

Learning in the “Global Village”: Performing Arts Edutourism in Bali, Indonesia

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Abstract: In the past half century, educational tourism (edutourism) study abroad programs where foreigners study gamelan, dance, and other traditional performing arts have transformed the Balinese arts tourism industry. Drawing on historical, analytical, and ethnographic methods, this article analyzes the development and scope of these programs as educational experiences and commodities. I argue that these programs’ intersecting facets of education and leisure market kebalian (Balineseness) as a consumable cultural category, but also provide distinctive opportunities for a foreign student to transcend the role of turis (tourist) through meaningful, participatory experiences of Balinese performing arts within Balinese settings.

Résumé : Au cours du dernier demi-siècle, le tourisme éducatif, consistant en programmes d’études conçus pour que des étrangers viennent étudier le gamelan, la danse et les autres arts de la scène, a transformé l’industrie touristique des arts balinais. En se basant sur des méthodes historiques, analytiques et ethnographiques, cet article analyse le développement et l’envergure de ces programmes en tant qu’expériences éducatives et produits commerciaux. J’avance que, certaines facettes de ces programmes recoupant à la fois l’enseignement et les loisirs, cela fait du kebalian (l’identité balinaise) un produit marchand, une catégorie culturelle consommable, mais que cela procure également à l’étudiant étranger des opportunités distinctives de transcender son rôle de turis (touriste) au moyen d’expériences participatives riches de sens dans les arts de la scène balinais, et dans le cadre balinais.

In 2013, a record 3.27 million foreign tourists visited Bali—an island whose resident population numbered 4.22 million at the time (Nurhayati 2014)—drawn to Bali to experience, according to the popular *Lonely Planet* guidebook, “a destination that rises far above a typical tropical island by virtue of its culture, scenery, and people” (Van Berkmoes, Steer-Guéraud, and Harewood 2005: 3). The artistic heart of this distinctive Balinese culture centres on the music of gamelans (gong chime orchestras) and their associated art forms, dance (*tari*), and shadow puppetry (*wayang*), which have

long been central to the unique social structures and religious practices of the island's Hindu population. The Balinese sustain vibrant performing arts scenes within centuries-old contexts, such as life cycle rituals and temple ceremonies; artists additionally perform within more recently developed artistic contexts, including at regional and island-wide arts competitions, festivals, and concerts. Despite receiving national and foreign attention, these performances remain largely by and for Balinese audiences.

However, unlike the timeless island paradise image promoted by its Dutch colonial government in the first half of the 20th century, Bali has been shaped extensively by a century of cultural dialogue with the outside world. In even the most Balinese-oriented performance contexts, artistic traditionalism and innovation result largely in dialogue with (but not specifically catering to) non-Balinese artistic styles and audiences (e.g., McGraw 2013a; Stepputat 2013). A more widely visible form of artistic change, however, is the nightly performances of Balinese arts that cater specifically to foreign tastes. Modified substantially in length, context, and audience if not specifically in artistic style, these performances have become a hallmark of the island's touristic profile, but their proliferation as a part of the Balinese tourism industry have also had a profound and not uniformly positive impact on Balinese performing arts communities. As documented in recent literature on cultural tourism in Bali (e.g., Dunbar-Hall 2006; Harnish 2005; Hitchcock and Darma Putra 2007; Howe 2005; Picard 1996, 2003; Rubinstein and Connor 1999; Vickers 2012 [1989]), Balinese communities must continue to negotiate aesthetic, financial, religious, social, and political issues when they perform traditional repertoires for non-Balinese audiences for the purpose of financial gain.

