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# Recontextualizing Pasantian From Elitist Religious Chant to Mainstream

*by* I Komang Sudirga

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ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia

**INTERCULTURALISM AND THE MOBILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS  
SOUND, MOVEMENT, PLACE—CHOREOMUSICOLOGY OF HUMANLY  
ORGANIZED EXPRESSION  
NEW RESEARCH: REVITALIZING AND CONSERVING TRADITIONS**



**Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium of the ICTM  
Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia**

Chief Editor  
Mohd Anis Md Nor

Editors  
Patricia Matusky, Tan Sooi Beng, Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan, Made Hood

Production Editor  
Hafzan Zannie Hamza



Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI)  
Denpasar, Bali  
2015

**INTERCULTURALISM AND THE MOBILITY OF THE PERFORMING ARTS**  
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Symposium 2014  
International Council for Traditional Music Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia

**Symposium Chairs**

PASEA Study Group – Patricia Matusky (USA)  
Program – Tan Sooi Beng (Malaysia)  
Co-Chairs Local Arrangements – Mohd Anis Md Nor (Malaysia) & Made Mantle Hood (Malaysia)

**Program Committee**

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**Local Arrangements Committee**

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In Denpasar, Bali the 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium was hosted and sponsored by the  
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE 3<sup>rd</sup> SYMPOSIUM OF THE ICTM STUDY GROUP ON PERFORMING ARTS OF SOUTHEAST  
ASIA (PASEA)

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### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Dr. I Gede Arya Sugiarta, S.SKar., M.Hum., Rector  
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Singapadu-Gianyar, Bali, Indonesia

**THANK YOU!**  
**(MATUR SUKSMA)**

Patricia Matusky  
Chair, 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium Committee  
Chair of the Study Group (ICTM-PASEA)

Tan Sooi Beng  
Chair, Programme Committee

Mohd. Anis Md Nor  
Made Mantle Hood  
Co-Chairs, Local Arrangements Committee

## INTRODUCTION

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia took place at the Chandra Metu Auditorium on the campus of the Indonesian Institute of Arts Denpasar (*Instititut Seni Indonesia [ISI Denpasar]*), in Bali on 14-20 June 2014. This Symposium was attended by 105 delegates representing Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, The Philippines, Thailand, Germany, France, Australia, Taiwan, Argentina, Austria, China, the United Kingdom, Canada and the USA. They came together to hear and discuss over 60 paper presentations and shorter reports on research by graduate students, as well as a film screening. In addition, the delegates were able to see nightly performances at the month-long Bali Arts Festival which took place adjacent to the ISI Denpasar campus.

The Symposium began with registration on 13-14 June. The formal Opening on the morning of 14 June was graced by Balinese dance with live gamelan accompaniment. During the official Opening we heard welcoming remarks from Dr. I Gede Arya Sugiarta, S.SKar., M.Hum., Rector of ISI Denpasar, Svanibor Pettan, ICTM Secretary General, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia), Patricia Matusky, Chair of the PASEA Study Group and from Tan Sooi Beng, Chair of the Program Committee.

**Themes.** For this Symposium themes were chosen from proposals by PASEA Study Group members. Theme I was **Interculturalism and the Mobility of Performing Arts in Southeast Asia**. The general focus of this theme was the movement of peoples across the region, bringing with them their music, dance and theater. The Study Group scholars examined the impact of the performing arts in new cultural spaces, and the way in which performers represent cultural difference and appropriation in the past and in the present.

Theme II was **Sound, Movement, Place: Choreomusicology of Humanly Organized Expression in Southeast Asia**, which provided a platform for description of the various aural and visual elements involved in Southeast Asian performing arts. Cross-modal relationships between sound and movement have deep implications for the way one perceives objects, moving bodies, color and sonic events among others, and the interactions between sound and movement are not always congruent even though the two mediums may cohabit the same space. This theme was intended to bring attention to multisensory experience, the interactions between sound and movement, and the field of metonymic relationships between music, dance, and space in Southeast Asian societies.

