethnic Chinese, are likely to not always correspond with the wishes of the majority. At the same time, mass media are quickly responsive to changing world circumstances. Although music industries that record and distribute popular music genres in local languages have been emerging since the early 1970s, not all of these have been equally successful. As Jabatin Bangun (2001:13) points out, so far only a few cities can claim to have accommodated

³ Take, for instance, *gamad* or *gamat* music from west Sumatra, which features solo singing accompanied by accordion and/or violin, guitar and drums (Rizaldi 1997:93). Audiocassettes of "pure" *gamad* music without synthesiser are released under labels like *gamad asli* (original, authentic *gamad*). If the audiocassette or VCD just mentions *gamad*, *joged gamad* (or *joget*, that is, the faster and danceable songs of the *gamad* repertoire), or *top hits gamad*, the singing is very likely to be accompanied by just a synthesiser with a drum-pattern. Further, there is *gamad Cha Cha Cha*, etc. Similarly, the singing with bamboo flute (*saluang*) accompaniment in west Sumatra may be called *saluang klasik* (classical *saluang*) to indicate the "original" music, in contrast to *saluang modern* (modern *saluang*) and *saluang dangdut* (after *dangdut*, Indonesian pop music; see also Yampolsky 1989:16). Labels like "Reformasi" usually mean nothing in a musical sense, but rather indicate novelty; see also Figure 1.

successful music industries, including Jakarta, Medan, Padang, Palembang, Surabaya and Ujung Pandang. Remarkably, Jabatin Bangun does not mention the large cities of Bandung and Yogyakarta, which we also see as prominent centres of the recording industry.

The boundary between regional music and ethnic music is rather diffuse, both having their roots in the same phenomena. However, whereas regional music tends to be mass-mediated and to possibly be exposed to Western influences in the process, ethnic music is (sometimes proudly) said to be more “pure”. Some musics tend to be somewhat more problematic. Chinese language music, for instance, is especially under-represented in present-day popular music, in spite of the fact that citizens of East Asian descent are well represented in the recording industry. In itself this is not surprising, as expressions of Chinese-ness have only recently been tolerated again after being suppressed for thirty-five years. Chinese *lagu mandarin* was a cassette genre that was popular in the 1980s and early 1990s, but that seems to have lost ground in the second half of the 1990s. Sales of Mandarin recordings have been low, partly due to the restrictions on Chinese language materials initiated by president Suharto’s New Order regime.⁴ In the post-Suharto era, opportunities to listen to and perform Chinese music in public seem to have increased.⁵ For instance, *Kompas Cyber Media* (3 March 2002) reports on Chinese music and dances performed at the “China Town Festival” held in Bandung on the occasion of the Chinese New Year Imlek 2553. Similarly, Chinese Song Festivals (Festival Lagu Mandarin) and Chinese language *karaoke* (see below) contests have only recently been allowed, while private radio stations increasingly have special programs devoted to the pop Mandarin genre.

International popular music coming from the United States, Western Europe, India and China is also having a growing impact on Indonesia’s music scene. These three related musical domains—the local, the national and the international—lead to discussions about “individual”, “ethnic” and “national” identities.

Frederick (1997:62) has suggested interesting parallels between the cultural life in the colonial Netherlands East Indies of the 1930s and that in the

⁴ Sen and Hill (2000:170) mention an additional Rp.1200 censorship fee levied on Mandarin language materials, which could be responsible for the relatively low volume of sales, although we do not have concrete statistics on these sales. As with regional pop albums, it might be that *pop mandarin* albums sell less well than national pop albums do. On the other hand, they are sold over quite a long period, whereas national pop albums are soon replaced by the latest trend.

⁵ Before the Suharto New Order regime, the situation seems to have been more liberal as well. Films made by the Netherlands-Indies information services in the 1920s-1930s, for instance, show examples of Chinese dragon dances during the annual *Cap-goh-meh* processions, performed in the streets of Padang, west Sumatra (*Mahamoelia* 1929). According to Clara van Groenendael (1993:17), popular Chinese hand glove puppet theatre (*po-té-hi*) has not been performed since 1967 (and after the supposed communist coup of 1965 and accusations of Chinese efforts to influence Indonesian politics), when a new measure forbade the public display of Chinese culture.

Indonesia of the early 1990s. Both eras were characterised by the search for a true modern Indonesian culture, which should be spontaneous and not restricted to only some classes or ethnicities, and which should moreover transcend the simple dichotomies of Eastern and Western and traditional and modern. Although in both eras this striving for a unified and more varied modern culture was linked to the emergence of new media, in the 1930s radio and cinema and in the 1990s especially VCDs and the Internet, there are also considerable differences between them, such as a much larger population and thus a much larger audience that has furthermore been increasingly impacted by a plethora of cultural influences. Another considerable difference has been the rise of Indonesian upper and middle classes that have increasingly tried to gain access to a cosmopolitan lifestyle. “Increasingly large numbers of Indonesians of all social and economic classes not only have access to world culture, but are cultural tourists in their own nation, even their own region” (Frederick 1997:77).

Indonesia is now at a critical juncture in its history. In the process of reformation (*Reformasi*) that was put into motion with the resignation of president Suharto and the fall of his New Order regime in 1998, dominant conceptions of *bangsa* (people, nation, race), *suku* (ethnic group) and *daerah* (territory, region)—many originating in Indonesia’s colonial past—have lost their mooring. Emergent and primordial units of affiliation have come to the fore, associated with inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence throughout the archipelago and with open discussions about regional autonomy, independence for East Timor, federalism, and Indonesia becoming an Islamic state. There are signs that in the post-Suharto and *Reformasi* era popular music will have an even more important role in the formation of identities.

New sounds and the fusion of musical traditions

Musical performances and texts were important sites for signifying opposition to the New Order discourse of order and stability. Sen and Hill (2000:164) describe how in the music industry the line between mainstream-profitable and counter-cultural was a very thin one, and foreign (Western or Westernised) musical codes and icons were frequently indigenised into conscious political opposition to the New Order, although at the same time the New Order government apparatus tried to mobilise musical performances in its own interest. Subversion is thus not a characteristic of music as was proven by Wiranto, the former four-star general and commander-in chief of the Indonesian army at the time of the unrest and killings in East Timor and Aceh. Shortly after he was sacked from parliament in 2000, and with the majority of the nation criticising the armed forces for its violent campaigns, Wiranto released his debut album “For you, my Indonesia” (*Untukmu Indonesiaku*), consisting of ten all-time sentimental Indonesian songs. The money from the CD sales was to go to aid an estimated 900,000 refugees from Aceh, Maluku and East Timor, but while the album sold thousands of

copies, human rights groups have denounced it as a gross insult to the people of East Timor.⁶

The call for political reforms (*Reformasi*) was popular for a while, bringing together a variety of interest groups, crosscutting all layers of society. This call was especially prominent in popular culture, and specifically in music. Popular music became a common vehicle of protest during the monetary crisis, and many songs, cassettes and genres were provided with the adjective ‘reformasi’; see figure 1.⁷ Developments since Suharto’s resignation, however, make clear that in many respects *Reformasi* was mostly an empty slogan, largely played out through the mass media and, due to its lack of specific content, able to serve a variety of causes. In the meantime, more subtle and structural developments have been taking place with possibly much greater long-term effects on popular musics.

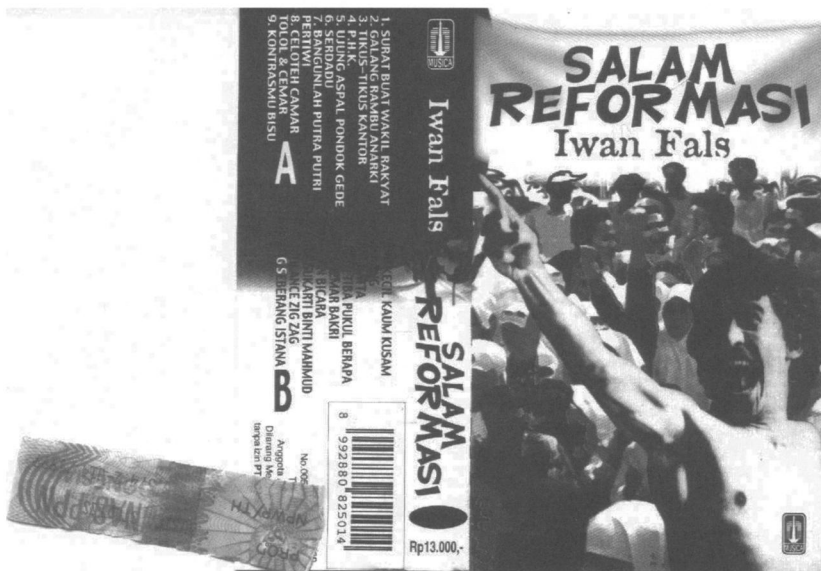


Figure 1. The Reformasi that started 1997 and led to the resignation of president Suharto was extensively used as a label to sell music and other commodities, also by the well-known protest singer Iwan Fals. The small piece of paper, attached to the cover on the down-left, shows that the government has given permission for its publication and that sales taxes are being collected.

⁶ See, for example, *Jakarta Post Online*, 19 October 2000 and *CNN*^E, 2 November 2000 (where necessary, we indicate the electronic—online—journals with the superscript ^E; these articles are mostly also available in printed form).

⁷ For an overview of nationalistic and patriotic student songs, but especially of the genre of protest songs that was soon popularly labeled *lagu Reformasi*, and which commented directly on this transitional stage in Indonesian politics, see Van Dijk (1999).

After decades of standardisation and the “folklorisation” of the arts, pop musicians slowly seem to have regained an interest in the traditional arts. The recent relaxation of restrictions on the media and the drive toward reforms that welled up in its wake have led many pop musicians to experiment with “their own musical heritage”. As a local newspaper recently wrote, “One form of *Reformasi* in the field of music is to explore our own regional musical traditions and make this into modern music” (*Suara Pembaruan Online*, 5 June 1998). Thus, popular artists like Kahitna and Oppie Andaresta have recently been using Minangkabau traditional music within a pop idiom, while the singer Franky Sahilatua musically quoted Manggarai (Flores) traditional music in the song *E wada*. Another such experiment was undertaken by Nyak Ina Raseuki, a woman from Aceh, who studied ethnomusicology in the USA, and at home recorded an album called *Archipelagongs* (2000), on which she is assisted by musicians and popular singers like Djaduk Ferianto, Oppie and Rita Effendy. All of the songs, including *Remember Maninjau* (Minangkabau), *The Gates of Puya* (Toraja) and *Keumalahayati* (Aceh), are based on regional traditions.

Rock groups like Kantata and Gong 2000 have been involved in experiments with traditional music to a lesser extent. Recently the phenomenon of pop artists seeking inspiration in traditional music received some reinforcement from another trend of the 1990s, known as *campur sari*, but soon called *musik dua warna* (two-colour musics) after a television show aired by the RCTI broadcast station. The two colours refer to the characteristic mix of diatonic and pentatonic tonal systems, in practice leading to all manner of combinations, like gamelan music mixed with piano, or traditional instruments with Latin music. The genre is often associated with the composers Djaduk Ferianto (leader of the *Kua Etnika* ensemble) and Aminoto Kosin (Sutton 2000:44), but especially with Erwin Gutawa. The latter also musically arranged Chrisye’s re-mastered version of the classical *Badai pasti berlalu* album (1977), once again turning its 2000 version into one of the most successful Indonesian pop albums ever.

Gideon Momongan (2000:51) wrote in the pop magazine *NewsMusik* that “the aesthetics of our [Indonesian] ethnic music truly has high potential for the market”. Indonesian music magazines like this increasingly feature their own world music columns, while at the same time a new genre of radio stations called “ethnic radio” has emerged. These so-called Etnikom (see *Indonesia Radio Directory*⁵) are a growing network of local radio stations, active thus far in Sumatra and Java, that have special programs of (mainly Indonesian) traditional music. Taking Jamaican reggae and Brazilian bossa nova as examples, the Indonesian media, in the midst of a socio-political and economic crisis, hoped that this new approach would bring Indonesia the authentic popular genre many had been waiting for, instead of being doomed to merely copy Western pop music. This echoes the aspirations voiced by President Soekarno in his 1959 speech, where he urged the nation’s youth to come up with an authentic but modern Indonesian music (Tambajong 1992:19; Sen and Hill 2000:166).

The Sundanese music of West Java has undergone interesting developments during the last decades of the twentieth century, which were also

appreciated in other parts of Indonesia. Hellwig's film *Sundanese popular culture alive!!!* shows how the Sundanese started experimenting with the popular genre *jaipongan* as soon as it was created,⁸ creating *breakpong* (combination of break dance and *jaipongan*) and the like (Hellwig 1989).

