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Early Music Identities Among the Kaili: An Educational Approach to Applied Ethnomusicology in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia

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The disciplines of music education and ethnomusicology developed out of scholarship produced at the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century with strong roots in Europe and the United States. Both fields of study have continued to evolve and crossed paths during the second half of the twentieth century including the study of non-Western music (also referred to as *world music*) as used by music educators in Western educational institutions, as well as the ethnomusicological study of Western musical forms. Ethnomusicology in Southeast Asia saw its major development during the second half of the twentieth century propelled by indigenous scholarship from a generation of native educators and cultural advocates. In this sense, ethnomusicology in Southeast Asia allowed for numerous forms of education and cultural activism in the region, through the field now conceptualized as Applied Ethnomusicology. Drawing upon the inter-sonic relationships between musical meaning and society (Green, 1998), and the construction of early musical identity through childrens' games and the educational system (Green, 2001), this paper posits a merging space between music education and ethnomusicology through the field of Applied Ethnomusicology in Southeast Asia using the project *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* (Kaili Childrens' Songs) by *Yayasan Modero Palu*, a non-governmental organization (NGO) from Central Sulawesi, Indonesia as a study case.

The development of new educational material among the Kaili of Central Sulawesi reflects Lucy Green's ground-breaking theoretical and pedagogical approaches to music education. Green's (1998) *Music on*

deaf ears: Musical meaning, ideology and education outlines inter-sonic relationships between musical meaning and society. Her 2001 publication *Learning teaching and musical identity: Voices across cultures* examines identity construction through numerous examples from across the globe. The editor in her introduction posits Western classical music as a form of musical cultural imperialism towards the modernization of educational systems. An illustration of such a model is seen through "contrasting ways in which early musical identities are formed" namely "through children's informal games and their formal educational experiences in schools" (Green, 2001, p.16). Drawing from the inter-sonic relationship between musical meaning and society embedded in the development of early musical identities, this chapter looks at the work carried out by *Yayasan Modero Palu* as a case study for the production of new music pedagogical material based on childrens' games and songs among the Kaili ethnic group in Central Sulawesi. The project presents new pedagogical approaches that merge inter-sonic relationships with early musical identities for the educational system. Informed by aspects of applied ethnomusicology, this paper presents shared aspects of music education and ethnomusicology illustrated through traditional childrens' games, lullabies, and songs among other examples that are reworked, expanded into musical pieces to be used for new music pedagogical material in the educational system and the community of Central Sulawesi.

Music Education and Ethnomusicology as Tributaries

The discipline of music education investigates the nature of teaching and learning including the analysis and application of different music pedagogical approaches. The latter include modes of transmission and reception including skills, internalization mechanisms, cognitive processes, as well as cultural approaches. Music education methodological approaches were developed and applied in numerous educational institutions for teaching Western music. These methodologies included the Kodály Method from Hungary, Orff Schulwerk from Germany, and the Suzuki Method from Japan. Through the development of such methodological approaches, music education, navigated a course parallel to ethnomusicology. Music educator Keith Swanwick points out

Education is essentially interventionist in character and culturally subversive. Education is about preparing the young for a changing world and is an attempt to bring about change in people. That is the intention of education, and any custodial or curatorial activity has to serve that end. Ethnomusicology, on the other hand, presumably aspires to be more locally descriptive and culturally neutral. As an anthropologist, it

would never do to intervene in a situation under scholarly observation. (Swanwick, 1992, p.137).

Despite its general nature, the statement tracks similar historical paths of development for both disciplines.