Theme III was **New Research**, which spanned the topics of music and healing, arts education, Thai music, and revitalizing and conserving traditions. Several reports (in the form of short 'lightning' papers) on activity and progress of on-going field research projects by graduate students and full-length papers by other scholars were presented.

All of the above themes were given in twenty sessions in the form of individual papers, panels and short lightning reports. In all, a total of 64 papers and one film screening were presented over a period of six days. The symposium concluded with a formal Closing by Prof. Ricardo Trimillos (invited discussant on the Symposium), brief closing remarks by Patricia Matusky (Chair, PASEA Study Group) and a very short *kecak* performance by most members of the Study Group.

As pointed out in the summary comments on this symposium by Prof. Ricardo Trimillos, among the many categories covered in the papers presented were history, politics, advocacy and activism, mediatization, organology, philosophies and beliefs, cross-cultural encounters, tensions of identity, change and the signifiers therein. A demographic overview noted the predominance of Indonesian and Malaysian delegates, and the symposium's dynamics emphasized the comparisons among cultures, the great attention to the sonic aspects of music and also substantial attention to music as practice. Prof. Trimillos especially encouraged us to share and communicate our knowledge and findings among young and old scholars alike, to continue to establish a *communitas* among our Study Group members and to mentor our young scholars in continuing to present papers and panels in study group and world conference contexts of ICTM.

The Closing events continued with acknowledgements and ‘thank you’ from the PASEA Chair (on behalf of all Study Group members) to the Indonesian Institute of the Arts (ISI) Denpasar for providing a great venue, and to the event managers for this symposium, Maitri Enterprise of Denpasar in Bali, who diligently ensured that there were food, drinks, and all technical help. Finally, the official closing took place with a brief *kecak* performance within the auditorium by many of the participants who had newly learned *kecak* on the excursion day workshop led by I Wayan Dibia at his GEOKS performing arts center.

**Excursion.** The fourth day of this Symposium (17 June) was devoted entirely to an excursion away from the daily sessions. The cultural excursion took us to the village of Singapadu where approximately half of the 80 participants attended a *kecak* workshop led by I Wayan Dibia at his GEOKS performing arts creative center, and the other half of the participants attended a *gamelan* and dance workshop led by I Made Bandem and his wife Swasiti Wijaya Bandem at his home in the village. Both groups experienced rigorous and enlightening lessons on performance of these Balinese art forms. After the workshops finished at mid-day, buses transported the group to the home workshop of Mangku Pager and his Sidakarya gamelan factory in Blahbatu village, and then onward to the Setia Darma House of Masks and Puppets in Ubud where some 4000 masks, puppets and paintings from Southeast Asia are on display.

**General Study Group Meeting.** The schedule for the fifth day (18 June) of this Symposium included the General Study Group Meeting to discuss the business matters important to the running of this Group. A synopsis follows.

The hosting proposals for the 2016 Symposium were presented by Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan for Universiti Malaysia Sabah in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah, and by Bussakorn Binson for Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok Thailand. The Executive Committee of this Study Group noted that all past symposia have taken place in the ‘island’ regions of Southeast Asia. This Committee also agreed that to be inclusive in regional focus and to encourage young scholars to attend our symposia, the next venue and host would be Chulalongkorn University in Thailand in 2016. A drop-box for proposed themes for the 2016 symposium was set up at the registration desk.

The Executive Committee as it now stands (Patricia Matusky, Chair; Made Mantle Hood, Secretary; Mohd. Anis Md. Nor, Publications Chair; Tan Sooi Beng and Patricia Matusky, Co-Chairs for the 2016 Program Committee; Bussakorn Binson, Local Arrangements Chair for the 2016 symposium; and David Harnish, Member-at-Large) will stay in place until new elections and re-appointments in 2016.

Briefly discussed at this meeting was the possibility to offer an outstanding student paper award, based on a student’s presentation at future meetings. This possible award, the criteria for determining it, and the administrative body to process it will be discussed by the Executive Committee in the future weeks and months ahead.