In the late 1980s, a piano played by the jazz pianist Bubi Chen was added to the traditional Sundanese combination of two zithers and a bamboo flute (*kacapi-suling*). The new combination gave a few concerts, among others in Jakarta, and made the cassette tape *Kedamaian* (1989; Peace of mind). On this tape the *kacapi-suling* musicians play more or less as they would do without the piano while Bubi Chen improvises in a style that is close to the playing style of the small zither (*kacapi-rincik*), with many notes and using syncopations that are a common feature of the bass part of the large zither (*kacapi indung*). In the introduction to the cassette, Harry Roesli, a jazz musician from Bandung, writes that for the last hundred years music from Indonesia has regularly been combined with music from "the West". This recording, however, he considers a masterpiece, and he welcomes the "spiritual child" (*anak kandung batin*) of *maestro* Bubi Chen and the well-known zither player Uking Sukri. This musical form did not achieve popular success but it may nevertheless have had an important influence on later developments.

Pop music, "fusion", as well as "world music", are increasingly created in combination with musicians from other parts of the world. Burhan Sukarma, who was a famous Cianjuran flutist in the 1970s-1980s, left West Java in the late 1980s for the USA, but regularly returns to his homeland Sunda. He made some recordings of "world music", in cooperation with Vidal Paz, like the one on which his Sundanese flute is combined with the Sundanese *kacapi* zither, Sundanese drums, a Balinese mouth harp⁹ and *tabla-djembe-congas* from other parts of the world (*Sunda Africa* 1998). On the cover of the CD it says "Sunda Africa is a fusion of cultures that brings the world together", and a quote of the Chinese *I Ching* is given: "Music has power to ease¹⁰ tension within the heart and loosen the grip of obscure emotions". One may wonder whether this should be classified as "popular music". It has many characteristics of Sundanese music though one important element is absent, namely the Sundanese language as this recording is only of instrumental music.

In 2000, the English pop singer and guitarist Sabah Habas Mustapha (alias Colin Bass) made a CD *So la li* with The Jugala All Stars group from

⁸ Hellwig (1989) claims that *jaipongan* was "invented" in 1978, but according to Robert Wessing (personal communication), this music and dance form was both "hot" and popular in the Bandung area when he arrived there to do fieldwork there in June 1970. At the time, Wessing bought a Jugala cassette on which the genre was indeed already called *jaipongan*.

⁹ The zither is called a "harp" on the cover. The Balinese mouth harp *genggong* is mentioned, though presumably the Sundanese mouth harp, *karinding*, is what is meant.

¹⁰ On the cover is written "easy".

Bandung.¹¹ The group uses the Sundanese bamboo flute, drums, zithers and also a violin, acoustic guitar and electric bass guitar. The songs are mostly in Sundanese though some are in English.¹² This band uses a few “classical” song texts as used in Cianjuran music. Sabah told one of the present authors that he was struck by the lyrics, often describing melancholy and living in another country (like in the song *Di nagara deungeun*), themes that he also feels to be present in Sundanese music. The Sundanese vocalist Tati Ani Mogiono sings in Sundanese and very much in the Sundanese style. In translation this text runs as follows:

Faintly can the sound of the *degung* and bamboo flute be heard. Accompanied by soft singing, they blend very beautifully. Well, this is the song. It is called “Hoisting the sail”. The sound of the bamboo flute is melancholy; it makes sad people even sadder. The sound of the *degung* is deep and comforts those who are upset. (Van Zanten 1989:211-2).

In popular Sundanese music, including the new experiments with “world music” or “fusion”, almost without exception at least a few Sundanese instruments are used. This is different from, for instance, Indonesian *kroncong* and *dangdut* and the Minangkabau *gamad*. As audiences other than the Sundanese themselves also appreciate, there is still a lot of Sundanese-ness in pop Sunda; for instance, on the CD with *Sambasunda* (1998) music, shaken and beaten bamboos (respectively *angklung* and *saron bambu*), *kacapi* zithers, and instruments of the *gamelan degung* are used, along with a violin and some percussion instruments. Like the CD *Sunda Afrika* (1998) the *Sambasunda* CD includes just instrumental music.¹³

¹¹ The former singer of the cult band 3 Mustaphas 3 actually had an earlier “world music” hit in Indonesia, being the composer of the 1993 hit song *Denpasar Moon*. In an interview, Mustapha told how the song was actually part of a demo-cassette, but that he later found out that in the meantime Sony had heard this song and recorded a version of it in Tokyo with a young lady singer from the Philippines. This was Maribeth, winner of the 1991 Voice of Asia contest, who was enormously successful with this English language reggae song; see also her cassette tape *Alone against the world* (1993). Mustapha: “It sold over half a million cassettes and then many local artists made cover-versions—I now have a collection of over 50 different ones in various music-styles and languages. Later they started a soap opera on the TV with the same name using the song as its theme. Yes, I had inadvertently [sic] written an Indonesian classic.”

(www.insideworldmusic.com/library/weekly/aa070999.htm)

¹² Even Sabah himself tries to sing in Sundanese, but in June 2001 he told me [WvZ] that some Sundanese had jokingly said that, because of his bad pronunciation, they thought he sang in Spanish!

¹³ See also *Kompas Cyber Media* (3 March 2002) where it is reported that the “China Town Festival” featured music that was “mixed with Samba Sunda percussion music”. The use of some of this music at a Chinese music and dance festival is not surprising, as some *Sambasunda* (1998) songs like *Berekis* also have a “Chinese flavour” that can mainly be heard in the violin part. However, other items like *Kaligat/Goragarago* very much follow Sundanese conventions for *gamelan degung* music structures.

The return of religious music in public life

Although all of the world's major religions are represented within the archipelago, it is only Christian and Islamic music that have had a long tradition as mass-mediated popular music. "Spiritual songs" (*lagu rohani*) is the general Indonesian term for religious songs, although as a marketing label the term has largely been reserved for Christian popular songs. The latter have mostly been recorded within the national language, although the genre has also been associated with Batak and Moluccan musics. Indonesia, a country with more than 200 million people and—like India—with a much larger Muslim population than any Arab country, has various popular Islamic song genres that are likely to become even more popular in the near future. For many decades, contests in which Quranic verses are recited aloud (*pengajian*) have been a popular genre all over Indonesia, and national and international contests have been organised for it. These performances have long been distributed through cassette tapes, which has probably led to their further standardisation. Another well-known format of "religious entertainment" has been that of the recorded monologues of esteemed Islamic leaders (*khotbah*), combining moral teaching with humour and social criticism, often incorporating actual events.

President Suharto's resignation and the following move toward political reform have also triggered reactions from Islamic groups, including student associations and some radical factions. Since 1999 these radical groups have been openly coming to the fore, promoting political Islam and the re-establishment of religious morality as the ultimate form of reformation. In some parts of the archipelago, the advantages and disadvantages of implementing religious *syariah* law are being fiercely debated. VCDs and cassettes of so-called *jihad* groups, showing the holy war in Bosnia, the Moluccas or Afghanistan, circulate in most larger Indonesian cities and, since 11 September 2001, Osama Bin Laden's picture is widely distributed using all forms of popular media (video, cassette tapes and stickers).¹⁴ However, this more radical Islam has thus far hardly found a voice in popular music.¹⁵ Every now and then a controversy arises

¹⁴ One particular example of such materials is a VCD that was popularly known as *Osama Bin Laden* (2001). This VCD, showing military exercises in Afghanistan, actually contained material from a CNN documentary that was somehow pirated and released on the VCD format by Haramain Arabic VCD. The VCD soon circulated in most of the larger Indonesian cities and was called a perfect example for the Indonesian Muslim youth by one Islamic teacher (*Pikiran Rakyat Online*, 10 November 2001). See also a list of some 'Islamic & educative' VCDs for rent and sale: *CyberNasyid.../partner/jundi/index1.shtml*.

¹⁵ Platzasch (2001) talks about the return of Islam in public and especially political life, arguing that at present there is a broadened range of Islamic parties and movements in Indonesia, but that these overwhelmingly support the country's stumbling progress toward democracy. The breakdown of state control since 1998, and especially the weaker position of the state ideology, known as *panca sila*, allowed Muslims to formally adopt Islam as the ideology of political organisations. As a result, many new Islamic parties sprang up and took part in the general elections in 1999. The activities of a relatively small number of these groups go beyond what is legally tolerable.

when Islamic hardliners exhort musicians to adhere to religious standards, which in most cases consists of Muslims criticising Muslim artists for “indecent” behaviour. For example, there was some “to do” when the popular “blues” singer Oppie Andaresta was said to have insulted Islam when she jokingly corrupted a religious formula in one of her songs. This led to her being unofficially boycotted by the media for two or three years, after which the popular singer made a comeback on radio and television.

Almost every region has its own religious musics, like *gambus*, *salawat* or *indang*, that are based on Islamic traditions. Since the emergence of a national music industry, many of these traditional religious musics have been combined with popular music. New syncretic genres have also emerged. Frederick (1982:119) described how the *dangdut* genre, which makes use of Western instruments like the electric guitar, emerged in the early 1970s, and how it has been very suitable for conveying Islamic messages. Especially the artist Rhoma Irama may be credited with bringing in a missionary (*dakwah*) element, thus providing Indonesian Islam with a new popular image.¹⁶ Musically, the genre is a mix of Hindustani film music, Malay *joged* dance music, and lately a strong emphasis on reggae-like bass patterns. Since the early 1970s, the genre has become very prominent, eventually even leading to a specialised genre of national *dangdut* films and video clips.

Frederick (1982:119) called Rhoma Irama’s 1980 film *Perjuangan dan doa* (*Struggle and prayer*) the world’s first Islamic “rock musical motion picture”. In the 1980s, the genre somehow lost its Islamic characterisation, and through its explicitly sexual dance style and its overt associations with Western inspired popular culture, it came to be increasingly associated with vulgarity (Browne 2000:24). Initially associated with the Islamic PPP party, many conservative Muslims lost interest in the genre when the *dangdut* star Rhoma Irama decided to join the then ruling Golkar party of President Suharto and when other *dangdut* singers like Evy Tamala openly campaigned for Golkar. The genre thus lost much of its subversive character.¹⁷

Arps (1996:390) describes how in the same period another syncretic cassette genre emerged that was soon labelled *qasidah modéren*, referring to the classical Arabic poem of the same name. It was a type of popular music that was mainly performed by young women and was targeted at Indonesian Muslim youth. Texts were sung in Indonesian and musically accompanied by an ensemble of synthesisers, piano, flute, several violins, mandolin and electric guitar, producing a sound similar to that of *dangdut* orchestras. Group names were all in Arab, and on the covers of the cassette tapes the performers overtly feature Muslim dress. *Qasidah* is often described as music “breathing Islam”, but as Arps (1996:395) argues, Islamic discourse is not identical with Arabic discourse. The use of the adjective *modéren* gave the genre the appearance of being new, while at the same time it was rooted in actuality and was culturally

¹⁶ See, for instance, some of Rhoma Irama’s songs on the CD *Music of Indonesia 2*.

¹⁷ See, for instance, the article “Lagu dangdut untuk kampanye Golka” in the newspaper *Suara Pembaruan* (26 January 1997).

and socially relevant. Moreover, by using the Indonesian language, a religious moral is propagated which directly addressed Indonesia's youth. Later new sub-genres emerged, like *qasidah rebana*, which seem to have a more traditionalist approach to Islamic popular music. On the other hand, popular pop bands like Bimbo have recorded *qasidah*.¹⁸ During Ramadhan, the fasting month, national television features "respectable and orderly" *dangdut* artists (Browne 2000:2), like Evy Tamala, Ikke Nurjanah and Iis Dahlia who bring religiously oriented songs, which results in a further blurring of the distinctions between *qasidah* and *dangdut*.

Another Islamic music genre, now widely known as *nasyid*, has recently become increasingly popular in Indonesia.¹⁹ The term *nasyid* comes from the Arab *annasyid* (lecture or reverberation), and means "(singer of a) religious song". Musically, it refers to a song genre that became popular in neighbouring Malaysia in the 1980s and that is used as a vehicle of moral teachings (*dakwah*). In the early 1990s, *nasyid* also became popular in Indonesia, especially in the religious schools (*pesantren*) and mosques, but also in universities and high schools. Bandung, in particular, is the home for many recently founded *nasyid* groups. Many of these groups release cassette tapes on so-called *Indie* (independent) labels and hope for more profitable recording offers. *Nasyid* has only recently been taken up by the Indonesian recording industry and is still in the process of being shaped for mass mediation. At the moment, one can actually speak of three different approaches or sub-genres (*Pikiran Rakyat Online*, 25 November 2001): the first is *nasyid Melayu*, characterised by its typical use of percussion, second is *nasyid acapela* (*a-cappella* singing), and the third is a form that makes prominent use of hymns, and emphasises the defence of one's religion (*jihad*).