Since the 1970s, a new mode of artistic tourism has emerged in Bali: performing arts educational tourism, or edutourism. Catering to foreigners interested in learning Balinese performing arts forms, arts edutourism programs comprise a wide array of formats, from one-hour private music or dance lessons for visitors who have never before studied the Balinese performing arts to multi-week intensive programs scheduled months in advance.¹ United by one basic function—allowing students to immerse themselves in Balinese arts study with a perceived insider's view on Balinese culture—these programs embrace artistic, social, cultural, and economic characteristics that variously resemble conventional leisure tourism, collegiate study abroad programs, and anthropological or ethnomusicological fieldwork. Growing from the tripartite nexus of educational, financial, and political movements within Balinese, Indonesian, and transnational contexts, artistic edutourism in Bali provides an example through which to examine an increasing worldwide closeness between travel for leisure and travel for artistic study or research.

Like many Americans who study, play, and teach Indonesian traditional music, my initial exposure to gamelan was during my college years; my first musical experiences in Bali were shaped by participation in formal arts study programs.² As I moved from being purely a student of Balinese music to studying, researching, and teaching gamelan and dance at a beginning level in the United States, I began to investigate the history of such programs and consider their artistic, social, and economic roles in the broader transnational Balinese artistic scene as a whole. Correspondingly, my approach here is perhaps more historical and analytical than it is ethnographic, presenting a comparative overview in which I identify distinctive approaches and general trends within Balinese music study programs for foreigners in a way that opens dialogue for further analysis of these trends. In this article, I contextualize and define edutourism within a Balinese performing arts context, highlighting how historical developments in political policy, scholarly research, and educational reform contributed to the development of modern arts-based edutourism. Surveying the variety of arts edutourism options available to foreign consumers, I focus on medium-length (one week to two month) programs that are directed towards Western visitors whose primary reason for visiting Bali is edutourism.³ Through examining the ways in which students are integrated and educated within their Balinese host communities, I present edutourism as a specific mode of engagement between host and visitor with intersecting facets of performing arts education, research, and leisure that ultimately serves as a site through which *kebalian* (Balineseness) as an ethnicity is marketed towards potential students (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). I problematize the term *turis* (tourist) as applied to foreign students of the performing arts because of their tendencies to both embody and transcend musical, linguistic, and other behavioural markers of tourists more broadly. Ultimately, I suggest that edutourism programs largely benefit local Balinese and international communities: first, due to their capacity to provide visitors sustainable opportunities to contribute to Balinese artistic communities, both financially and through study and performance; and second, by strengthening interest in and understanding of Balinese performing arts, both in Indonesia and abroad.

Defining Edutourism

The concept of educational travel is not a new one, but one originally restricted to the wealthy. The Grand Tours that educated Europe's young aristocrats in history, art, music, modern languages, and other cultural and political trends



Fig. 1. Dance Lessons Sign, Ubud, Bali. Photo by author.

from the 17th-18th centuries (Towner 1985) provided both a way to display familial wealth and sophistication and also take part in experiential learning. Though the advent of mass tourism in the 19th century largely revolved around leisure venues—seaside resorts and amusement parks (Falk et al. 2012)—the echoes of a call to experiential learning resounded through Western progressive educational theory in the early 20th century (Dewey 1938). Such ideals were subsequently embraced within collegiate study abroad programs over the past half century in response to an increased emphasis on global preparedness in student education (Lantis and DuPlaga

2010). Though leisure tourism remains popular, the end of the 20th century marked a significant shift in Western attitudes towards tourism, which arose as a site of free-choice learning, self-actualization, and identity formation (Falk et al. 2012; Falk and Dierking 2002). That is, tourism could make learning approachable, individually customizable, and fun. The word “edutourism” encompasses the intersection of learning and recreation, and has taken hold within popular and scholarly publications in the 21st century to describe a variety of visitor-learning experiences from one-hour cooking classes for visitors to multi-year language study programs.

A variety of edutourisms thrive in Bali. Ubud, the town dubbed the “cultural heart” of Bali for its nightly staged performances of Balinese performing arts, is perhaps its most concentrated centre. On Jalan Bisma, signs for Casa Luna’s daily Balinese cooking classes compete for space on crowded sidewalks with advertising for spa treatments or packaged day tours (“only 400.000 rupiah/person!”). Courses on the Indonesian language, silversmithing, painting, and basket weaving are just a few of the options that proliferate in the area. A painted hotel sign on busy Jalan Hanuman offers yet another course of study. In addition to both hot and cold showers and Wi-Fi—the essentials of modern tourist life—the hotel offers Balinese dance lessons (Fig. 1).