Ethnomusicology, as a twentieth century discipline developed out of significant projects emerging from Europe and the United States. At the end of the nineteenth century, amidst nationalist movements, both composers and scholars in Europe engaged the study of folksong and traditions. Of the former, Hungarian renowned composer Bela Bartok, collected folk music, making a significant contribution to the development of ethnomusicology. Of the latter, Eric von Hornbostel (Austria) and Curt Sachs (Germany) developed a system for the classification of musical instruments that bears their name and is used until the present day (see Hornbostel & Sachs 1961). Furthermore, the development of the cents system for the measurement of sound intervals by Alexander Ellis together with the phonograph cylinder by Thomas Edison, were two significant contributions to the analysis and recording of Western folk music and eventually "non-Western" musical traditions as well. The study of "non-Western" musical forms flourished during the first half of the twentieth century conceptualized as comparative musicology. After half a century of extensive documentation (see Densmore, 1918, Tracey, 1934, et al.) and studies comparing "Western" musical forms to "non-Western" ones, the field took new directions during the second half of the twentieth century. Dutch scholar Jaap Kunst coined the term "Ethno-musicology" (Kunst, 1955). Alan Merriam's (1964) *The Anthropology of Music* advocated an anthropological approach to the study of music as culture emphasizing fieldwork and leading to a continuous development of methodological and theoretical approaches.

During that same period, the discipline of ethnomusicology established a presence in numerous music departments within European, United States and Australian institutions. It included performance ensembles as part of its curricula, including gamelan, Chinese orchestra, West African drumming, Afro-Cuban ensembles, and Hindustani classical music, to name a few. The presence of non-Western ensembles (and musicians) encouraged new analytical studies of pedagogical approaches by both music education and ethnomusicology. Towards the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, Music Education studies of cultural learning and the learning of culture took an interdisciplinary approach. Aside from Green's 2001 publication mentioned above, other music educators provided new perspectives on the use of non-Western music for educational purposes, including Shehan's (1991) *Lessons from the world*, Lundquist and Szego's (1998) *Musics of the world's cultures: A source book for music educators*, and Schippers (2010)

Facing the music: Shaping music education from a global perspective. Similarly, ethnomusicology publications also began to address (rather retrospectively) pedagogical aspects of non-Western music, including Nettl's (1995) *Heartland excursions: Ethnomusicological reflections on schools of music*, Solis's (2004) *Performing ethnomusicology*, as well as the chapter titled "Some contributions of ethnomusicology" by Nettl in McPherson and Welch's (2012) *The Oxford handbook of music education*.

Current inter-disciplinary approaches in US and European institutions continue twentieth century academic practices while collaborating and utilizing theoretical approaches from diverse fields of study. Simultaneously, ethnomusicology developed in Southeast Asia by a critical mass of academicians trained in Western institutions, 'performing ethnomusicology' (Solis, 2004) in their countries of origin. Such academic performance was not limited to institutions of higher education but extended to numerous communities in the region. Both academic and non-academic approaches inside and outside the classroom for students and community members contributed to a praxis of inter-disciplinary approaches based on the needs and nature of each specific project (See Tan, 2008). Thus, ethnomusicological endeavors in Southeast Asia drew upon composition, ethnochoreology, drama, cultural advocacy through non-government organizations (NGOs), governmental cultural policies, advocates of health and well-being, and music education. Leading scholars established organic, inter-disciplinary models for the contextual and cultural practice of ethnomusicology in Southeast Asia.

Applied Ethnomusicology in Southeast Asia, a Conflux

Applied ethnomusicology as a field attained international recognition at the 2007 ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music) conference in Vienna. The founding study group defined Applied Ethnomusicology as "the approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts" (Harrison, Mackinlay & Pettan 2010). The formation of this field acknowledges the inherent social responsibility of ethnomusicologists for the community they work with. As further refinement of this movement, Sheehy's (1992) qualities of applied ethnomusicology include:

1. The development of new performance frames,
2. A musical model for feedback to the communities,
3. Providing community access to strategic models and conservation techniques, as well as,
4. Developing broad structural solutions.

Emerging from an academic training in ethnomusicology, the new field focuses research training on the social applicability of theoretical models outside institutions of higher education.