The Publications Chair explained the process for editing and formatting the Proceedings for the current 2014 Symposium. All papers actually presented in this Symposium can appear in the Proceedings, and once edited and formatted by the editorial staff, the Proceedings will be published by the Indonesian Institute for the Arts Denpasar (ISI Denpasar) for distribution and sale at the ICTM World Conference in Kazakhstan in 2015.

Svanibor Pettan spoke about the 2015 World Conference, and the Study Group members were urged to consult with colleagues and submit proposals for panels on Southeast Asian performing arts for the World Conference in Kazakhstan.

Finally noted was the generous financial aid obtained from the Study Group members to help graduate students attend this Symposium, and for the help we were given by the ICTM Secretariat to expeditiously enroll our Study Group’s new graduate students into the ICTM.

**Post-Symposium Cultural Tour.** A 3-day post-symposium cultural tour to **Lombok** to visit sites and performances by the Sasak community took place immediately after the symposium in Denpasar. This tour was organized by Mohd Anis Md Nor, David Harnish, and Made Mantle Hood, and included performances of *gendang beleq*, *rudat*, and *gandrung* and then to see a *wayang Sasak* at an evening performance. The group of over 20 people also visited Lingsar and Sasak villages.

**Acknowledgements.** On behalf of all members of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia, sincere thanks is extended to the host—the Indonesian Institute of the Arts Denpasar (ISI) in Bali. To Professor Ricardo Trimillos we say *terima kasih* for his astute and enlightening comments on this Symposium. Many, many thanks also to all members of the Program Committee and the Local Arrangements Committee for organizing this symposium. The complete Program, Biographical Notes of Presenters and the Abstracts for this symposium, and the current Minutes of the 2014 Study Group Meeting may be seen at this Study Group’s website at: < [sites.google.com/site/PASEAStudyGroup](http://sites.google.com/site/PASEAStudyGroup) >

This 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast Asia (PASEA) reflects the dedication to research activity in the region by local and international scholars. Chief editor Mohd Anis Md Nor continues to chair the Publications Committee for PASEA, which comprises Production Editor Hafzan Zannie Hamza along with co-editors Tan Sooi Beng, Patricia Matusky, Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan and Made Hood. In its editorial work on the written versions of the papers submitted by the presenters in the Symposium, the editors focus on uniformity of format and correctness of spelling and grammar, while the presenters themselves are responsible for the content and correction of the written text. The papers presented during the Symposium that were not submitted for this Proceedings are represented by their Abstracts only, with permission of the individual authors.

We wish to thank Hafzan Zannie Hamza for a very unique and attractive design for the logo of this Symposium, in which the figures of dancers are based upon drawings in the GEOKS performing arts creative center of Professor I Wayan Dibia in the village of Singapadu. Upon completion of formatting, layout and editorial work, the final production tasks for this volume were carried out by the Chief and Production Editors of PASEA (Mohd Anis and Hafzan Zannie, respectively) in cooperation with the administration of the Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI) Denpasar who is the 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium host and publisher of this current volume of Proceedings. We wish to express our sincere thanks to the Rector of ISI Denpasar, Dr. I Gede Arya Sugiarta (S.SKar., M.Hum.), for ensuring that these Proceedings are published to be presented for distribution at the ICTM World Conference in Kazakhstan in July 2015. The staff and all persons in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia involved with the production of this volume are also extended many, many thanks by this Study Group for their diligent work.

This published Proceedings is a permanent record of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Performing Arts of Southeast (PASEA), held in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia in June 2014.

**THEME II – SOUND, MOVEMENT, PLACE: CHOREOMUSICOLOGY OF HUMANLY ORGANIZED EXPRESSION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

Theme II, **Sound, Movement, Place: Choreomusicology of Humanly Organized Expression in Southeast Asia**, provided a platform for description of the various aural and visual elements involved in Southeast Asian performing arts. Cross-modal relationships between sound and movement have deep implications for the way we perceive objects, moving bodies, color and sonic events among others, and the interactions between sound and movement are not always congruent even though the two mediums may cohabit the same space. This theme was intended to bring attention to multisensory experience, the interactions between sound and movement, and the field of metonymic relationships between music, dance, and space in Southeast Asian societies.