The activities described above, all undertaken by visitors for a few hours or a few days, fall within the definition of edutourism provided here. However, what about other contexts in which foreigners learn the Balinese performing

arts—multi-week gamelan study programs, in college classes with Balinese students at the arts conservatory, Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI; Indonesian: Institute of the Indonesian Arts), or as foreign scholars in the midst of a research trip that involves substantial artistic study? Are such individuals also tourists while they study? When they visit cultural sites on the weekend?

Due to such potential overlap between educational, artistic, and leisure activities, this article treats performing arts edutourism as a mode of touristic behaviour in which visitors undertake both short-term artistic study and cultural immersion as well as other leisure-tourism activities. More narrowly, this article largely addresses the phenomenon of foreign group and individual artistic study that is within a planned program, but not hosted by an institution of higher education. Nonetheless, given that edutourism thus defined embodies the space between academic and artistic study, education and leisure, it is important to contextualize the historical development of the whole range of study opportunities to better understand the focus of this article, Balinese performing arts edutourism programs.

The Development of Performing Arts (Edu)Tourism in Bali

The constructed image of ahistorical, exotic Bali perpetuated in both academic and touristic literature beginning in the 1930s has been all but dismantled by more recent scholarship (Boon 1977; Picard 1996; Vickers 2012 [1989]), which establishes that Bali's contemporary international image was purposefully created by a century of campaigns by the colonial Dutch, the post-independence Indonesian government, scores of foreign advertisers, and the Balinese themselves. Cultivating cultural tourism (*parawisata budaya*) was central to the creation of this image.

The initial development of modern tourism in Bali was the direct result of Dutch colonization of the island, completed between 1906 and 1908, following the *puputan* (mass ritual suicide) at the last remaining Balinese courts. These incidents received widespread international condemnation. As Adrian Vickers summarized the situation, "The scar on the liberal imagination of the Netherlands produced by these massacres had to be healed, and preservation of Balinese culture, in combination with tourism, were the most effective balms for the healing process" (Vickers 2012 [1989]: 91). Cultural tourism therefore became central to the early tourist industry in Bali and was initially overseen by governmental agencies, later by commercial groups such as the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM; Royal Packet Society). The goal was to transform Bali into "a living museum" in which Balinese Hindu

culture—believed to be the direct and unchanging heir to the storied Javanese Hindu Majapahit kingdoms of the 16th century—would be preserved, both to protect the Balinese and entice wealthy foreign visitors. Identifying cultural and religious elements of Balinese life viewed as central to kebalian, the colonial government developed political and educational policies that sought to reinforce practices that had only a passing relationship to the rapidly changing modes of modern Balinese life (Pollman 1990; Picard 1999). As marketing, it worked: hundreds of visitors per year arrived to enjoy Bali’s cultural and natural attractions in the 1920s, a number which increased to hundreds of thousands by the early 1930s (Hitchcock and Darma Putra 2007).

The early arrival of Western expatriate scholars and artists to Bali was central to the development of cultural tourism and planted the seeds of later arts edutourism practices.⁴ Not only did their writing and art attract other foreigners, but they were also profoundly influential in creating new contexts for Balinese arts performances. Artistic reactions to colonialism in Bali in the 1910s and 1920s—most notably, the development of the fast, virtuosic *gamelan gong kebyar* as a replacement for slower-moving types of royal court gamelans—had already transformed the Balinese artistic landscape (Tenzer 2000). However, it was individuals such as artist Walter Spies (1895-1942) and anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901-1978), as well as early tour organizers, who first commissioned Balinese artists to perform abridged rituals out of their original context, creating a precedent for the shorter, daily tourist performances that are now a staple of Balinese cultural tourism (Pollman 1990). Collaborations between expatriates and Balinese also created new genres such as *kecak* (vocal gamelan), with performances specifically designed for outsiders (Dibia and Ballinger 2004).