Many young people are attracted to the genre, because *nasyid* does not just discuss religious dogmas, but also touches on social issues. In doing this, like *qasidah* and *dangdut*, *nasyid* mostly uses the national language, instead of the more esoteric Arabic used in many sermons. The genre is, moreover, targeted at both the Indonesian and Malaysian markets. With bands like Nada Murni, Raihan and SNada being popular at both sides of the Straits of Malacca and representing one of the world's major religions, the genre is truly trans-national in character.²⁰

Well-known *nasyid* groups like Raihan and SNada, are as popular as more Western-oriented popular bands and singers. SNada (*Senandung Nada dan Dakwah: Humming a melody* [literally "tone"] and *spreading the message*) has been one of Indonesia's most successful groups thus far. The group, which comes from Jakarta, was started by former students at the Universitas Indonesia and is

¹⁸ Cf. Jurriëns 2001:152-60) for more information on this Bandung-based band.

¹⁹ See also the Malaysia-based *CyberNasyid* site: the home to "the e-nasyiders community".

²⁰ Because the national genres Pop Malaysia and Pop Indonesia, although both sung in Malay, tend to aim only at the national market, few artists have been popular in both countries. Malaysia's Sheila Majid or Siti Nurhaliza are notable exceptions, and are at present still very popular in Indonesia, while especially *dangdut* as a genre is enthusiastically consumed in Malaysia.

regularly featured on Indonesian television. They have released several cassettes and VCDs, among which are *Air Mata Bosnia (The tears of Bosnia, 1996)* and, together with pop singer Ita Purnamasari, the album *KepadaMu ya Allah (To you, Allah, 1997)* and *Satu dalam damai (One in peace, 1999)*. After Suharto's resignation, the SNada group teamed up with the Partai Keadilan, a political party that was extremely popular among students in the reformation era, for which they recorded several cassettes and video clips.²¹ Their songs, some of which have been recorded in Mandarin, Japanese and English, are overtly religious in character, as may be seen in the English version of the song *Neo Shalawat*:

Yea Allah please shower your blessing and your salvation/To the Prophet Muhammad, who we all adore/May he always be under your sovereignty/May he forever be under your loving care. (*CyberNasyid*)

In the past ten years, established pop singers have also recorded religious songs. Examples include Rano Karno (*Rumah muslimin dan muslimat, [House of the Muslims, 1995]*), singer and actress Novia Kolapaking, who teamed up with her husband Emha Ainun Nadjib to release the cassette *Taubat (Repentance, 1998;* see also the cover in figure 2), and recently singer Yuni Shara, who devoted a whole album, *Kembali ke keagunganMu (Returning to Your greatness, 2001)* and all-time religious classics previously recorded by other Indonesian singers.²² The release of such religious albums, or the staging of music shows normally tends to coincide with special annual events like the end of the fasting month of Ramadhan or Christmas.²³

Emha Ainun Nadjib, who is also a writer, social critic and religious spokesman, released three noteworthy albums with his ensemble Kiai Kanjeng Sepuh, which have been extremely successful among Indonesian youth. These cassette tapes, *Kado Muhammad (Muhhamad's gift, 1998)*, *Wirid Padang Bulan (Padang Bulan recitation, 1999)*, and *Maiyah tanah air (Togetherness of our country, 2001)*, contain an interesting mix of religious sermon (*khotbah*),

²¹ An example is the cassette *Pemimpin yang membawa kecerahan (Leaders that bring clarity, 1999)*. See *CyberNasyid.../infonasyid/profil/snada.shtml*.

²² We should make a distinction between an artist like Ebiet G. Ade, and even the rock group Kantata, who are said to make "spiritual music", and those who overtly make Islamic music. At the beginning of April 2002, the song *Misteri Illahi (Divine mystery)* by Ari Lasso scored number two in the national charts (*Tembang.../chart*). Although the text is highly spiritual, we do not define such songs as religious songs here. Part of the text runs: "I am still here/Feeling the emptiness in my heart/What haunts me until now/Is the meaning of this life/[...]At the time I was startled/I wanted to shout about those feelings/There is still that remaining love/For my unhappy soul."

²³ Yuni Shara's album appeared in the month of Ramadhan, close to Christmas. In the same week the Jakarta-based Musica company released three other religious albums: *Bintang keabadian (Eternal Star)* by Ronnie Sianturi, *Penyembahanku (My prayer)* by Carlo Saba, and *KepadaMu bersyukur (Praise to You)* by Amat Amigos. In 2001 three Muslim oriented cassettes were among the 40 best-selling albums of the year (*Kompas Cyber Media, 9 December 2001*).

Javanese gamelan and more modern instrumental additions (*campur sari*). Emha, who regularly performs with his group throughout Indonesia and comes from a *pesantren*²⁴ background, considers these performances as either a religious sermon or a form of contemplation (*shalawatan*), and not just a musical show. He hopes that his audience will take home some lessons for life and not just the enjoyment of a live musical performance. Recently, he defined this approach as *maiyah*, togetherness (*Kompas Cyber Media*, 23 November 2001). In a recent interview, he stated that he cannot do much directly about Indonesia's current situation of social injustice and intolerance (*Kompas Cyber Media*, two articles on 9 November 2001). When he presented his latest album *Maiyah tanah air*, he described it as "a form of hope, an invitation to rebuild the huge ship that had been torn to pieces", or as is written on the cover of the album: "Making music for Allah for the sake of Indonesia. For a people and nation that are presently fragmented...".

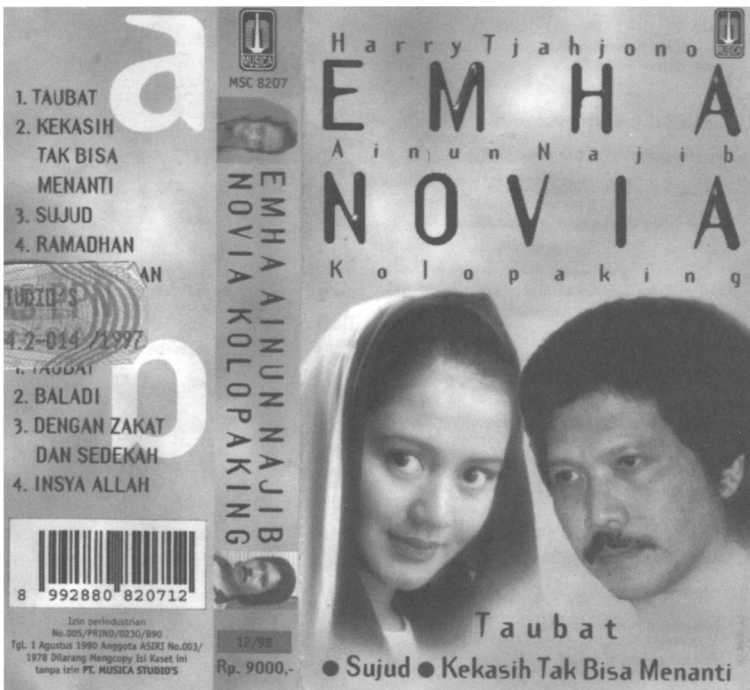


Figure 2. Cover of the cassette tape *Taubat* with Islamic music and showing female vocalist Novia Kolopaking, wearing a veil (*jilbab*), with her husband Emha Ainun Nadjib.

²⁴ *Pesantren* are boarding schools that give much attention to Islamic religion. In some more traditional *pesantren*, the teaching is only about religious topics, and does not include, for instance, Indonesian, English or mathematics. The more modern *pesantren* are part of the national school system and have to comply with the rules set by the Ministry for Religious Affairs.

Indie: Indonesia's underground goes public

In financial terms, the present-day music industry in Indonesia is small by world standards, but it is the largest in Southeast Asia (Sen and Hill 2000:169). In contrast to the 1950s and 1960s, many studios today are no longer owned solely by producers. Increasingly, artists themselves decide to build a home-based studio, complete with the latest digital equipment from Singapore. Examples of such studios are the well-known *A-System* studio in South Jakarta, where the popular band Portret records, jazz musician Indra Lesmana's *Blue Turtle* studio, or singer Krisdayanti's *Hijau's* studio. These studios not only specialise in pop music, but simultaneously earn an income by producing advertising jingles or soundtracks for the immensely popular tele-novellas on one of Indonesia's many new television stations. In spite of their size, these studios are therefore part of an often-obscure industry, in which the different media are interrelated and certain conglomerates are still clearly recognisable. Indonesian citizens of East Asian and Indian descent especially continue to be prominent in the business.²⁵

In Indonesia, the technological innovations of the 1990s have been further reinforced by the changing political climate since 1998. This has recently resulted in the emergence of a so-called alternative music scene (*musik alternatif*), or Indonesian underground music (*musik di tanah bawah*). Today, this scene is widely known as *Indie*, a collective designation by the music industry for various groups, genres²⁶ and scenes that prioritise a do-it-yourself attitude and therefore prefer small independent labels. Although some of the bands, genres and labels involved clearly predate former President Suharto's resignation (Hill and Sen 1997; Baulch 1996), most of these subaltern voices have only become public with the loosening of restrictions on media and public life in general.²⁷ Local radio stations especially have been instrumental in highlighting underground bands by playing demo tapes and organising events. This has even led to special programming of *Indie*-chart shows on the better-known radio stations like *IndieLapan* on the Jakarta-based Radio Prambors, and Radio Arda's *Indie 7*.

In the aftermath of the era of *Reformasi* and the resulting greater freedoms, the *Indie* movement is one of the music industry's largest successes

²⁵Sen and Hill (2000:169) add that the industry is, moreover, largely based in Java. The Association of Recording Industries in Indonesia (ASIRI) in 1997 had over a hundred members of which the only ones outside of Java were two companies in Bali and one in west Sumatra. It seems, however, that over the past five years the industry has been reorganised, particularly due to the new freedoms of the post-Suharto era.

²⁶Although the term *Indie* is internationally used for a genre of popular music, in Indonesia it is comparable to the adjective *Reformasi* (reformation) that briefly was one of the most popularly used designations to promote one's music. Another term that was used for a short time is *progresif*, denoting a music that is more serious and more creative than ordinary pop music (cf. *Kompas Cyber Media*, 7 October 2001). Today the term *Indie* is used for virtually every musical genre ranging from underground hip hop, Indie Jazz, Indie Blues to Indie Rock Country and, of course, *Indie* pop.

²⁷See, for example, *MTVAsia*, 13 December 2001.

thus far, coinciding with, for example, a movement of *Indie* comic artists, the emergence of numerous new fanzines and magazines, and an Indonesian independent film sector which has had considerable success in the last few years.²⁸

Rather than just a musical genre, *Indie* therefore reflects the approach of some Western pop traditions with a similar rebellious image. In recent years punk, metal and ska music have, for example, enjoyed enormous popularity among the youth in places like Jakarta, Medan or Bali. Pickles (2000:9-10) refers to punk as the most theatrical of these youth cultures in Indonesia, which like its Western example is intentionally “in your face” and makes use of a dress code, music and life style that are necessarily cheap, thereby attracting young people from all classes, religions and ethnic backgrounds. Indonesia’s youth have indigenised these cultures and given them new meanings. Bandung and Jakarta are particularly known as the home of a large number of punk bands like Out of Control, Fresh Cookies, The Idiots, and Sexy Pig. Some of these groups are politically oriented (for example, the Bandung-based Riotic Collective), although the use of broken English, instead of Indonesian texts, allegedly makes the social criticism voiced in many of the lyrics not always intelligible to its audience. Lyrics deal with rioting, anarchy and the fear of pseudo-reforms and mere empty slogans. An example is the lyrics of Out Of Control’s song *Political swindle* as published on their site:

Flag colours to extends are everywhere/ with slogans aren’t efficient/The rhetoric promise a brighter future/then nothing has change ’cos nothing has done.../The citizen don’t brave to gave their voices/’cos the justice is done not for the minorities/give them freedom for decided their voices/Don’t you talking shit because it won’t change.²⁹

Indie is not so much characterised by musical aspects as by its emphasis on taking charge of things oneself. With the loosening of the government’s grip and increasingly less expensive means of producing and distributing music, it has become the preferred way for many musicians. This is also shown by the English lyrics of The Idiots’s song *You are Suck* on the same site *Oi! Indonesia Punks and Skins*:

²⁸ Olle (2000) shows how one of the most striking aspects of the current wave of press freedom has been the growth in the number of new publications. “Since Suharto’s resignation, the Ministry of Information has approved almost 1000 new permits. This is in addition to the 200-300 existing ones under the New Order. Much of this press explosion consists of politically oriented tabloids produced weekly, available at a cheap price and with a mass distribution network.”

²⁹ See the site *Oi! Indonesia Punks and Skins*, created by someone called Harry W. Destroy in Depok. Another site is *Medan Underground*, which focuses on the Metal genre. Here one finds reviews of albums and the yearly Medan Underground festival, which this year will be held for the fifth successive time. Popular also is the all-Indonesian Metal website *IndoGrinder*.