The early sessions of the Symposium focused on Sound, Movement and Place, with Balinese performing arts were featured with Kendra Stepputat (University of the Performing Arts, Graz, Austria) speaking on 'Layers of Sound and Movement in Balinese *Kecak*', followed by I Wayan Dibia (ISI Denpasar, Indonesia) focusing on 'Teaching *Kecak* in Other Asian Countries', and Yukako Yoshida (National Museum of Ethnology Osaka, Japan) presenting on 'How Replicated Masks Work in Balinese Society: The Case of *Topeng Legong*'. We also heard about musical instruments on the move in papers by Chinthaka Meddegoda (Universiti Putra Malaysia) speaking about 'Appropriation of Tabla in Malay Ghazal', Ruwin Rangeeth Dias (Universiti Putra Malaysia) on 'Idiosyncratic and Mutual Features of Violin Playing in Malaysian Joget and Sri Lankan Kaffirina', and Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan (Universiti Sabah Malaysia) speaking on 'From Ritual Object to Musical Instrument: The Sound and Place of the Drum and Drumming in Ritual and Non-Ritual Contexts among Dusunic Societies of Sabah'.

Continuing the theme of Sound, Movement, Place, but focusing on the sub-topics of 'Expression and Particularity' as well as 'Changing Contexts and Functions', Gisa Jaehnichen (Universiti Putra Malaysia) presented 'Parody and Dance in *Ghazal Parti*', Meghan E. Hynson (University of California at Los Angeles, USA) presented 'From *Tradisi* to *Inovasi*: Music, Power, and Change in Balinese Shadow Puppet Theater', Ako Mashino (Tokyo University of Arts, Japan) spoke about 'Displayed Bodies: The aesthetics of *penampilan* in Balinese *gender wayang* competitions' and Randal Baier (Eastern Michigan University, USA) and Dinda Satya Upaja Budi (Gajah Mada University, Indonesia) jointly presented a paper entitled 'A rice harvest through time: visualizing the performance of Sundanese *Rengkong*'.

The theme Sound, Movement, Place with focus on meaning, continuity and change, was first presented by Mayco Santaella (UPM, Malaysia) in his paper 'Asserting Meaning in *Tari* and the dialectics of Movements in Central Sulawesi', followed by I Nyoman Cerita (ISI Denpasar, Indonesia) presenting 'Traditional Dance as a Point of Departure for the Choreography of *Tari Kreasi Baru*, New Dance Creations in Bali', and Leng Poh Gee (University of Malaya) presenting his lightning report on 'Gesturing Scripture as Community Performance'.

The final session of the symposium focused on the sub-topics of popular music, dance and localized modernities with David Harnish (University of San Diego, USA) speaking about 'Dance to Your Roots: An Exploration of the Jazz-Gamelan Fusion band, Krakatau'. Henry Spiller (University of California Davis, USA) presented 'Heavy Bamboo: how an archaic bamboo instrument became modern in Bandung, Indonesia', and I Komang Sudirga (ISI Denpasar, Indonesia) speaking on 'Recontextualizing *Pesantian*: From Elitist Religious Chant to Mainstream Balinese Vocal Music in Post-New Order Indonesia'.