American composer Colin McPhee’s (1900-1964) approach to Balinese performing arts foreshadowed the eventual development of Balinese arts edutourism. Having first heard Balinese gamelan on recordings released by the German company Odeon and Beka in 1928, McPhee began an obsessive pursuit to learn more about the ensembles’ distinctive sounds (Oja 1990). Expressing a sentiment similar to those of current gamelan enthusiasts, he wrote upon his arrival in Bali in 1931, “I wanted to hear every Gamelan in the countryside” (McPhee 2000 [1947]: 111). Guided by I Nyoman Kalér (1897-1969) and I Madé Lebah (1905?-1996), among others, McPhee learned about Balinese society in general and the structure of Balinese gamelan music in particular, creating the extensive transcriptions that appear in his monumental research work *Music in Bali* (1966) and that served as inspiration for his compositions. He described his learning process as follows:

For a small sum I could engage the musicians to go through and repeat their traditional repertoires of music. Exclamations of pleased surprise would be heard from the men when, after noting some nuclear melody the first time it was played, I sat down at an instrument to play it along with them on the repeat. (McPhee 1966: xvi)

McPhee's "instrument" was generally piano rather than gamelan; his focus, on transcription and compositional inspiration rather than becoming a gamelan musician, and therefore his learning technique, differs from the *maguru panggul* (mallet as teacher) method favoured by contemporary teachers, discussed below. However, as the first foreigner to regularly exchange for monetary payment for the opportunity to learn Balinese traditional music, McPhee remains an early pioneer whose work stands as a precedent for later arts edutourism programs.⁵

The development of Balinese arts edutourism was still decades away, however, and was precipitated by the wider development of the modern Balinese tourism industry. Though the foundations of Bali's modern tourist infrastructure were laid by the government of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno (1901-1970; in office 1945-1967), it was during the early years of the New Order (Indonesian: *Orde Baru*) government of President Suharto (1921-2008; in office 1967-1998) that the modern Balinese tourism industry began to develop when Bali was chosen as a centre for concentrated economic development by the national government (Ramstedt 1993: 73). The Balinese swiftly worked to localize the development process. With the acute awareness that tourism could bring both prosperity and cultural destruction, the Commission for Evaluating and Promoting Culture (Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan, or LISTIBIYA) was founded through the Balinese Regional Office of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Indonesian: Kantor Perwakilan Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan) in 1968 to address the potentially conflicting priorities of developing tourist infrastructure and maintaining traditional culture.

LISTIBIYA was profoundly influential on both the practice and philosophy of Balinese performing arts tourism in that it promoted and regulated the performing arts, even licensing specific groups and their repertoires as appropriate for tourist consumption (Umeda 2007: 51). In 1971, the commission also established a tripartite categorization of Balinese performing arts repertoire using the Balinese terms *wali* (sacred), *bebali* (ceremonial), and *bali-balihan* (secular) based on their traditional place of performance. These guidelines addressed concerns raised by the out-of-context

performances of sacred temple music such as those that had been common past decades, as almost all tourist performances draw from the *bebali* or *bali-balihan* categories, or have significantly adapted *wali* performances (Dibia and Ballinger 2004: 10-11). The direct influence of LISTIBIYA has faded since the 1970s; however, performances for tourists today largely still follow its directives for repertoire selection (level of sacredness, style, and performance length), creating a relatively standardized repertoire for tourists. As we will see below, repertoire for arts edutourists provides an opportunity for students to experience *wali* performance in ways that are unlikely for other visitors.⁶

The 1960s and 1970s also brought sweeping changes to pedagogy and professionalism in the performing arts both in Bali and in North America, an area where a burgeoning interest in gamelan would generate some of the earliest arts edutourists. In Bali, the establishment of arts conservatories at the high school (1960) and collegiate (1967) levels restructured traditional forms of pedagogy through the introduction of Western teaching models.⁷ While budding performers still learned the basics of gamelan, dance, and puppetry within their home villages, serious young artists also began to enroll in the conservatories rather than study exclusively with *seniman alam*, those without institutional performing arts training. This conservatory training allowed them to become more competitive candidates for recording contracts, teaching positions, and other opportunities that increasingly required a degree as well as practical training (Bakan 1999; Heimarck 2003).