We can prove that we can do without your associated with us/D.I.Y.³⁰ ethic still in our hearts and we never want to joint with you/You are fuckin' bloody suck/We never want to coorporate with you/This band was come from to us and this band present for the kids/Not for profit and your greed we never want to joint with you.

Part of the do-it-yourself mentality of punk, ska and metal fans has been reflected in the enormous increase of low-budget fanzines published by, among others, Gerilya (Jakarta), Megatone Zine (Bali), Post Mangled Zine (Surabaya), Kerkhoff (Solo), or Tigabelas Zine (Bandung), and recently by the increase of Internet sites devoted to these genres. At the same time, underground musicians have sought a public audience through the organisation of local non-commercial concerts, like the Medan Underground Festival in Northern Sumatra, Bali's Sunday Hot Music or Local Gigs at Bandung's Hitam Putih cage, and the Ska festivals at Jakarta's Museum Abri Satria Mandala. As musical styles, punk and ska were short fads in 1999 and 2000. Jun Fan Gung Foo (JFGF) is one of the better-known exponents of this punk and ska craze that gained national fame. In 1997, some high school students founded the group and, although initially a punk band, they soon decided to mix in elements taken from ska and alternative music and later added brass instruments to their soundscape as well. They perform at schools, university campuses and cafes, where they play mostly covers of international ska songs. After winning several contests, they released a first single called *Semua Berantakan* (*Everything is chaos*) that for some weeks was at the top of the *IndieLapan* charts of the popular Jakarta based Radio Prambors. In this way, the popularity of the group increased beyond the capital. In October 1999, the group released the album *NAGA 2000* (*The year of the Dragon, 2000*) for Sony Records, from which the single *Bruce Lee* was taken, emphasising their obsession with Asian martial arts:

Me and my friends, we all like kung fu/We all like to hang around together, as we have a common obsession/Instead of just sitting quietly, you better come with us/If you also like kung fu, join with us Jun Fang Gung Foo...³¹

The *Indie* scene has increasingly produced forms that can also be enjoyed by a mainstream audience. Good examples are Slank,³² one of

³⁰ Do it yourself.

³¹ *Aku dan teman—temanku semua suka kungfu/Semua suka nongkrong bareng, semua punya satu obsesi/Daripada kamu berdiam diri, mending gabung sama kami/Kalo kamu juga suka kungfu gabung aja dengan Jun Fan Gung Foo...*

³² Their cassette tape *Generasi Biru* (*Blue Generation*, 1995) achieved "double platinum" as BASF's largest selling cassette across all musical categories in Indonesia in that year. Slank has diversified to establish a management bureau, a recording studio, a production house and a recording company as autonomous enterprises (Hill and Sen 1997). Market research on the first five Slank albums indicated that 43% of the buyers were between 15 and 19 years old, and 35% between 20 and 24. Fifty-eight percent were males. Although the majority of Slank's fans are in Java, their appeal is national, their sales broadly reflecting population densities.

Indonesia's most popular rock bands that carefully cultivated a rebellious image and built up a huge following among the youth. More recently the band Naif, also associated with the *Indie* approach, has been very successful. Naif was founded in 1995 and initially released only cassettes. In 2001, viewers voted their single *Posesif* the Most Favourite Video at Penghargaan MTV Indonesia. Avi, the transvestite in the video, is currently the most famous transvestite in Indonesia, appearing on several talk shows.³³

Another example is the compilation album *Indie ten* that was released by Sony Music Indonesia in 1998, bringing together bands from four of Indonesia's larger cities that did not yet have a record deal at the time. In the liner notes it says that "many music groups in the archipelago are talented and have potential, but that only few have the finances to turn their creations into an album. Sony Music feels itself therefore responsible to expose their creativity". As in Western popular music, the *Indie* scene seems increasingly encapsulated by the music industry. Most of the bands that initially came to public attention through Sony's compilation album have recorded full albums in the meantime. Bands like Padi, Wong and Cokelat are presently among the most popular Indonesian groups. The success of the compilation has recently led to a second volume of *Indie ten*.

Baulch (1996) states that "alternative music has fast become an integral part of what it is to be an ultimately modern teen" in Indonesia. Ironically, enough alternative music is associated with a lifestyle that consists of hanging out in shopping malls, eating at McDonalds and watching MTV; exactly those things of which alternative music in the West has tried to be the antithesis. More than protest or social criticism then, the *Indie* scene seems to appeal to the Western values so often idealised by many young Asians (Lent 1994:2)—a lifestyle in which modernity, freedom and individuality are emphasised.³⁴

Mass media, money, copyright and piracy

Mass media, including the popular press, the recording industry, radio and television, are not transparent windows onto "what is out there", but as institutions and communicative vehicles contain their own political and economic tendencies (Spitulnik 1993). At the same time, mass media are quickly to respond to changing world circumstances.

The rise of private radio in the early 1990s is clearly related to the Indonesian policy of "openness" of the late 1980s (Lindsay 1997). The much-

³³ Traditionally, transvestites have been prominently present in southeast Asian public life, as they have been in the world of performing arts. They are generally seen to personify the philosophical unity of male and female (Kartomi 1976:117, Wilson 1999). Indonesian television regularly features transvestites, of which Dorce Gamalama is a good example.

³⁴ This easy-going lifestyle is also portrayed by MTV Indonesia video jockey (VJ), Shanty. Shanty, a role model for the younger generation and voted the most favourite new pop singer of 2001 in an MTV poll, was characterised as: "Life is often sweet for Shanty—thanks to a cool job, and not forgetting, a regular dosage of her favorite drink, Coke, and occasional indulgences in Cookies & Cream ice cream at Baskin Robbin's" (*MTV Asia, .../onair/vjs/ShantyAnnisaa/index.html*).

watched multi-lingual musical variety television show *Asia Bagus*, produced in Singapore largely with Japanese money and featuring performers from all over Asia, is linked to emergent notions of Asia as a cultural entity and lines of flow of capital, performers and media products that cross-hatch East and Southeast Asia (Cohen 1998:649). MTV Asia, which regularly plays Indonesian video clips, broadcasts a weekly all-Indonesian chart (*Ampuh*³⁵ list) and features English-speaking Indonesian video jockeys, marks Indonesia as one node in the global cultural market. The latest developments were plans for an exclusive MTV Indonesia program brought jointly by MTV Networks Asia and Global TV, broadcasting twenty-four hours a day in several large Indonesian cities, as from May 2002.³⁶ It will feature existing programs such as the *Ampuh* charts, but also a special *dangdut* program and it will cover local events. The idea behind the program is to make television that suits the taste and lifestyle of an Indonesian audience. Employing more Indonesian video jockeys will be one way to provide an Indonesian flavour.³⁷ Apart from planning an all-Indonesian program, the music multinational has found other ways to reach the Indonesian audience, one of them being a compilation series called *MTV 100% Indonesia* and another being an annual all-Indonesia competition for music videos.

The Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s had a severe impact on the domestic popular music industry in Indonesia, resulting in a drastic drop in the production and sale of cassettes. In 1996 the sales figures were more than eight million cassettes per month, but during 1998 this was reduced to three million per month.³⁸ It decreased to 2.3 million cassettes per month in 2000, to rise again to 2.8 million cassettes per month at the end of 2001 (*Media Indonesia*^E, 23 December 2001). In the last twenty years or so the price of a cassette tape in Euros or US dollars has hardly changed. However, in rupiahs the price has increased by a factor of ten.

The institutional logic of the media has changed the way music is perceived in Indonesia today. Traditionally, in many parts of Indonesia expressive culture was and is considered to be the outer manifestation of inner, spiritual life (Barendregt 1995:118-9; van Zanten 1994:76). Written and oral texts are perceived as communal property, always available for timely re-writing

³⁵ *Ampuh* is an acronym for Ajang Musik Pribumi Sepuluh, "List of (top) Ten Domestic Music (items)" as produced by MTV Asia (Sutton 2000:39). *Ampuh* also means "possessing magical power" of *krisses* (ceremonial daggers), or "modest and well-controlled" (the ideal voice type for the nobles) (Van Zanten 1989:180).

³⁶ The station would initially be available in five of the larger cities, including Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya and Medan with an estimated distribution to 15 million households.

³⁷ The relation between the music industry and MTV tends to be a close one as MTV often employs pop singers. National idol Nadya Hutagalung is a good example of this approach, while VJ Shanty released one of the most successful Indonesian pop albums of 2001. See also the new *MTV Indonesia* website.

³⁸ *Kompas Online*, 10 January 1999. See also *Detikhot*^E, 4 March 2002. The figures in this section are mostly taken from press reports and are often supplied by the music industry. They are only used to indicate trends.

and re-telling. In most traditional musical scenes, it is the social setting as a whole that is important and not just the sound of the music. A musical event is in an intimate environment, made up of related activities—including talking, dancing, flirting, eating—of which playing music is only one (Van Zanten 1997:48). Furthermore, the audience quite often participates in the performance: the borderline between audience and performers is not rigidly defined. Music is a background against which all kinds of social interaction takes place.

All of these aspects of music have come to be disturbed and re-evaluated with the introduction of sound amplification (Sutton 1996), mass-media created super-star performers (Weintraub 1997), and international commodity regulations (Kartomi 1998) in the field of Indonesian performance. Music no longer necessitates a sharing of time and place by performer and public. Recordings produced in studios, without an audience, have re-aligned how people conceive of music. The situation in Indonesia is shifting towards the one Malm (1992:362) describes for reggae in Jamaica, a music that is almost entirely a product of the recording studios:

Live performances of reggae are rare, since the demands on the equipment are so great and the finances of all but a few top reggae artists so limited. Reggae can be heard live in Jamaica only at major events directed towards tourists.³⁹

Indonesia's incorporation into the global economy has also meant involvement in copyright issues. Recently, intellectual property rights (*Hak atas Kekayaan Intelektual*: HaKI) have been much discussed, also in popular music publications. After withdrawing in 1958, in 1997 Indonesia again ratified the Bern Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.⁴⁰ Critical voices have also been raised in the Indonesian press, claiming that intellectual property rights are only meant to enlarge the profits of multinational companies in the richest parts of the world (*Kompas Cyber Media*, 17 July 2001).⁴¹

Where presently the international music industry still has a stronghold on distributing and promoting selected artists, the distance between producers and consumers is tending to become smaller, and in the near future the industry might slowly lose its grip as an intermediary. In most countries, the re-configuration of the music industry is in process and indeed tends to focus on issues of copyright, emphasising a shift from a manufacturing industry, in which records and cassettes are sold as commodities, to a rights industry, where the ownership of titles is at stake (Frith 2000:390). In Southeast Asia, and especially Indonesia, where copyrights have traditionally been poorly protected, this configuration might, however, lead to different transformations. Indonesians now

³⁹ The west-Javanese *kacapi-suling* music is a good example of music that is largely a product of recording studios, and also played live for tourists in the larger hotels.

⁴⁰ See for an overview, for instance, the statement by the Indonesian director general of intellectual property rights in Geneva, 27 June 2000, www3.itu.int/MISSIONS/Indonesia/st00627trips.htm.

⁴¹ For critical comments see also Liebowitz (2002), Garafalo et al. (2001) and Smiers's forthcoming (2003) book, among others.

are in the process of re-negotiating what music as a cultural field means, which is in many cases leading to the individualisation of artistic oral traditions.

A legal initiative concerning royalty payments for the *kroncong* song *Bengawan Solo*, composed by the Javanese songwriter Gesang in 1940 and well-known and often recorded in a number of Asian countries, became a matter of national controversy in 1989-90 and created an awareness of cultural property and heritage that had not been there before (Kartomi 1998). Popular music's capital value (both symbolic and actual) has created new conceptions of what it means to be Indonesian in the global market. Currently, a discussion is underway between the Ministry of Law and the Ministry of Education and Culture on issues surrounding "individual", 'ethnic' and 'national' copyrights. New developments in this field will certainly be forthcoming, and merit close attention.⁴²

Although bootleg audiocassettes, recordings by American and European artists re-taped in Asia and sold at a quarter of their original price, had almost disappeared around 1997, at the beginning of 2002 piracy had increased again to previously unknown levels. According to Arnel Affandi, the general manager of the Association of Recording Industries in Indonesia (ASIRI, Asosiasi Industri Rekaman Indonesia) for 2002-2005, it was estimated by the United States Trade Representative that in 1997 only 12% of the CDs and audiocassettes sold were illegal copies (*Media Indonesia*^E, 5 March 2002). In February 2002, 5 out of 6 of the audiocassettes, audio-CDs and video-CDs produced were illegal copies, percentages that seem unsurpassed in the world (*Kompas Cyber Media*, 7 February 2002).⁴³ Arnel Affandi also expressed concern about possible repercussions from the US government, as the United States Trade Representative had placed Indonesia on the priority watch list for violating copyright laws, especially with respect to VCDs and computer software (*Kompas Cyber Media*, 21 March 2000).