The communal praxis of social responsibility beyond the classroom setting by ethnomusicologists from or active in Southeast Asia have taken the form of workshops, documentation projects, festivals and other cultural/community activities. The broad diversity of the projects carried out in Southeast Asia has enabled inter-disciplinary approaches, including music education. Filipino scholar Ramon Santos in his monograph *Laón- Laón* (2012) presents different perspectives on the transmission and pedagogical approaches of music traditions in post-colonial Southeast Asia. Focusing on cases in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines, Santos describes different approaches to learning traditional music as "modern concept of learning through teaching and the formalized formula of mass instruction as developed in the west" (Santos, 2012 p.60). Yet, post-colonial traditional music transmission maintains, in varying degrees, localized praxes of orality already present in an original sonic environment. The following case study in Central Sulawesi resonates with Santos' (2012) reflections while using applied ethnomusicology to enable the formation of early musical identities (Green, 2001) among the Kaili ethnic group.

Kaili Childrens' Songs in the Post-colonial Context

Located in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, the Kaili are the largest ethnic group in the province with over 300,000 members. Defined by the use of the Kaili language, the Kaili reside mainly in the districts of Donggala, Sigi, Parigi and Palu, the capital of the province. The Kaili language belongs to the Kaili-Pamona language family and consists of numerous dialects such as Kaili Tara, Kaili Rai, Kaili Unde, Kaili Ledo, and Kaili Da'a, to name a few, spoken in several districts.

The *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* (Kaili childrens' songs) project which begun in 2013, was carried out in the city of Palu working with songs and games in the Kaili Ledo dialect, the largest spoken dialect functioning as the *lingua franca* among Kaili speakers. Following Indonesian independence in 1945, the Indonesian language was taught in schools and became the dominant medium of communication in Central Sulawesi, especially in Palu with its numerous divergent ethnic groups residing in the city. Because children in the region grow up primarily speaking the national language of Indonesian, the Kaili childrens' songs project provides a space to utilize and therefore maintain the Kaili language through music and performance.

The project *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* was carried out collectively by *Yayasan Modero Palu,* a non-governmental organization (NGO) from Palu dedicated to the development of traditional culture and the performing arts in Central Sulawesi. The aim of the project was to produce music education material based on Kaili local practices such as games and songs for children to be used inside and outside formal education institutions. Music educator Patrick Schmidt has characterized NGOs as a "framework for education in and through music" stating that, "The elements that often characterize NGOs – capacity to identify local needs and "realities;" generate adjustments and weighing alternatives – can also serve as patterns to be used in structured organizations, providing inside–out change while attending to State, or outside–in, mandates" (Schmidt, 2014 p.32). Working outside the structures of the elementary school, *Yayasan Modero Palu* was able to document practices, arrange musical pieces for performance and produce a book and compact disc with Kaili songs published in April 2014. The publication is intended to serve both the school classroom and the larger community.

The roots of this project date back to 1998 with the documentation of traditional Kaili childrens' songs and games by Amin Abdullah supported by the Arts Council of Central Sulawesi. The realization that schools in Java were teaching ethnic Javanese songs such as "Jaranan" or "Cublak-Cublak Suweng to their students motivated Amin Abdullah to include Kaili songs in the educational system. Most educational material for the arts is produced in Java. The Kaili is a minority ethnic group in a diverse multi-ethnic country, so that music instruction in Palu has been entirely dependent upon the knowledge of local music teachers. The production of materials for music education marks schools as a modern setting for music instruction. As stated by Tan (2008, p.70) "education plays a very important role in revitalizing and rekindling the interest of youths in traditional music." In this way, the project *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* intends to serve local educational needs, specifically developing early a Kaili music identity based on local culture for (mostly) local students. With the support of the Education and Culture Office of the City of Palu and Central Sulawesi, 3000 books and compact discs were produced and distributed throughout schools in Palu.

Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili

The project by *Yayasan Modero Palu* includes the documentation, arrangement, audio recording of songs, and the printing of a book. Previous documentation carried out by Amin Abdullah resulted in a large selection of different types of songs, childrens' games, and lullabies. In collaboration with the NGO performing ensemble members, songs

were selected and arranged as a medley. The accompanying ensemble included local Kaili instruments such as the *kakula* (gong-row melodic carrier), *gongs, gendang* and *kanda* (double-headed drums), *pare'e* (bamboo buzzer), *juk* 'ukulele), *kudode* (bamboo slit-drum), and guitar. The local instrumentation for accompaniment provide a Kaili sonic background for the local songs, which represent the collective memory of the ensemble. The musical arrangements are created collectively using the *sintuvu* method of composition (Abdullah, 2004). In this compositional process, all ensemble members participate in the development, arrangement, and performance of songs. Thus, the repertory draws upon individual music capabilities and coalesces them into a temporal outcome that is collective and collaborative.

Among the outstanding features of this successful project is the inclusion of children in the production and performance of the pieces. Kaili children become onstage performers and recording artists with other Kaili children as intended audience and consumers. The project setting, away from the public school, allowed for extended rehearsals in which children ranging in age from four to twelve, were able to work together, absorb the material without time constraints, and -most importantly- to do so in an enjoyable and playful environment. The pedagogical process was largely oral and included cognitive aspects of assimilating knowledge, psychomotor development by accompanying song with movement (also aiding cognitive aspects), and affective experiences for the assimilation of *rasa* (feeling) implicit in each song. The children worked together not only to apprehend knowledge but also to hone their presentational skills of performance. As example, a medley of songs incorporates choreographed movements that portray the songs' meaning as well as spontaneously improvised movements that project playful qualities during the stage performance.

The repertoire consists of childrens' songs, folksongs, lullabies, and game songs. Some result from creativity within the the region, either by borrowing an existing melody or creating a new one. Others are traditional game song and part of the group's collective memory. All songs belong to the Kaili oral tradition , some of which are currently practiced, while others were reconstructed from the memory of elders in the community. The repertoire includes "Ina Ina Riumba Colo", "Bersuka Ria", "Love Oge", "Tendo Tendo", "O Yangguse", "Owa Owa", "Ana I De", "Hau Riumba Ina", "Nokilalaki", "Junju ri Peti", "Antara Desa", "Sakaya", "Reme Reme Vula", "Dapa Dapa Lauro", and "Didi Lauro,'" summarized in Table 1, below. The songs may also be categorised depending on the positionality of children, namely, children as carriers with or without a specific game, children as subjects of the song (mainly as *nompaoa / nompalonga* or lullaby) and children as performers of an arrangement

Figure 1. Performance of "*Ina Ina Riumba Colo*" (Palu, May 2014)

of a song not specifically for children such as a folksong, part of the Kaili folklore (see Danandjaja, 1984) within the province of Central Sulawesi.

Table 1. Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili repertoire description

Song	Translation	Type	Composed/ Traditional	Category	Description
"Ina Ina Riumba Colo"	Mother where is the lighter?	Childrens song	Melody: Sukarno Lyrics: traditional	Adapted for Children	Kaili version of the song "Bersuka Ria". The lyrics in this case provides behavior advice to children. Sung without game.
"Bersuka Ria"	Rejoice	National Popular Song	Sukarno	Adapted for Children	Well known national song sung among the Kaili since the 1960's
"Love Oge"	Gallant Eagle	*Nompaoa* (lullaby)	Traditional	Children as subject	Kaili lullaby sung in various positions such as holding a baby or in a hammock (*buaian*).