Among these “other opportunities” that became more accessible to Indonesian conservatory graduates are those to teach or collaborate artistically abroad with one of the over 450 gamelan ensembles (Balinese and others) that have been established around the world since the 1950s.⁸ Individual ensembles as well as particular socio-political regions have distinctive relationships with Indonesian performing arts more generally and Balinese arts more specifically. In the United States—host to the most gamelan groups by number outside Indonesia, at almost 200—the relationship between gamelan, pedagogy, and edutourism is particularly strong.⁹ The first gamelan ensembles in the United States, Javanese and Balinese, were established as “study groups” at University of California, Los Angeles in the late 1950s and, from the beginning, featured Javanese and Balinese instructors (Conner 2011).¹⁰ As gamelans proliferated inside academic institutions (as efforts towards cultural diversity) and in non-academic communities, a larger number of instructors were needed (both Indonesians and trained non-Indonesians), and study in Indonesia became increasingly touted as a way to improve musical and cultural proficiency (Solis 2004). It is from this cultural, artistic, and educational atmosphere that the first edutourism programs emerged.

Programs and Edutourist Considerations

The summer study program at Giri Kusuma (also known by its English name, Flower Mountain) in Payangan, Gianyar is widely credited as being the first performing arts edutourism program of its kind in Bali. Established in 1971 as a collaboration between the Balinese Yayasan Seni Dunia Tradisional (Foundation for the Traditional Arts) and the San Francisco-based Center for World Music, the program has run continuously with only a few periods of short hiatus since that time (Flower Mountain 2014).¹¹ In subsequent years, other individuals and institutions have diversified the offerings in this growing edutourism market, including Gamelan Çudamani, an internationally renowned performing *sanggar* (privately owned arts organization) in Pengosekan, Gianyar; Mekar Bhuana, a Bandung-based conservatory, research centre, and performing arts products exporter; the ISI-Denpasar and University of Essex-affiliated Bali Module for the World, based in Denpasar; and Sanggar Manik Galih near Baturiti, among others.¹² Notably, most of these enterprises are not purely Balinese at the organizational level, but rather involve non-Balinese primary partners, or are organized by Balinese artists who have spent a substantial portion of their careers working outside Indonesia.

Edutourists who already study the Balinese performing arts may choose a particular setting solely based on personal connections to a teacher or geographic location. However, for a complete novice, the diversity of artistic opportunities offered by these programs alone may be staggering. Dance instruction in a variety of styles is available at all the aforementioned locations, including a range of solo and group study of female and male styles, depending on the specialties of the hosts. Additionally, all of these programs either regularly offer or can arrange a focused or elective program of study in other Balinese performing and plastic arts, including Balinese traditional song (*kidung* and *kakawin*), shadow puppetry, mask carving, and puppet making.

The major focus of diversity in these study offerings, however, is gamelan. Between them, these programs offer study of 14 different gamelan ensembles, each with its own distinctive cultural history and repertoire. Each site may offer study on up to ten different types of gamelan. Arguably, a novice gamelan musician focusing on any of these ensemble types for a short length of time would gain a somewhat equal amount of insight into Balinese music and culture. However, the learner's experience of this music and culture would be very different based on the chosen course of study. For example, an individual studying on *semaradana*—a seven-tone bronze gamelan invented at the end of the 20th century, known for its innovative repertoire as well as possibilities for playing repertoires of more traditional gamelans with a diversity of tuning

systems—would learn about an entirely different repertoire and portion of Balinese cultural history than someone learning *selonding*—a rare, seven-tone iron gamelan from the 10th century whose repertoire is largely ritual and only recently has been the subject of substantive preservation and dissemination efforts. In that each gamelan produces a distinctive sound and requires slightly different playing techniques, the aesthetic and technical experience of study is also distinctive to each ensemble. For this reason, programs running longer than a few days generally incorporate opportunities for participants to study multiple types of gamelan as well as experience at least one other Balinese art form.