Recent estimated figures show the following production numbers for the year 2001 (*Kompas Cyber Media*, 14 November 2001):

Legal copies of Indonesian audiocassettes:	30-35 million
Illegal copies of Indonesian audiocassettes:	200 million
Illegal copies of Indonesian VCDs (karaoke):	120 million
Illegal copies of foreign audiocassettes:	50 million

It is estimated that because of these illegal copies, the Indonesian government suffered a tax loss of about €60 million (US\$54 million) in the year 2000. At the same time the loss for the Indonesian music industry is estimated to be nearly ten times this amount, or €550 million (*Kompas Cyber Media*, 14 November 2001).

⁴² For general discussions of copyright and music, see Feld 1996; Mills 1996; Seeger 1992, 1996; Zemp 1996.

⁴³ According to the same source, this was a slight improvement compared to three months earlier, when 7 out of 8 audiocassettes, audio- and video-CDs produced were illegal. The figures in this section are of course rough estimates and usually supplied by the recording industry itself.

In 2000, Indonesia seems to have ranked fifth, both on the list of countries violating copyright laws and in terms of lost taxes. It was exceeded only by China, Taiwan, Korea and Malaysia (*Media Indonesia*^E, 20 April 2001).

On 5 June 2002, several parties in the music industry established FOKAP (Forum Komunikasi Anti Pembajakan: Forum for information against piracy) to fight the copying. Its first task would be to inform the general public about the negative effects of piracy and to ask them to buy the original rather than pirated copies. The people involved included composers, makers of song texts, artists and producers. The chairperson of the Indonesian parliament, Amien Rais, was also present at the ceremony in Jakarta (*Media Indonesia*^E, 6 June 2002).

Although cassette tapes are still sold in large quantities, in the five years since 1997 these have been replaced more and more by VCDs. Audio-CDs have never been big sellers, as their price is relatively high. Average prices of the different tapes and CDs with popular music in 2001-2 were:⁴⁴

Legal cassette tape of popular music:	Rp10 000–15 000 (€1.10–1.70)
Legal VCD	Rp16 000–40 000 (€1.80–4.40)
Legal audio-CD	Rp30 000–50 000 (€3.30–5.50)
Pirated Indonesian/Malaysian VCDs	Rp6000–10 000 (€0.70–1.10)

Pirating audiocassettes and VCDs is a booming business in all large cities of Indonesia. Most prominent is the Glodok business area in northern Jakarta where an estimated one million illegal copies a day are produced, worth Rp.3,000,000,000.00 (€330,000.00; *Kompas Cyber Media*, 7 February 2002). Newspaper reports suggest that, in order to keep their financial losses under control, some companies produce illegal copies themselves, right after launching their legal, registered and censored albums.

Apriadi Gunawan, writing in the newspaper *Jakarta Post Online* (1 July 2001) reports about north Sumatra that:

As far as music is concerned, North Sumatra seems to be in deep slumber, and little or no clamour is heard; but when it comes to piracy in the cassette recording business, it is something else. You will be dumbfounded...Albums of ethnic music are selling like hot cakes; as many as 100,000-300,000 copies are sold each month. In the meantime, sales of national pop music seem to be heading south or dragging at a really slow pace. Seldom can they make a hit but when sales do hit a record high of 100,000 copies a month, there is no doubt that to have achieved that feat, it must have required tremendous effort...In terms of number, pirated cassettes and VCDs of ethnic songs in North Sumatra outnumber or rank level with the sales of albums of Slank or Dewa—two Jakarta music groups that have recently shot to prominence.

⁴⁴ In March 2002, Rp10.000.-- was equivalent to about € 1.10 or US\$1.00. See also *Tempo*, 4 April 2002: the Jakarta police caught thirteen peddlers selling illegal VCDs at the even lower prices of Rp 3000.00-6000.00.

Apriadi Gunawan interviewed H. Sofyan S, the owner of LY Recording Company in Medan, who explained the economics of the cassette industry to him. During the heyday of the industry, this company was able to produce 2-3 albums each month. Sofyan estimated that at present the number of pirated cassette tapes and VCDs sold is twice that of the originals. Producing an album containing twelve songs cost a producer about Rp.12.8 million (US\$1100.00)—Rp.4.8 million to pay the singer and Rp.8 million for recording costs. According to Apriadi Gunawan:

If they could sell 100.000 copies at only Rp.1.000 [€1.10] profit apiece, minus Rp.12.8 million for costs, then they would enjoy a profit of Rp.87 million (US\$8000.00)—handsome indeed. The local singers would always come out worst. For singers such as Laila Hasyim and Syaiful Amri, they got Rp.400.000 for each of their songs, but they didn't know about their royalty rights.

These days, however, artists increasingly are members of, PAPPRI (Persatuan Artis Pencipta Lagu dan Penata Musik), the Union of Composers and Performing Artists. In January-February 2001, one of the present authors witnessed the Padang section of PAPPRI dealing with a case of a well-known singer who had used two songs written by another composer on a recording. She had changed the title of one song, and in both cases had put her name on the cover as composer of the song. The case was eventually solved “within the family”, with the singer paying Rp.15 million (€1600.00) to the composer, quite a large sum by current Indonesian standards.

Visual aspects on VCDs: relation between image and text

As was discussed in the previous section, the impact of VCDs is rapidly increasing and they may gradually replace cassette tapes. In terms of numbers of consumers, this VCD medium is much more important than the World Wide Web in 2002.⁴⁵ In this section, we shall first make some general remarks about the relation between image and text on the VCDs, and then present a few examples, highlighting specific issues.

The covers of the VCDs claim their contents to be *karaoke* music, in which one can turn off the audio-channel with the sound of the vocalist, and just hear the accompaniment and see the images and text. This way one can sing along with the accompaniment, like earlier with the *karaoke* cassette tapes. Previously, a whole album (cassette tape) might contain just one “extra” *karaoke* track. In the early 1980s, tape sets of *karaoke*, which means “empty orchestra”, invaded the Japanese domestic sphere (Keil 1984:94), and many Indonesians soon followed suit. After its introduction on cassette tape in Indonesia, the

⁴⁵ In the years around 1995 and before the VCDs were introduced to the Indonesian consumer market, sound and image were combined on Laser Discs (LDs). However, these never became a success because the discs were expensive (Rp.80,000-90,000, (about €38.00 or US\$35.00), as was the apparatus needed to play them. For similar reasons, videocassette tape was never a really popular medium in Indonesia.

“empty orchestra” genre continued to play a role in the promotion of the more expensive laser disc around 1995, and eventually the VCD from around 1997. Although the VCDs offer a wealth of visual information together with the music, the various companies producing them emphasise the *karaoke* possibilities, rather than the visual aspects.

In this section we present a first analysis of how the words and the images, and to a certain extent the music, go together. Whereas the early cassette tapes of the 1970s did not always give full information about the performers, songs texts, etc., this was improved in the 1980s and 1990s for both cassette tapes and CDs. The VCDs present the song texts on screen, and also mention the song’s composer and the names of the vocalists. However, as with the earlier cassette tapes, information about the performing musicians—except the vocalists—is, remarkably, once again missing on the (legal) VCDs, especially in the regional pop music that we studied. One wonders whether this has to do with copyrights issues and/or protecting the musicians from being sued for doing something illegal. The Cianjuran musician Uking Sukri told one of the present authors that he and the Radio-Bandung instrumentalists were not mentioned on many early cassette recordings of the 1970s. The musicians themselves requested this because they were afraid that their employers, the state radio RRI, would object to these recordings.

The images on VCDs of regional popular music frequently display nature (rivers with waterfalls, mountains, woods, lakes and the sea) or parks in a city. The “sound of longing” is combined with images of the homeland. Furthermore, the artists may appear in several outfits in the same song, from traditional costumes to modern jeans and skirts. Although most images were probably a later addition to the recorded sound, the synchronisation is relatively reasonable. Dancers, for instance four girls, or two boys and two girls, seem to act as stage decor. On some VCDs (for instance, *Doel Sumbang* 1 and 2, *Top hits millennium 2000*) the images of the artists and surroundings alternate with images of a girl, just sitting or standing, brushing away her hair, or doing nothing except “being beautiful” (see figure 3).

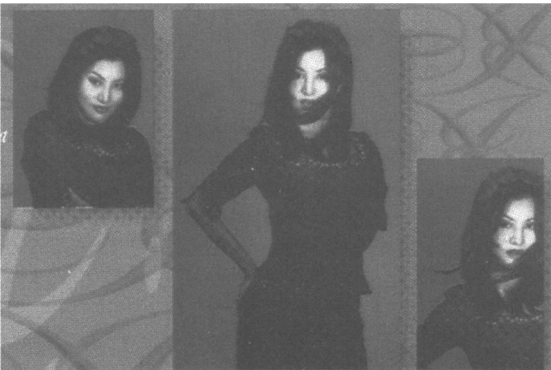


Figure 3. Cici Faramida on the backside of the cover of her VCD (*Cici Faramida 1999*)

On VCDs of pop Indonesia, the images are predominantly urban: street life, cars and big houses. However, here too nature is quite often present in the form of gardens with flowers and trees. VCDs are big business, and erotic images are important on almost all of them, as are texts about love. However, the way this is presented is different in that the images on regional pop music VCDs seem to be more restrained than on the national ones. Also, on the regional pop music VCDs the erotic images tend to be produced mainly by actors other than the singers (who “just sing”), whereas on the pop Indonesia VCDs, the singers tend to be more actively involved in producing them.

On almost all VCDs, regional or national, young women and men touch each other, though less closely and more briefly on the regional ones. On some VCDs, the women are filmed very much in close-up, intimately, like on the VCD *Cici Faramida* (1999), where Cici Faramida’s mouth is often shown in close-up (see the backside of the cover in figure 3). This is also true of the pop Indonesia VCD *Yuni Shara* (1998). On other VCDs, such as the *Lagu-lagu top klasik Sunda* (2002), in the song *Dikantun tugas* the camera pans the body of the female vocalist Yanti several times from her face to her lap and back. All VCDs have to pass the censor before being released, which is how the government controls both image and text. None of the VCDs we analysed showed a couple kissing although it is suggested a few times, as in the song *Mengapa tidak maaf* on *Yuni Shara* (1998), where the girl touches the head of her beloved and moves as if to kiss him, but then turns away from the camera.⁴⁶

Popular religious songs ask for another approach. Performing religious songs on stage demands a different body language and the singer should be even more convincing in that way his or her message is brought than in secular pop songs. On the covers of cassette tapes the artists are depicted in full religious mufti, which further emphasises this image. Actress Novia Kolopaking went even further, and after her marriage to Emha decided to become a devoted housewife who always wears a veil and devotes most of her time to Islamic charities (*Majalah Suara Hidayatullah*^E, December 2001)

⁴⁶ The names of pop stars like Yuni Shara and her younger sister Kris Dayanti are also used to attract visitors to pornographic sites on the World Wide Web. One of these sites shows pictures of two nude women that vaguely look like the two stars whose names are written on the pictures. The illegal VCD circuit is definitely also connected to the pornographic industry, as is clear from many newspaper reports. However, pornography has been an obsession for Indonesian authorities for many years. Although VCD players, computer games, the Internet and other emerging technologies prove to be excellent avenues, especially for Indonesian youth, for expressing a desire for modernity and cosmopolitanism at the same time, they have a rather negative image within the national popular press. The VCD format, for example, is primarily associated with piracy, pornography and political violence (Barendregt 2002).

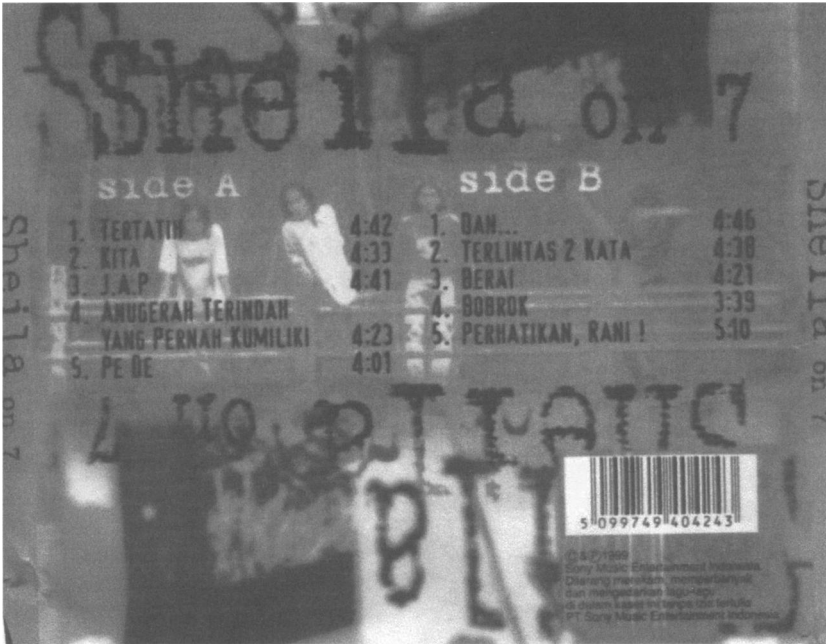


Figure 4. Cover of the pirated VCD ‘Tertatih’ by the Sheila on 7 group is presumably taken from the cover of the audiocassette with these songs on “Side A” and “Side B”.