I KOMANG SUDIRGA  
(ISI Denpasar, Indonesia)

RECONTEXTUALIZING *PASANTIAN*: FROM ELITIST RELIGIOUS CHANT TO  
MAINSTREAM BALINESE VOCAL MUSIC IN POST -NEW ORDER INDONESIA

Introduction

This study examines the vocal genre *pasantian* from the perspective of cultural studies. Etymologically the *wordpasantian* consists of the root word 'santi' which means tranquility, harmony, and peace of mind (Zoetmulder, 1995: 1017). Paired with the prefix 'pa' and suffix 'an', the term connotes in performance, the stylized recitation of literary works. Idealistically participants in *pasantian* activities join with the expectation of peace of mind for themselves and their surroundings. This is particularly significant because prior to the 1990s, the tradition of *pasantian* was an art favored by a handful of people, mostly the elderly. Youth were largely not interested in pursuing the vocalization of literary works, especially when many young people were embarrassed to practice what was considered archaic and old-fashioned. These older forms of literary vocalization were a cultural activity considered centrist, restricted and elitist because they were reserved for Balinese upper class gentry. These negative perceptions of the art form gave rise to inequalities and discrimination and until recently, *pasantian* saw limited growth. Moreover, given the limited avenues for self-expression, the public was less critical of the artform's possibilities for reinterpretation, re-orientation and relocation that would eventually transpire after the 1990s. Undeniably, when in the 1970s, the three-tiered upper class elite called *triwangsa* made the traditional knowledge of localizing literary works or *mabebasan*, this achieved a higher social standing than those from the commoner class. As a result, the activity of *pasantian* only thrived in traditional cultural centres, such as culturally elite and exclusive contexts such as palaces, temples and religious centres. Based on the above description, issues to be examined in this study include: (1) Why did a re-contextualization of *pasantian* occur in Bali?; (2) How did the re- contextualization of *pasantian* formulate?; and (3) What is the impact and meaning of a re- contextualized *pasantian*?

Background

After the fall of the Suharto's New Order in 1998, the freedom of uncensored and open expression in the media enabled the *pasantian's* rapid growth and expansion. Unheard of in the history of the development of Balinese art and culture, people from all walks of life from virtually every corner of the island began to read, recite and perform traditional literary works. The splendor and enjoyment of *pasantian*, not only in the context of ceremony, has also been recontextualized in numerous media formats and social contexts. Now in Indonesia's era of reform, political and social restrictions no longer hold true for the activity of *pasantian*, and literary material draws from a variety of sources. The solemn and subdued presentation of *pasantian's* predecessor called *mabebasan*, which tends to be passive and serious, has been replaced with the more passionate and dynamic presentation of *pasantian*, which is visually attractive and entertaining. This shows that *pasantian* has been transformed with the agenda of penetrating temporal and spatial boundaries. These boundaries previously limited access through the restrictions of caste and professional status. However today, *pasantian* has appealed to a large cross section of the populace by embracing aesthetic tastes rooted in arts for presentation and performance spectacle while maintaining creative substance and meaningful content.

Foundation of Thinking

The discussion surrounding the recontextualization of *pasantian* in this paper is also intended as a way to see the phenomenon of *pasantian* activity in different contexts of Balinese social situations after the New Order era. Understanding "context" as a concept can be defined as a situation that has to do with

an event (KBBI, 1990: 458). According to Ahimsa Son (2000: 414) art as a social phenomena that appears in a specific context may be connected or have relationships with a variety of other phenomena in a given society. Art may be associated with a situation or political activity, with ecology, and with various changes that are happening.

The definition of the recontextualization of *pas anti an* is clearly no longer fixated on the concept of it serving, or being intended for, a single context. With this regards new meanings are not just uncovered through different contexts, but through 'semiotic dismantlings' of existing, and firmly rooted meanings (Hoed, 2011: 120). The dismantling of a given phenomenon, which has become a myth and ideology, can open up opportunities for the emergence of various interpretive responses that produce new forms of creativity with different contexts. For example, *pasantian* which was originally synonymous with lengthy and complex vocal forms called *pepaosan sekar ageng*, are presented in the context of rituals in temples/palaces, where previously sacred and elitist connotations are no longer the artform's singularly constructed dominant meaning. The format of today's *pasantian* evidences a trajectory of dynamic development largely through the utilization of popular, and more easily accessible vocal forms such as *tembang maca pat*. For example, the presentation of technically tense forms of singing such as *kakawin* poems only makes up a small portion of performance, the remainder taken up by the more popular *maca pat*. These conditions indicate the recent phenomenon of *pasantian* expansion may be largely attributed to the fact that *tembang macapat* is at its core. Even in regional cultural centres such as Denpasar and Gianyar, for example, *tembang macapat* has grown faster still in *pasantian's* innovative sub-genres, such as *pasantian gila shanti*, *arja negak*, *taman penasar* and *tembang guntang*.