Practical concerns may also influence the choices of performing arts edutourists, such as what language skills are required, whether academic credit is given, cost, and the program length and dates. For example, while the dates for programs at Flower Mountain and Çudamani are fixed for every summer, more flexible programs allow for shorter or longer periods of study at different times. Housing situations also vary widely. Participants seeking quiet and a certain type of authenticity may choose to stay in a village (at Payangan or Bangah, near Baturiti), near the bustling tourist mecca of Ubud (with Çudamani), in Denpasar or amongst shop-lined beach streets for programs in the south (Bali Module for the World, Mekar Bhuana). Lodging can vary from a homestay with a Balinese family to a four-star hotel; food, from all home-cooked or catered meals as a group to restaurant meals on one's own. Like students choosing between study abroad programs (Lantis and DuPlaga 2010), arts edutourists in Bali are almost overwhelmed with choices of how to experience musical life in Bali.

How would a potential Balinese arts edutourist decide where to study? An online search and examination of each program's English language-only websites would provide a start, where factual information about the programs mixes with enticing images of the Balinese performing arts life.¹³ Short paragraphs describing musical opportunities available are complemented by vibrant photo headers featuring (among other scenes) shirtless male Balinese musicians in traditional dress, gold-adorned female dancers, and close shots of gamelan instruments—gleaming yet weathered icons of Bali. Photos and videos nestled amongst the text and clustered in their own gallery pages depict master artists in action performing with a local ensemble or—more commonly—teaching a group of visitors, their pale faces marked by looks of intense concentration. Close-ups of tables spread with Balinese food, and landscape shots featuring bungalows emerging from forests of banana and palm trees entice visitors to the program's particular setting. More practical information about payment and the availability of extracurricular program

offerings (including the availability of cultural tours and swimming pools) generally resides in the text.¹⁴ While clearly commercial enterprises, these programs also play a role in financially benefitting not only their proprietors, but also local musical communities. In addition to teaching foreigners, such programs frequently use program proceeds to support local initiatives such as preserving historic artistic repertoires, teaching local children for free, or contributing financially to local temples. Information on such initiatives is generally prominently posted alongside study program information.

Experiencing Culture Through Music: A Comparison

A straightforward way to understand how these options for study coalesce into specific programs is by comparing them.¹⁵ Gamelan Çudamani is an example of one of the more structured programs. Founded in 1997 and directed by Dewa Putu Berata and Emiko Saraswati Susilo, the sanggar is known in Bali and internationally for its performances, which feature a mix of traditional and innovative techniques (Harnish 2013; Weiss 2013).¹⁶ They also host a three-week summer institute at the sanggar. According to their mission statement, “Çudamani strives to perform and teach at the highest levels of artistry, worthy of a growing international reputation and yet remains equally committed to the children, youth, elders and master artists that are the heart of our community in Bali” (Gamelan Çudamani 2015). This mission statement manifests itself in the group’s focus on *ngayah* (ritual performance within ceremonial contexts, viewed as an offering) and its use of funds from the summer institute to sponsor arts education for dozens of local children.