On pirated VCDs anything may happen. Two pirated VCDs of the well-known Yogyakarta group Sheila on 7 (SO7), *Sheila on 7—Tertatih* and *Sheila on 7—Kisah Klasik*,⁴⁷ are remarkable. The first one seems to be taken from an audiocassette (see cover in figure 4) with images added from several regions in China that have nothing to do with the music. On the *Sheila on 7—Kisah Klasik* VCD, #1 and #2 have images of the band Sheila on 7, but are not at all synchronous with the sound: guitars may play on the images while there is no sound, and the singer’s mouth does not move in synchrony with the audio. This VCD, furthermore, lacks the subtitling of the song texts while the images with items 3-12 are pictures of insects, fish and African landscapes with lions, giraffes, etc., and presumably North American snow landscapes with buffalos, bears and eagles. Finally, two men fighting, possibly in Hong Kong but definitely not in Indonesia, accompany the song *Lihat, dengar, rasakan*.

After these general remarks we shall now look at some examples in more detail. The first song on the pop Indonesia VCD *Duet legendaris Elvy Sukaesih & Mansyur S.* is *Gadis atau janda* (Maiden or divorcee). Here we see a woman (Elvy Sukaesih) driving a sports car on a beautiful road, presumably in southern Jakarta, and a man (Mansyur) riding a motorbike alongside her. When

⁴⁷ Duta, one of the singers of the band, declared that the producer of the Sheila on 7 music albums (Sony Music), never released a VCD version (*IndoMedia*^E, 10 November 2000).

the woman stops, he also stops and helps her out of the car. She is fashionably dressed in modern jeans and starts to dance for him, coquettishly moving her hips and her arms, so that her belly can just be seen. He leans against her car, watching. The woman sings, "I've been involved with love several times now". The man continues the sung dialogue: "So is it just me now, your 'elder brother'⁴⁸ whom you love?" "Oh, those youths who bother me are all crocodiles!" "You confuse me. Are you unmarried [literally, a virgin], or already divorced [or widow]? Please, tell me, don't be shy."⁴⁹ She confesses that she is divorced. That is no problem for him; he still loves her. Then she tells him that she is reluctant because people may hear what she says. But he assures her that no one is around, and then she tells him that she has many children. That, however, is also no problem for him, and together they sing: "Let us just get married!" While they sing images of four to six young women and a young man appear in and around the car, dancing now and then. While singing, the woman and man are also shown driving the car, now with the man at the wheel. Images of cars and beautiful houses keep returning in the other songs on the VCD.

It is interesting to compare Sean Williams's description of a very popular Sundanese *degung kawih* song *Kalangkang* (Shadow, daydream) on audiocassette with a newer version *Kalangkang Bulan* (Shadow of the moon) on VCD. Williams (1989:117) remarks that

The lyrics of the song are exciting for the Sundanese, because they step further than most Sundanese songs: They actually discuss kissing, embracing, and walking arm-in-arm, urban teenage behavior that, if seen in public at all, only appears on the most fashionable streets in Bandung.

In the song *Kalangkang Bulan* on the VCD *Mega Hits Degung* (2000), Vol.1, the text is rather conventional. Part of the text by Mang Raida⁵⁰ is as follows:

How beautiful is first love/ It cannot be compared to anything/ My heart is enchanted/ Because of our happiness/...It is a pity, it is really a pity/ The beautiful stays only during a flash/ The flower I hoped for disappears/ The shadow of the moon is made.⁵¹

The images on the VCD show most of the things described in the song text of the earlier *Kalangkang* that was translated by Williams (1989). The images are of the female vocalist with the musicians (*gamelan degung* instruments with *kacapi* zither), and now and then of a boy and girl who do the acting. They walk towards

⁴⁸ *Abang*, elder brother, is also a commonly used term of address from a wife to her husband.

⁴⁹ *Sudah berulang kali aku bermain cinta/ Jadi baru abang yang adik cinta?! Pemuda yang gangguku semuanya buaya./ Abang jadi ragu pada dirimu./ Kau masih gadis atau sudah janda? Baik katakan saja, jangan malu!*

⁵⁰ Also given as Faida.

⁵¹ *Duh éndah cinta munggaran/ Geuning nu taya bandingna/ Duh haté bungah bungangang/ Kabagjaan urang duaan/...Hanjakal, hanjakal teuing/ Éndah sakolébatan/ Léosna kembang harepan/ Kacipta kalangkang bulan.*

each other and embrace (no kissing), and then walk along with his arm around her shoulder. They sit on a garden wall talking hand-in-hand. The boy puts his arms around the girl's neck, and almost kisses her. The girl has her hand on his lap.

The Sundanese pop musician Doel Sumbang (the stage name of Wahyu Affandie) is mainly interested in texts. Part of his songs is social criticism put in daily language. In fact, his name Sumbang means "out of tune", "incest", "against tradition" or the severe breaking of rules (Van Zanten 1989:194; Jurriëns 2001:142). Thus, with respect to his artistic name he resembles the well-known pop Indonesia singer Iwan Fals (*fals*: out of tune). On the VCDs *Doel Sumbang 1* and *2* (1999), Doel is only accompanied by a keyboard he plays himself, and by music and texts of his own composition. Doel himself almost without exception just pretends to play his guitar.

In the love song *Bulan Batu Hiu* (The moon at Batu Hiu), Doel performs playback on a guitar, while keyboard-music is heard. The first images are of the sea, rocks in the sea, and a beach: Batu Hiu (Shark's Rock) lies near Pangandaran on the southeast coast of West Java. In the interlude, a bamboo flute (*suling*) player can be seen, with a real *suling* blending with the keyboard. Further, the picture of a girl is shown now and then, sitting together with Doel who plays the guitar and sings. Now and then four girls are shown, singing short phrases. At one point Doel writes the name "Rina" with a stick in the sand. Part of the text runs:

The moon is hanging in the sky above Batu Hiu / Only one piece is left/ Left over from yesterday's full moon / The two of us quietly enjoy each other's company/ We are very happy, all our feelings gave in to the temptation/ We declare solemnly the vow for life and death/...The moon is witness during the whole night/ It keeps the secret, it will surely not become known.⁵²

Doel Sumbang also addresses social problems. Although he claims he wouldn't like to make "music or songs that filled people's heads with worries", he feels that in songs like *Éma* (The madness of humans) (*Édanna Manusia*), he really shows who he is (Jurriëns 2001:143, 151). The song *Éma* (*Édanna Manusia*) on the VCD *Doel Sumbang, Vol. 2* (1999), is about a young boy who trips on ecstasy pills:

Ema, what are you doing, Ema?/...You are tripping, Ema/...Your life will become a mess/...Everything is gone and nothing left in exchange for ecstasy...Come back soon, Ema!⁵³

⁵² *Bulan nu ngangantung di langit Batu Hiu/ Tinggal sapasi sésa purnama kamari/ Urang duaan anteng sosoan/ Suka bungah, sagala rasa dibedah/ Ikrar janji sahidup samati/...Bulan sapeupeuting nyaksi/ Nyepeng rusiah, moal betus [written is: becus] pasti*

⁵³ *Éma, keur naon silaing Éma?/[...] Silaing triping Éma/[...] Hirup silaing jadi pakusut/ [...] Ludes teu nyésa ditukar actaxy.[...] Geura balik silaing, Éma"* See Jurriëns (2001:148-149) for the whole text, which is slightly different from the one on this VCD.

The images are of a boy wearing sunglasses, going home early in the morning, and walking as if he is “high” or drunk. He meets four girls on a road through a tea estate. The girls, who are going to work, look at him in dismay. Then we switch to the boy dancing in a disco with flashing lights. Doel Sumbang watches this all from outside, singing on a bench. Later, the boy is seen at his home, where his father and mother are in despair about his behaviour.

In the song *Nini luar nagri* (Strange grandmother) on VCD *Doel Sumbang*, Vol.2, the images are not at all of the subject of the song, but just show Doel Sumbang singing, alternating with a chorus of girls. The text of *Nini luar nagri* is about an old lady, who still uses lipstick, eye shadow, and a hair ribbon, to attract the attention of young men:

Wrinkly grandmother, with luxuriant grey hair/ And who does your face with powder and lipstick, with shadow and a hair-ribbon/ Like an evil spirit of the Waru tree/...Walking coquettish like a mannequin/ Laughing all the time with your three remaining teeth/...You sit and watch the bending road/ Teasing the young lads/ Forgetting your age, forgetting your grandchildren/ And imagining you are still beautiful/...Wanting to catch the attention of men more than hostesses⁵⁴ do.⁵⁵

Doel Sumbang wants to “sell lyrics” and is less interested in exploiting the possibilities of the music, he told Jurriëns (2001:142-43). The same seems to be true of the images on his VCDs, which are not really erotically daring. It may be that this is generally truer of famous male singers than of female ones, who seem to be in a better position to sell the erotic images.⁵⁶ In the present we continue to find traces of the past.

The Internet and popular music: portals, fan cultures and peer-to-peer techniques

In the past decade, the Internet has emerged as a very prominent channel of communication, for instance for e-mail, chatting and file-exchange via the World Wide Web (WWW) or directly from a server (FTP). Much has been written on its supposed economic and political impact as well as that for copyrights, music and ownership.⁵⁷ The Internet is likely to have a huge influence on the future of the

⁵⁴ In the sense of “prostitutes”.

⁵⁵ *Nini Nini péot Geus gomplok ku huis/ Jeung ngageulis maké bedak maké lipstik/ Maké shadow maké bondu/ Siga jurig tangkal waru/...Ucad-aced hayang siga pragawati/ Sura-sueri huntu tinggal tilu siki/...Nangkring di jalan tikungan/ Ngaheureuyan budak bujang/ Poho umur poho incu/ Asa aing alah geulis kénéh/...Cumentil leuwih ti hostes.*

⁵⁶ Compare, for instance, the pop Minangkabau VCD *Sarunai Aceh* (2000) with male singer Yan Juneid, or *Ucok Sumbara* (2000?) with male singer Ucok Sumbara, and the VCD *Efrinon* (1999) with female singer Efrinon. It would be a serious mistake, however, to conclude that a female artist like Efrinon *only* sells erotic images. By Western standards, furthermore, the pictures are hardly erotic. The idea of the music going with the text remains very important in the Minangkabau.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Jones 2000, Dolfisma 2000, and Liebowitz 2002.

music industry. In the future, CDs, cassettes and even VCDs might lose their status as preferred sound carriers, giving way to new formats such as mp3 or divx.⁵⁸ Differences between local, national and trans-national markets are further likely to blur as artists now have the possibility of putting their music directly on the Internet (Dolfsma 2000; Kibby 2000: 91).

Until now, little research has focussed on the divergent reactions of local music industries to the introduction of computer-mediated communications, and little is known about how local music practices might be co-opted, eventually leading to “vernacularization or indigenisation of these media” (Appadurai 1996:100).

We can only guess what the impact of the WWW on Indonesian popular music will be in the coming years. In most Internet studies, the term “virtual community” is used in a way vaguely reminiscent of Anderson’s (1983) “imagined communities”. This conception of communities solely existing in a so-called cyberspace has recently been severely criticised, however (Fornäs 1998, Miller and Slater 2000). The Internet is in no way the “placeless place” that is often suggested and is firmly embedded in off-line realities. Although some research is being done on the use of the Internet in Indonesia, we still know very little about these off-line realities of Indonesian users and the ways the Internet influences musical practice, musical taste or the distribution and experience of popular music. We should, moreover, be really careful not to exaggerate the impact of the Internet on Indonesia and its pop music scene.

In 2002, Indonesia still lacks the necessary infrastructure and many areas are even without such basic facilities as electricity and telephone services, let alone the capacity for computer mediated communications.⁵⁹ The WWW remains a community characterised by affluence, and the unequal power balance has already been described as “virtual colonization” (Hall 1999: 40).⁶⁰ As in other Southeast Asian countries, the Internet was initially highly elitist in its orientation, available only to technocrats and wealthy entrepreneurs. This has changed with the rapid increase of the number of local Internet Service Providers, the low cost of PCs preceding the economic crisis of 1997-98, and the use of mainly illegal software. The WWW has now become increasingly open to many urban Indonesians. Together with relatively easy-to-use chat software (like ICQ), this has led, within

⁵⁸ Divx is an illegal version (“crack”) of the Mpeg4 format that is becoming increasingly popular on the Internet for the illegal distribution of movies.