#### Post-New Order *Pasantian*

The phenomenon of post-New Order *pasantian* is interesting to research because it has seen several significant changes in activities. First, in terms of literary text, *pasantian* has shown generative capabilities in related genres. This can be observed through the adaptation of *mabebasan* vocal format transformed into *gita shanti*, *paris penasar*, *arja negak*, and *song guntang*. Secondly, *pasantian* performance used to only involve unaccompanied vocal music (songs), but has now been combined with elements of instrumental accompaniment with drums, percussion and bamboo flutes called *gaguntangan*. Gamelan orchestras such as the seven-toned *semar pagulingan*, among other ensembles has also been used to accompany *pasantian*.

Third, contextually *pasantian* is not only performed in ritual contexts, but has changed dynamically in presentation from sacred religious to secular presentations, as well as in aesthetic presentation. Fourth, *pasantian* is no longer solely an affirmation of 'form follows meaning' with ideological significance but has shifted to include 'form follows fun' (as a form that follows fun, entertainment, and popularity in, and of self).

In addition to these developments, *pasantian* also has demonstrated quantitatively a spread to almost all corners of villages in Bali. The development of *pasantian* during the New Order was very slow. But after the reform era its development chart shows that in 1992 there were 606 *sekaa santi* groups (Bandem, 1992) and in 2011 a staggering 3,141 groups scattered throughout Bali (Sudirga, 2012).

Expansion and growth phenomena make *pasantian* interesting to research, not only for its textual aspects that have evolved, but also for its religious aspects and social context that has changed dynamically. As a cultural product, although local communities have not been able to keep pace with a rapid modern art market, *pasantian* activity has risen steadily in the last three decades and has shown fantastic development, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This phenomenon cannot be separated from reinterpretation, repositioning, revitalizing, and re-contextualization through modification of the creative process, resulting in variant forms of *pasantian* innovation. Unprecedented in the history of the development of Balinese art, there has never been such a widespread expansion across multiple tiers of society as we witness today. Re-contextualized, *pasantian* is not only an important part of the ritual tradition - where virtually all Hindu Balinese ceremonial activities include *pasantian* performance-- but also has become part of pop culture. It can be enjoyed simultaneously by the public through electronic

media including both radio and television and other social media formats.

#### Forms of Re-contextualized *Pasantian*

*Pasantian* in the form of re-contextualization of this article can be observed through the three domains, namely *pasantian* in the context of electronic media space, *pasantian* contestation and competition, and *pasantian* in multiple social spaces.

The effects of globalization penetrate numerous aspects of community life, and cause concern for the majority of people in Bali because the effects may undermine their local community's cultural values through the introduction of new values and runaway global culture. However, contrary to blindly adopting new global views, Balinese tend to take advantage of, for example, advances in information technology to revitalize local cultural potential that may be abandoned by a younger generation. Adler as cited by Suryabrata believes that every person is the configuration of specific motives, traits and values that are distinctive, where every action taken by a person will bring a distinctive pattern of individual lifestyle (Suryabrata, 1990: 217). In this regard, traditional Balinese artists have been able to pack art forms full of relevant meaning to a subsequent generation where initially these were only associated with ritual contexts. These artists have helped extract the essence of, for example, vocalizing text, into an activity that thrives in the spectacle of art (aesthetic presentation). What stood out in reestablishing this 'distinctive pattern' was the emergence of *pasantian* as presentation art in the realm of social and electronic media.