"Tendo Tendo"	Darling darling	*Nompaoa* (lullaby)	Traditional	Children as subject	Kaili lullaby (see "Love Oge")
"O Yangguse"	Sway	*Nompaoa* (lullaby)	Traditional	Children as subject	Kaili lullaby (see "Love Oge")
"Owa Owa"	Owa Owa	*Nompaoa* (lullaby)	Hassan Bahasyuan	Children as subject	Well-known song among the elder Kaili citizens by this renowned Kaili composer.
"Ana I De"	De's Son	Children song	Traditional	Children as carrier	Song without meaning. Sung without a game, for joyful purposes.
"Hau Riumba Ina"	Where do you go mother?	Popular Song	Melody: Boney M Lyrics: traditional	Adapted for Children	Based on the song "Hooray Hooray It's a Holi-Holiday" the Kaili version uses lyrics in the form of call and response between girls and boys.
"Nokilalaki"	Nokilalaki	Folksong	Traditional	Adapted for Children	This Kaili tune makes reference to a mountain in Central Sulawesi. Sung for joyful purposes.
"Junjuri Peti"	Frame in a Case	Children Game	Traditional	Children as carrier	Kaili children game sung while playing in rhythm with the palm of the hand.
"Antara Desa"	Between villages	Folksong	Traditional	Adapted for Children	Kaili song naming several villages of the city of Palu.
"Sakaya"	Boat	Folksong	Traditional	Children as carrier	Sung without a game, for joyful purposes.
"Reme Reme Vula"	Bright moon	Children song	Traditional	Children as carrier	Historically sung by adults during full moon to make children laugh.

"Dapa Dapa Lauro"	Pieces of rattan	Children Game	Traditional	Children as carrier	Kaili children game that follows the rhythm and structure of the song.
"Didi Lauro"	Drawn rattan	Children song	Syahrir Lawide	Adapted for Children	The song describes a raffle using rattan to determine who begins the game.

The above-mentioned classification of songs were arranged as a childrens' medley for recording and performance purposes. Differentiating items as popular song, folksongs or serious songs is not always fixed in communities with oral traditions (Brunvand 1968 p.131-132), because a song may derive from another genre or singing style. "Ina Ina Riumba Colo" and "Hau Riumba Ina" are good examples: the former adapted the melody of "Bersuka Ria" composed by Sukarno (Indonesia's first president) in the 1960s; the latter melody was borrowed from the song "Hooray Hooray It's a Holi-Holiday" by the US group Boney M, famous in the 1970's. The adaptation of melodies also takes place in traditional Kaili music such as the borrowing of *gambus* (lute of Arab origin) and *lalove* (bamboo flute) tunes played by the *kakula* (single gong-row instrument). The piece "Gambusu" of the traditional *kakula* repertoire is an example of a melodic adaptation that considers tuning, phrasing, and melodic contour of the *gambus* tune adapted to the capabilities of the *kakula* gong row. Also using borrowed melodies, "Ina Ina Riumba Colo" and "Hau Riumba Ina" exhibit lyrics relevant to Kaili contexts and in the Kaili language, but textually unrelated to the original songs.

Song selected are largely short or shortened songs to accommodate the memorization abilities of children. Intended for elementary schools, the songs maintain a cultural connection to the Kaili ethnic group specifically and to the province of Central Sulawesi at large, crucial in the early establishment of musical identity. As an educational tool, the songbook includes the songs transcribed in cipher notation, following established practices of Indonesian music instruction. Each song provides the original lyrics in the Kaili language and a translation in the Indonesian language. Finally, each song includes a contextual explanation of the type of song, its history, and a description of its traditional performance context. The last section of the book consists of transcriptions in staff notation for students, music teachers, arrangers, and researchers. The book also provides a narrative introduction to the songs and the project in general.

*Figure 2. "*Dapa-Dapa Lauro" – song sample from *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili*

Because the book is intended for use in the educational system it is important to bring several issues or concerns to the attention of the reader. One concern regards "standardization" through the publication of materials originally from the oral tradition. The book presents only a single possible arrangement of a song, and teachers are encouraged to explore different arrangement possibilities. Most of the songs are presented in the Kaili Ledo dialect, yet there are certain words that vary depending on the region where it is sung. The song "Ina Ina Riumba Colo" has variant word forms in the text depending on the region; for example *riumba* (where) becomes *umba* or *rumba* in other regions. The translations into Indonesian of the lyrics are not interlineal but rather provide a general explanation of the meaning: some Kaili words can have multiple translations in the Indonesian language, some words have a single possible translation in Indonesian (but multiple referents in the Kaili language), and some phrases are metaphorical alluding to non-specified topics. Finally, some words are in archaic Kaili language, no longer used or understood by contemporary speakers.