⁵⁹ “In a country with 210 million people there are only two million PCs and 200.000 Internet dial-up users. If group users and outlet visitors are added to this total, domestic Internet users number only 790.000. Of these, only 72.000 are domestic online shoppers. Of 70 business licenses issued, only 25 have been realized for no more than 5,400 domain names.” (Tamara 2000)

⁶⁰ At a November 2000 meeting of ASEAN countries in Singapore it was decided to make information technology an important spearhead in the socio-economic development of the region. The e-ASEAN Agreement expressed the need to strive for “digital readiness”, develop ASEAN competitiveness, and to “better the lives of their citizens through the application of information and communication technologies [as to] foster the spirit of ASEAN community.” (*e-ASEAN agreement* 2000)

a few years, to the enormous success of *kafe siber* (cyber café) in virtually each provincial town in Indonesia.⁶¹ A few years ago, the appearance of Indonesian-language search engines muted the problems of the dominance of English on the WWW. Many local communities in Indonesia now have their own meeting place on the Internet, where local issues can be discussed in a regional language.⁶² Furthermore, the number of user lists on all kinds of topics (both national and regional in scope) is rapidly increasing. Quite a few of these sites focus on popular music.

With the wider availability of these computer-mediated communications it seems likely that the discussion, distribution and advertisement of popular music will be strongly affected in the coming years. Fan magazines aimed at the teenage market have dominated Indonesia's printed pop music press. While the Sunday supplements of national newspapers such as *Republika* or *Kompas* sometimes discuss new albums or interview musicians, there are few print forums available for open discussions on the merits of popular music.⁶³ If an alternative musical press were to develop in Indonesia, it might well be an electronic one; many such discussion sites have appeared over the past few years.

It is important to not see the Internet as the monolithic entity it is sometimes supposed to be. The Internet is an amalgam of interacting, co-existing techniques and practices: e-mail, chatting, e(lectronic)-commerce, e-zines, streaming media, peer-to-peer audio-files sharing-utilities like Napster, KaaZaa, and the like. Locally, these preferences might differ enormously.⁶⁴ Below, we shall discuss some of the strategies used by the new electronic media in Indonesia and the ways in which they have shaped and imagined new musical communities. We shall refer to Internet sites, also listed in References Cited, which were available in 2002. Some Internet sites tend to be unstable, and may even disappear entirely within a few years. We therefore tried to restrict ourselves to sites that have seemed reasonably stable.

A first category of Internet sites is that of the so-called fan-sites: homepages dedicated to one group or artist. Many Indonesian bands and singers have their own homepage (often in English), through which commercial orders and bookings can be made.⁶⁵ On these sites, the supposed engagement of the artists

⁶¹ The participants in these chat-boxes focus on various contents and generally consist of rapidly changing small groups of mainly young urban girls, who preferably communicate in local languages. To most Web watchers, chatting is *the* future of the Internet.

⁶² See, for example, the following portals that address the West Sumatran community *Rantau net*, and the recently founded *Minang Net Online*, which is related to a Minang cultural Institute in Jakarta. For West Java, typical examples are *Sunda Net* and *Paris van Java*. An example of a popular Indonesian search engine is *Catcha* (see References Cited).

⁶³ Here, again, times seem to be changing. There are now electronic magazines together with the printed forms, like *NewsMusik on the net* and *Latitudes*, which focus on all kinds of expressions of popular Indonesian culture.

⁶⁴ A good example of the cultural differences in the use of the WWW, and particularly e-commerce can be found in Aoki (2000).

⁶⁵ See, for example, the Internet fan-sites of the bands *Slank* and *Naif*, the popular singer *Iwan Fals* and the singer-composer *Melly*, given in References Cited.

themselves helps to create the idea of an intimate relationship between the artists and their fans. Music-oriented e-zines⁶⁶ is another category that has been rapidly growing. These provide possibilities for artists to comment on new releases, their social life and the latest political developments, thus emphasising the artist as a role model.

A third category is sites from where audio files might be downloaded and listened to (mostly in the mp3 format). These sites are illegal and the addresses tend to change rapidly. Sometimes less public FTP servers are used for this purpose, and one needs special software or even a subscription to use them. Songs in Malay or Indonesian tend to be under-represented in more internationally-oriented peer-to-peer platforms, such as Napster and KaaZaa, indicating that many Indonesians still have problems accessing the Internet.

A fourth category consists of music-related e-commerce: several techniques aimed at the distribution and sale of VCDs and audiocassette tapes, but also related merchandise like stickers, magazines, caps, etc. through the WWW.⁶⁷ Although this sector is small and mainly focusses on selling to customers outside Java, it is likely to contribute to the internationalisation of what used to be national or regional Indonesian popular music.⁶⁸ There probably is a relation between the emergence of online supermarkets, like *The Indonesian Music Shop* and *YesAsia* (formerly *Asia CD*), and online radio stations on the one hand, and the sudden international fame of singers, like Anggun C. Sasmi on the other hand. Many of these “hot” singers are switching to English or French on their new recordings, always looking for a foreign record deal. Conversely, Western music, other than that selected by the multinational companies, is now also available to the Indonesian market via the Internet.

Polls and charts are a dominant market mechanism in Western Europe and the United States. Until 1998, these were almost unknown in Indonesia, but their number has started to grow tremendously on the Internet. When it comes to actual sales, these charts, often called “song ladders” (*tangga lagu*), may not be trustworthy, but they at least show something about the musical taste of specific audiences. That the charts introduce their own dynamics into the music industry is clear from the fact that many of them are partly or fully sponsored by commercial companies, like the shampoo brand Clear, which has its charts published in the hard-copy *NewsMusik*. Noteworthy also is the rise of an annual contest for Indonesian popular music videos (*Video Music Indonesia*), which has been held since 1999. It underlines the increasing impact of the visual aspects connected with popular music as produced by the industry.

These days, most of these WWW facilities and techniques are combined in so-called music portals (see References Cited). Two of the more popular and

⁶⁶ See References Cited for some e-zines. These music magazines, for instance, highlight the lives of celebrities and are mostly electronic extensions of already existing magazines.

⁶⁷ See References Cited for some e-commerce sites.

⁶⁸ For Minangkabau popular music see, for instance, *Minang Record*; for Indonesian pop music see, for instance, *Sony Music Indonesia* that also marketed the popular band Sheila on 7.

daily updated ones are *MusikMu* and *Tembang*. Starting from their home pages one could search the Internet, although the sites themselves have many things to offer, covering short news, album releases and their own charts. These portals also offer other services, like lists with lyrics of both English and Indonesian language pop songs. These “archives” are a new form of making one’s own collections of song texts, which was popular among Indonesian youth long before the Internet. Further, screen-savers and e-cards of favourite artists are available. Recently, telephone ring-tones based on popular Indonesian melodies were added and may be downloaded.⁶⁹ The sites are accessible to a general public, but most sites aim at frequently returning visitors and offer fashionable e-mail accounts (referring to the site’s name), and e-mail based newsletters to registered members. Registered members are also encouraged to engage in so-called chat communities.⁷⁰ In short, these sites are home to a community, which only relates on the basis of musical taste and related interests.

The sites seem to be instrumental in counter-balancing the supposed alienation that has followed on the industrialisation of pop music, and the disruption of the line between performers and their audience (Kibby 2000:100). In turn, through such sites the performers and their record companies can learn about the aspirations and wishes of their target group. Daily or weekly polls are a helpful business application through which the taste of a younger generation is determined. Questions can be asked about a variety of topics, such as the popularity of certain artists, genres, producers and songs. Most of the music portals are mainly national in orientation and use the Indonesian language, although they also cover Western popular music. An exception is the transnational *MTV Asia* site, which uses English and has pages dedicated to the various Asian countries. In March 2002, an Indonesian language MTV chat list was added, in which participants could comment on the coming MTV Indonesia station.⁷¹

The prohibition of commercial music-file sharing, and in the Indonesian case especially the lack of necessary facilities to do it with,⁷² has—like elsewhere—been solved in creative ways. Some years ago, many popular Indonesian tunes were distributed through the Internet in a so-called MIDI format

⁶⁹ Ring-tones, locally called *nada dering* (see *Ring tones*^E) are digitally delivered music files that play melodies for up to 30 seconds to alert users to incoming mobile phone calls. Although several Indonesian melodies circulate, interestingly enough the majority of WWW-published tones consist of Western pop song melodies. According to experts, ring-tones are a growing market that represents a potential multibillion dollar industry. Revenues for such services in Japan alone hit an estimated US \$300 million (*Business Wire*^E, 6 December 2001).

⁷⁰ See, for example, “Forum Musikmu” on the site *MusikMu*. *eKilat* is the designation of a collection of chat groups; for instance, one of these specialising in Indonesian punk music (.../go-sip/). *Sony Music Indonesia* added a so-called forum to its homepage as well.

⁷¹ In July 2002 this chat list was no longer available, as MTV Indonesia had been established.

⁷² Such as a lack of bandwidth and good PCs, making it take too long to download a song from the Internet.

(electronically generated music), which only allowed an instrumental version of the songs.⁷³ One of the more likely solutions for listening to the complete artistic product, including the vocal part and without violating copyright laws, is to turn to so-called “streaming media”, through which popular songs can be listened to, but not downloaded into one’s own PC. A good example of this strategy is found at the *Tembang* site, where under the header “listen to music” (*denger musik*) approximately 300 recent Indonesian pop songs can be listened to in Macromedia’s so-called “flash format”.⁷⁴ Another way to solve the problem of a lack of bandwidth and other technical facilities is entirely illegal and more local in approach. This is the distribution of so-called “CDs in mp3-format”. Since 1997, these “data CDs” are sold in the larger shopping malls in Jakarta and other big cities. Fifteen or more popular music albums may be copied on these pirate CDs, which can be played on a PC with the necessary (simple) software. The price of such pirated data CDs is very low: Rp10 000–15 000 (€1.10–1.60). The price of the legal versions of these fifteen albums (cassette tapes and audio CDs) would be about Rp300 000 (€33).

This and other local transformations should be the focus of the social aspects of popular music studies in the years to come. In doing so, one should be careful not to focus only on the product and the technical possibilities. The Internet is embedded in other social and musical practices, and it is the dialectics of both real-time musical communities and online realities that need to be investigated further. We need answers to the question whether the fast flow of newly introduced techniques structurally alters the ways of communication, and transforms old and new media practices. It might even be that the Internet, as used via the PC, is already a past fad, and that in the near future it may be replaced by new techniques.⁷⁵ How will these technologies influence traditional and popular musics, and how will new possibilities interact with, for example, the

⁷³ Although the format was not very successful, it might return in the near future. Illusion Software, a Spanish company, already uses the MIDI-format to distribute their KaraokeKanta player as well as so-called “empty-music” or instrumental *karaoke* files over the Internet, so that people can sing to their favourite tunes. These files are mostly in the MIDI-format.

⁷⁴ This approach is likely to be successful in the future because multinational companies like Sony support it. *Sony Music Indonesia* offers musical samples from both Western and Indonesian artist in the real audio format on its site.

⁷⁵ At the 2001 ICTM conference in Rio de Janeiro, Janet Sturman presented some thought-provoking materials, arguing that the third generation of mobile phones, for example, might soon be the new frontier, replacing the Internet, as presently approached by PCs. In Japan, there already is a lively exchange of radio, video and audio files via the mobile phone, and in the long term these techniques might be cheaper and more useful for people living in Asia, Africa or the Caribbean. Downloading music to mobile phones, and continuously listening to the music, is one of the much-hyped new services expected from the next generation of high-speed phones (*CNet News*^E, 30 April 2001) Meanwhile, Mp3.com has released a new phone service, dubbed Music and Messaging On-Hold, which allows companies to manage music play-lists and audio advertisements to be heard by phone callers via the Web (*CNet News*^E, 16 February 2001).

increasing popularity of the VCD as the preferable carrier of musical and visual information? Most importantly, how do these practices lend themselves to the representation and re-imagining of (emerging) communities and their ongoing musical aspirations?

Conclusion

Popular music, in live performance or mediated, develops and instils a radically oral awareness of what it means to belong to an ethnic community in contemporary Indonesia. Moreover, on the national level, the dialogues about “East” and “West” and “tradition” and “modernity” are shaped in genres like “fusion”, Indie and Islamic popular music. They make use of the new forms of orality made possible by VCDs and the Internet. However, VCDs and the Internet also mediate images, which we have analysed here in a preliminary fashion.

International popular music coming from the United States, Western Europe, India and China has also made possible new imagined subjectivities. Urban Indonesia has had its fair share of rockers, mods, hippies, disco-queens and Madonna and Michael Jackson “wannabees”. Indonesian intellectuals and government authorities have often worried about the detrimental effects of these lifestyles rooted in “foreign” music, even as they are celebrated in popular periodicals.