Efforts to proliferate *pasantian* through electronic media (radio) are not new, but has been done since the 1970s. At this time the Cultural Advisory Council For Education (LISTIBIYA) had already been established but, according to Darma Putra (2011: 256) *pasantian* promotion was not successful. The reasons for this included limitations in effective communication technology for the public, which were passive and not interactive. It is reasoned when developing information technology tools so rapidly, people can communicate from anywhere, such as offices, markets, or on the street. Today through the ease of technology it is not surprising that in every radio and television station has launched an interactive program for *pasantian*.



Plate 1.

An advertisement excerpt of commercial television broadcasts for *Pasantian* Tembang Guntang from Dewata TV  
(photo: Koleksi Dewa Ngakan Gede Suastika, 2010)

It is now commonplace to see the utilization of modern communication media being fully integrated into traditional *pasantian* social networking. When modern society established networking through social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Black Berry Message (BBM) and various internet sites, *pasantian* was embraced as a means of binding the community through traditional networking. Through their activities *pasantian* participants know each other at various intersecting levels from village, sub-district, and district to merging linear clans or soroh, and even cross cultural connections (Jawa/Bali/Lombok).

Its important to point out media's hegemony in the operations of this lively '*sekaa santi*' or *pesantian* club interaction. Media as a magnet for the community attracts political spectacle and political imagery. Through politics, those groups are simultaneously being seen and creating the habit of watching TV as each group would like to be watched by other people (Atmaja, 2010: 99). When the media is controlled and underpinned by various ideological interests, then the media is often accused of being the formulator of the reality or the mirror of reality. The operation of the ideology behind the media is not free from obscurity and unconscious mechanisms, which is the success of an ideology. That is, an ideology that infiltrates and embeds itself in media influences subtle and hidden agendas that change the perception of each person unconsciously (Piliang, 2004: 138).

In contrast to the traditional presentation of *pasantian*, in the context of contestation both in media and in the public space, *pasantian* participants utilize contestation to show off skills, gain fame, wear trendy fashion, as well as reinforce self-images that instil individual and group pride. Competition among groups often involves who has the most lavish costumes. Various motivations and desires appear on stage when participants perform in front of the camera especially during close-ups, when they want to show their identity as fashion concious, but somehow devout and religious.



Plate 2.

The Gianyar District Cultural Department's gaguntangan ensemble during  
the *Pasantian* Suara shanti RRI Denpasar competition, December 11-12, 2009  
(photo by the author)

Other models of competition can be observed in the presentation of *pasantian* competitions held in tandem with events such as sports and arts fairs (Porsenides), students sport and art events (porsenijar),



Competition of Dharma Gita (UGD), *pasantian* radio broadcast competitions, among others. The repackaging of *pasantian* as competition is the hybrid construction of various elements from inter-genre borrowing that is cultivated to high levels of detail and intensity. This can be seen in such competitions as as the Sandyagita Festival Gong Kebyar (FGK), Shanti Gita Contest, the Taman Penasar *pasantian* competition. In many *pasantian* genres such as Sandyagita and Gegitaan, creativity and innovation are more strongly emphasized where the artistic aspects of musical composition are combined with the choreography of performative expressive movement based on folk and classical Balinese dances. *Pasantian* compositions that prioritize these artistic aspects set the benchmark for appreciative audiences that reach capacities of over 8,000 people on the Ardha Candra Taman Budaya Denpasar stage.

The prevalence and frequency with which *pasantian* appears in the social sphere of Balinese contributes significantly to the expansion of *pas anti an* activity. This can be seen in the context of social activities such as wedding ceremonies and anniversary celebrations for social organizations, radio events, business development exhibitions, and socialization propaganda rallies for government programs. In addition to providing wholesome entertainment, *pasantian* performance in a social context can provide enlightenment and educational alternatives to the community about values and local wisdom.

Public space in temples, community wards (*banjar*), schools, and offices have become new spaces for practitioners to develop their creativity. Without leaving sacred ritual spaces as the main base, this new social space provides a spirit for interaction and social contact with the new cultural channels being formed. Personal relationships, inter-group relations, between agencies, and social networks among others, have provided an opportunity and a chance for *sekaa santi* to interact with one another, in a different time and space to cultivate a spirit of *menyamabyara* or solidarity and unity.