Evaluation

For this project the confluences of ethnomusicology and music education functioned at a pragmatic level for its successful execution. Ethnomusicological practices such as research, documentation, analysis, and transcription were essential to the development of the book's content. Similarly music education priorities for pedagogy, arrangements for children, movement components, performance arrangements, and music notation were satisfied through the outcomes of this project. Needed elements from both disciplines coalesced and were enabled through the platform of Applied Ethnomusicology, which accommodated both theoretical discourses and practical approaches. Recapitulating Sheehy's (1992) four qualities of applied ethnomusicology cited earlier, the project *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* developed new performance frames by featuring children performing childrens' songs which produced a stage presentation that celebrated Kaili-ness as cultural capital. The project modeled musical feedback to the community by creating new music arrangements and innovative performance possibilities for local songs. It introduced the community to developmental models and conservation strategies through the publication of instructional material based on Kaili oral traditions that served both public education and the community at large. Finally, it provided a structural solution to the local need for music instructional material reflective and supportive of Kaili culture.

While emphasising practical outcomes, the project *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* also has relevance for the worlds of scholarship and theoretical discourse. Music education publications cited earlier (Green 1998, 2001), provide useful experiential data from institutional educational and argue for the importance of identity construction. The project carried out in Central Sulawesi stands as a successful alternative model of music education for Kaili children; it enables them to establish identity imprints through learning and experiencing songs from their own cultural and generational background, i.e. Kaili children's songs. Ethnomusicology's identity discourse supports Simon Frith's position that "the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience - a musical experience, an aesthetic experience - that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and a collective identity" (Hall & DuGay, 1996, p.109). In this sense academic discourse enables the execution of projects fraught with numerous precedents and where cultural and socio-economic circumstances provide referents for future projects.

Academics have been long concerned with the wide-ranging effects that a project may have for a target community. This project is no exception. The case of *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* presents a single approach to the interpretation, arrangement and performance of Kaili childrens' songs produced by culture carriers. Given the dearth of education material for Kaili music, the book can produce the unintended results of performance standardization and repertoire favoritism, given its almost universal dissemination by local governmental entities. Further, privileging songs in the Kaili Ledo dialect further reinforces it as a regional *lingua franca,* which at least symbolically disenfranchises other Kaili dialects spoken and therefore also the districts of their provenance. Finally, there is the concern for equal representation. The plurality of ethnicities native to Central Sulawesi (Toli-Toli, Kulawi, Pamona, etc) and those originating from outside the province (Bugis, Mandar, Minahasa, etc) residing in the city of Palu may not feel culturally validated by the use of this book in the educational system. The need for future music publications that collectively or separately engage other ethnic groups should be considered by *Yayasan Modero Palu* and other organizations in the province in the spirit of multicultural inclusivity reflective of the city of Palu.

In addition to its scholarly value, the field of Applied Ethnomusicology has provided a body of culture-specific cases of cultural activism and diverse models of modus operandi for community-based projects. Malaysian ethnomusicologist, Tan Sooi Beng, has carried out numerous community projects addressing education and traditional music on Penang Island. She observes, "[The] Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand have been responsible for the introduction of indigenous music in public schools which until recent decades focused on European music theory" (Tan, 2008 p.70). The project *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili* constitutes a local and Kaili response to this current pan-Southeast Asian attention to ethnic minorities in the domain of educational material. The project carried out by *Yayasan Modero Palu* and its performing group mirrors applied ethnomusicology projects worldwide, such as Samuel Araujo's work in Brazilian marginal communities with performing groups and samba schools (*escolas de samba*); he and his associates devote their time both to research and creatively proactive community activities. In a similar effort of cultural activism, *Yayasan Modero Palu* through such projects as *Nyanyian Anak Anak Kaili*, advocates for a world "… in which knowledge will hopefully emerge from a truly horizontal, intercultural dialogue and not through top-to-bottom neo-colonial systems of validation" (Araujo, 2008 p.14).

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