The three musical domains—the local, the national and the global—exist in Indonesia today, not in opposition but in tandem, although the national level is losing its position since the downfall of Suharto and the beginning of the “reformation”. People live in a world of shifting identities, as they negotiate themselves as members of one or more local communities and a national structure, and are simultaneously linked to people all over the world through the possibilities of the present media-scape.

At the same time, and this cannot be stressed enough, for most Indonesians today the options available for self-fashioning are restricted by power and money. The bewildering juxtapositions and convolutions of Indonesian popular music are not only interesting as something to be studied by anthropologists and musicologists. Understanding the diverse scenes in which popular music is constructed, consumed and critiqued gives a good view of Indonesia’s confrontation with modernity, and its co-option by and resistance to global markets and cultural forces.

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Internet sites

In the addresses we left the first part 'http://' out. For articles in newspapers we have given the date, title and site within the general site of the newspaper, so.../business/news/...means that on the first dots you should include the general site of the paper, like 'www.kompas.co.id.' As some Internet sites tend to be unstable, and some sites may disappear entirely within a few years, where not mentioned, we have only listed the sites that were still available in July 2002.

a. News media

Business Wire: www.businesswire.com

6 Dec. 2001 Advisory/experts available to discuss cell phone, music industry convergence.

See www.biz.yahoo.com/bw/011206/62455_1.html

[page disappeared]

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CNet News: news.com.com

16 Feb. 2001 Cell phone music on tour in Japan.
.../2100-1033-256706.html

30 April 2001 MP3.com to provide "on hold" phone music.
.../2100-1023-252773.html

CNN: www.cnn.com

2 Nov. 2000 Indonesia's ex-military chief sings love songs for nation's refugees.

.../2000/ASIANOW/southeast/11/01/indonesia.singing.general/

Detikhot: www.detikhot.com

4 March 2002 Pembajakan industri rekaman.
.../lifestyle/2002/03/04/20020304-160831.shtml

IndoMedia: www.indomedia.com

10 Nov. 2000 Album kedua Sheila on 7 dibajak.
.../bernas/2011/10/UTAMA/10hib3.htm

Jakarta Post Online: www.thejakartapost.com

19 Oct. 2000 Former TNI chief Wiranto launches album of love songs.
See www.intranet.usc.edu.au/wacana/isn/wiranto_debut.html

1 July 2001 Music in N.Sumatra booms.
.../detailfeatures.asp?fileid=20010701.J02&irec=17

Kompas Cyber Media: www.kompas.co.id

[formerly Kompas Online: www.kompas.com]

21 Mar. 2000 Indonesia masuk daftar utama pelanggaran hak intelektual.
.../business/news/0003/21/06.htm

17 July 2001 Ornop minta HaKI dikeluarkan dari WTO.
.../business/news/0107/17/11.htm

7 Oct. 2001 Rossa, Dewi Yull dan pop progresif.
.../kompas-cetak/0110/07/UTAMA/ross01.htm

9 Nov. 2001 Maiyah, album Cak Nun...
.../entertainment/news/0111/09/1705.htm

9 Nov. 2001 Emha Ainun Nadjid: "Aku wis tuek, Mas".
.../style/people/0111/09/2641.htm

14 Nov. 2001 ASIRI desak presiden bentuk tim baru.
.../entertainment/news/0111/14/1723.htm

23 Nov. 2001 Emha Ainun Nadjid: "Saya kambing ...".
.../berita-terbaru/0111/23/headline/100.htm

9 Dec. 2001 Yuni Shara pun merinding.
.../0112/09/UTAMA/yuni01.htm

7 Feb. 2002 Terkait CD bajakan, AS ancam boikot.
.../berita-terbaru/0202/07/headline/015.htm

3 Mar. 2002 Seni etnik Cina berbaur dengan Samba Sunda.
.../entertainment/news/0203/03/1969.htm

Majalah Suara Hidayatullah: www.hidayatullah.com

Dec. 2001 Emha Ainun Nadjib: anak ketiga.
.../2001/12/siapa2.shtml

Media Indonesia: www.mediaindo.co.id

- 20 April 2001 Pelanggar hak cipta rugikan US\$186 juta.
 .../cetak/berita.asp?ID=200104200036441
- 23 Dec. 2001 Musik Indonesia bergairah, pembajak.
 .../cetak/berita.asp?ID=2001122300264826
- 5 March 2002 Jika pembajakan terus merajalela.
 .../cetak/berita.asp?ID=2002030501524802
- 6 June 2002 Jika pembajakan masih tinggi.
 .../cetak/berita.asp?ID=2002060613040277

MTV Asia: www.mtvasia.com

- 13 Dec. 2001 Going Independent in Indonesia.
 ...music/features/20011213001 [page disappeared]

MTV Indonesia: www.mtvasia.com/id.html

Pikiran Rakyat Online: www.pikiran-rakyat.com

- 10 Nov. 2001 Ásyik nonton Osama.
 .../prcetak/112001/10/09.htm)
- 25 Nov. 2001 Menyibak fenomena maraknya nasyid, by Ahmad Furqon.
 .../prcetak/112001/25/0108.htm

Suara Pembaruan Online: www.suarapembaruan.com

- 5 June 1998 Momentum Reformasi dalam dunia musik kita.
 .../News/1998/06/050698/Hiburan/hi02/hi02.html
 [page disappeared]

Tempo: www.tempo.co.id

- 4 April 2002 Polres Jakarta Timur menahan 13 pedagang VCD bajakan.
 .../news/2002/4/1,1,44,id.html

b. Fan-sites

IndoGrinder: members.tripod.com/indogrinder/indogrinder.html

Iwan Fals: www.iwan-fals.com

Medan Underground: www.anakmedan.com/mug

Melly: www.mellygoeslaw.com

Naif: www.naifband.com

Oi! Indonesia Punks and Skins: members.fortunecity.com/indonesian1

Slank: www.slank.com

c. E-zines

Latitudes: www.latitudesmagazine.com

NewsMusik on the net: www.newsmusik.net

d. Portals

General

Catcha: www.catcha.co.id

Paris van Java: www.parisvanjava.net

Rantau Net: www.rantaunet.com

Music

CyberNasyid: www.cybernasyid.com

Kenada Online: www.kenadaonline.com

Musik Kita: www.musikita.com

MusikMu: www.musikmu.com

Forum MusikMu.../komunitas/xmb/

MusikMu Sepuluh (charts).../chart

Tembang (denger musik): www.tebang.com

Tangga lagu (charts).../chart/

e. E-commerce

Minang Record: www.geocities.com/minang_record

Musica: www.diffy.com/musica

Perdana Disk Info (Video Music Ind.): www.perdanadisc.info

Sony Music Indonesia: www.sonymusic.co.id

The Indonesian Music Shop: www.indonesianmusic.com

YesAsia: www.us.yesasia.com/

f. Audiofiles / Radio / Streaming Media / Chatting communities

eKilat: www.ekilat.com/index.html

Indonesia Radio Directory: www.idxc.org/indolocal/

KaraokeKanta player: www.karaokekanta.com

Ring tones: www.nadadering.tripod.com

Video Music Indonesia: www.vmi.rileks.com/menu.html

Audiovisual recordings

Listed are only the audiovisual sources of which the music and/or images were used for our analysis. Albums just referred to in the article because of the song texts (often also published elsewhere), or because they were discussed in the press, on the Internet, or in other articles, are not listed.

Alone against the world

1993 Cassette tape by Maribeth. Sony Music Entertainemnet Japan C-6820793.

Archipelagongs

2000 Audio CD by Ubiet (alias Nyak Ina Raseuki). Warner Music Indonesia.

Badai pasti berlalu

1977 Cassette tape, by Chrisye. Irma Stereo KA 00291

2000 Cassette tape, re-mastered millenium version of *Badai pasti berlalu* 1977. MusicaMSC 8325.

Cici Faramida

1999 VCD 'Kumpulan terunggul Cici Faramidah' sung by Cici Faramidah. Warner Music Indonesia.

Doel Sumbang, Vol.1

1999 VCD karaoke Sunda 'Doel Sumbang', Volume 1. Vocalists: Doel Sumbang and Dewi Sondari. PolyGram Indonesia/Blackboard Indonesia.

Doel Sumbang, Vol.2

1999 VCD karaoke Sunda 'Doel Sumbang', Volume 2. Vocalists: Doel Sumbang and Dewi Sondari. PolyGram Indonesia/Blackboard Indonesia.

Duet legendaris Elvy Sukaesih & Mansyur S.

1999 VCD 'Gadis atau janda', sung by Elvy Sukaesih and Mansyur S. Dian Records/ Dian Dangdut.

Efrinon

1999? VCD 'Album seleksi pop Minang terpopuler Efrinon', sung by Efrinon. Sinar Padang Record.

Generasi Biru

1995 Cassette tape by group Slank. Virgo Ramayana records / Piss record 001.

Indie Ten

1998 Cassette tape with various artists. Sony Music 491590.4

Kado Muhammad

1998 Cassette tape by Emha Ainun Nadjib with gamelan ensemble Kiai Kanjeng Sepuh. Kali Jogo Kreasi.

Kedamaian

1989 Cassette tape of *kacapi-suling* music (two zithers and bamboo flute) with (acoustic) piano. Performers: Bubi Chen (piano), Uking Sukri (*kacapi indung*), Dede Suparman (*kacapi rincik*), Endang Sukandar (*suling*). Bandung: Hidayat, #8902.

Lagu-lagu Top Klasik Sunda, Vol.1

2002 VCD with Cianjuran music, Degung kawih and Kacapi-suling music. Vocalists Euis Purnama and Yanti. Akurama Records, ARVCD 029.

Mahamoelia

1929 *Mahamoelia, Acte 5, deel III: Door de Padangsche Bovenlanden*. Original: black and white film, 35mm by I.A. Ochse 1925-1928. Production NIFM Polygoon. Documentation Nederlands Audiovisueel Archief [Now under the title *Gordel van Smaragd*, ISBN 90-5679-704-2, see also www.picarta.pica.nl/DB=3.3/SET=7/TTL=9/SHW?FRST=10].

Malam Bainai

1990? Cassette tape 'Top hits gamad, Volume 3, Malam Bainai', around 1990(?). Performed by Yan Juneid and Rosnida Ys, vocals, and accompanied by Buslidel. Bukittinggi: Tanama Record.

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Mega Hits Degung

2000 VCD 'Mega hits degung', Volume 1 (Surat Ondangan).
Vocalists: Een Ratnaningsih, Iis Fatimah and Aan Suryani.
Mega Cipta Pratama MG-068.

Menangis

1997 Cassette tape by Franky Sahilatua. Anggada Irama Melodi.

Music of Indonesia 2

1991 Volume 2: 'Indonesian popular music: kroncong, dangdut and
langgam Jawa' in the 20-CD series edited by Philip
Yampolsky. Washington DC: Smithsonian/ Folkways.

Osama Bin Laden

2001 Pirated version of CNN documentary. Released by *Haramain
Arabic VCD*

Sambasunda

1998 Audio CD 'Sambasunda; Rhythmical in Sundanese people'.
CBMW group, lead by Ismet Ruchimat. Jakarta: Gema Nada
Pertiwi, #CMNW-005.

Sarunai Aceh

2000 VCD 'Album seleksi lagu-lagu terbaik Yan Juneid; Sarunai
Aceh, Bunga Tanjung.' Padang(?): Bundo Record.

Sheila on 7 - Tertatih

2000 VCD, pirated from original audio recordings (1999) of the
'Sheila on 7' group. First song 'Tertatih.' On cover: Sony
Music Entertainment Indonesia. All files on CD are dated 24
June 2000.

Sheila on 7 - Kisah Klasik

2000 VCD 'Kisah klasik untuk masa depan' pirated from original
audio recordings (2000) of the 'Sheila on 7' group. On cover
only a bar code with number: 713 225 55 81. All files on CD
are dated 16 October 2000.

So la li

2000 Audio CD. Sabah Habas Mustapha & The Jugala All Stars
group. Berlin, Germany: Kartini Music.

Sunda Africa

1998 Audio CD 'Sunda Africa; No risk no fun (Bamboo flute, harp
& drums)' with Burhan [Sukarma], Ismet Ruchimat, Agus
Supriawan, Dodong, Vidal Paz. Jakarta: Cakrawala Musik
Nusantara.

Taubat

1998 Cassette tape by Novia Kolapaking and Emha Ainun Nadjib.
Musica MSC 8207.

Top hits millenium 2000

2000? VCD karaoke with pop Batak, performed by several Batak
artists. Clara Record.

Ucok Sumbara

2000? VCD 'Ucok Sumbara – Millenium selection', sung by Ucok Sumbara. Sinar Padang Record.

Wirid Padang Bulan

1999 Cassette tape by Emha Ainun Nadjib with gamelan ensemble Kiai Kanjeng Sepuh. Mundu Nusantara Film.

Yuni Shara

1998 VCD 'Super seleksi Yuni Shara', sung by Yuni Shara. Suara Sentral Sejati VCD-019 B.