In this context is the power of creativity that can evoke the spirit of the local culture in the middle of a noisy bustling churning out of global cultural products. The ability to uphold local culture when faced with often dominant exterior cultural forces is called 'local genius' (Megatsari, 1986: 56). Through *pasantian* activity, Balinese people take pride in their identity while wallowing in the middle of globality.

*Pasantian's* re-contextualization and numerous manifestations as a vocalized literary performance genre in the reform era has great impact and made outstanding contributions towards strengthening pride and resilience in the Balinese. Through the growing craze in the wider community to participate in *pasantian*, traditional Balinese literature has become vibrant and has witnessed a growth in interest. Many members of *sekaa Santi* who were not able to read Balinese script, after participating *ui pasantian* activity have gradually gained facility in written forms of Balinese language. *Pasantian's* re-contextualization has generated a sense of pride in, and enhanced participant's sensitivity to their own cultural roots. Growing awareness of Balinese-ness in the nation's cultural arena strengthens locality while simultaneously registering national culture and national identity.

However, it must be recognized that the re-contextualization of *pas anti an* has not just been about cultural roots. It has been able to promote gender equality and particularly encourage the participation of women in *pasantian* activity. The reality shows that women's involvement in the activity of *pasantian* may at first to appear balanced with men. But considering the prominent usage of material derived from *maca pat*, women's roles in *pasantian* may be more dominant than men. One important point empowering women in *pasantian* is the emergence of the role of women as *pengartos* or 'literary interpreters' or commentators previously dominated by men. Several talented women *pengartos* appear in prominent media including radio, television including artists such as Luh Camp lung, Luh Ema, and Luh Suci.

Re-contextualizing *pasantian* in many cases can improve the spirit of creativity. The creative artists explore new sounds and express new ideas to modify an existing shape into a more artistic presentation. *Pasantian* has been an appropriate creative medium for new aesthetic outputs modified to satisfy a new generation's tastes and expressive palet. The form of its predecessor which was *mababoasan* was a male-dominated, elitist form that ignored change and nearly extinguished vocalized literary performance all together. But through the demands of 'new packaging forms' in *pasantian*, gamelan craftsmen and a new generation of vocalists are experiencing the establishment of a creative

genre of which they themselves can take ownership.

Based on the above explanation, re-contextualization in this era of reform can be interpreted as resistance, emancipation, and deconstruction. We see resistance to the dominance of the traditional elite, especially those in control of traditional knowledge in the field of literature. This is clear as the presentation of *pasantian* is no longer blocked by a rigid social boundary imposed through the *tri wangsa* hierarchy of feudal Bali. Emancipation has built an equal and harmonious footing for women in the field of *pas anti an*. Deconstruction is done to dismantle the hegemonic concepts that perpetuate singular truths which moves participants towards a more humanistic and meaningful existence.

### Conclusion

The re-contextualization of *pasantian* from feudal elitism to mainstream Balinese performativity repositions ritual tradition into the broader realm such as a media, contestation, and other social spaces. But it is also important to note how we can see *pasantian* as a cultural product that is able to evolve in the direction of democratization, penetrate the boundaries and limits of space and time.

*Pasantian* as a unique tradition, dignified, laden with the values of local wisdom, is an agent of social awareness, a character-forming pillar within multiple facets that make up Indonesian national identity. The growth of the collective consciousness of the Balinese sees the building of culture through local adaptation and global negotiations (glocalism). Revitalizing local cultural potential at the insistence of global cultural flows constitutes a Balinese affirmation of identity on parallel with other local reactions to global culture.

The formation of *pasantian* is not just based on the phenomenological aspects of performing arts. Rather the question of religion, culture, aesthetics, and values of solidarity are integrally attached to *pasantian* as a cultural phenomenon. Therefore, *pasantian* can be interpreted as one of the significant cultural building blocks in the construction of post New Order Balinese identity.

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