After completing the registration process, Çudamani participants receive a packet of information including a study schedule for the whole session, detailing the timing of group lessons, master classes, elective classes, and visits to important cultural sites and musical events. On arrival, participants are whisked away to their hotel in Pengosekan, a village within walking distance of Ubud’s tourist attractions. The institute features instruction by approximately a dozen top young musicians and dancers from the area, as well as guest instructors from other areas of Bali. From college students to retired senior citizens, the yearly study cohort of musicians and dancers gathers to study repertoire primarily associated with *gamelan semaradana* and *gamelan beleganjur* (marching gamelan).¹⁷

In contrast, other programs offer more flexibility in length, timings, and offerings (including the one-hour study options of Mekar Bhuana), which may create economic expediency for instructors. Another reason for a more

flexible approach concerns method of recruiting and program intentions. While many of these programs seek to capture a general audience by advertising broadly, others rely primarily on word of mouth or other prior affiliations for recruiting. Unlike study programs with fixed dates, such programs are often flexible in terms of program of activities, daily schedule, and cost. This is the *modus operandi* of I Madé Lasmawan, his wife Ni Ketut Marni, and their whole family, who host visitors each summer within Lasmawan's home village in the mountains of Tabanan at Sanggar Manik Galih. Though Lasmawan has partnered with educational institutions such as Skidmore College, Northern Illinois University, and Colorado College (his primary employer) in creating formal study abroad programs, students who study with him in Bali largely derive from the constellation of community and collegiate gamelans that Lasmawan teaches in Colorado, Montana, and beyond, as well as word of mouth advertisement from former students.

Luke Geaney, an English visitor studying for the second time at Lasmawan's compound in 2012, had learned of the program at a party from an American who had been one of Lasmawan's former students at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Geaney had wanted to learn gamelan gong kebyar, but had never had the chance. After chatting with Lasmawan over Facebook, Geaney made plans to travel to Bali the following summer. He notes of the process:

I had absolutely no idea what to expect, because I had written a big email to Pak Madé when he invited me out, I asked, "Well, when should I come?" And he replied, "You can come anytime between May and August," or something. And then I said, "Well, when *should* I come?" and he said, "Well, whenever you want." (interview, June 17, 2012).

With Lasmawan's primary travel advice in hand—to "bring a towel, the ones in Bali aren't very good"—Luke boarded a plane, arrived in Bali, and, with 45 minutes' prior experience in playing Javanese *gamelan degung* under his belt, began his study.¹⁸

Despite the wide selection available in terms of geographic location, subjects available for study, and approach to scheduling, two facets of participants' experiences in Balinese performing arts edutourism programs are strikingly similar: the method of study and the availability of organized excursions. In most cases, the *maguru panggul* technique is most common. In this method, musicians who do not yet know their musical part play along with those on the same instrument who do, gradually reducing mistakes as they learn both

individual parts and the piece as a whole. This method of learning has been extensively documented within Balinese communities by scholars of the past century examining a diverse array of Balinese performing arts repertoires (e.g., Bakan 1994, 1999; Dibia and Ballinger 2004; DeZoete and Spies 1939; Downing 2008; Gold 2005; Harnish 2004; Heimarck 2003; Hough 1999; McPhee 1966; Tenzer 2000, 2011).

Learning by rote the Balinese way can be frustrating to non-Balinese who are not used to it; new gamelan students often express shock at being expected to immediately imitate their teachers with no prior contextualization. Students of traditional Balinese dance, particularly those who dance another style professionally, can also be unnerved by the equivalent pedagogical tactic: the teacher physically moving the dancer into the correct shape (Dibia and Ballinger 2004). However, this immersive pedagogical experience is considered by instructors to be one key advantage for learners who study in Bali. In Balinese gamelan groups outside of Indonesia, the traditionally oral methods of learning gamelan may be supplemented instead by written notation or step-by-step instruction of one section of instruments at a time because an insufficient number of musicians know the parts well enough to lead the learners (Harnish 2004).

Despite its common usage, the specific adaptations made to maguru panggul methodology (and corresponding dance instructional techniques) for foreign students differs, in large part based on whether the program is a fixed course of study (a two- or three-week program) or more flexible. For example, in the Çudamani summer institutes, the gamelan students who enroll are directed by Berata, who is assisted by a handful of members of Gamelan Çudamani. In rehearsal, these assistants initially serve as a musical mirror—sitting on the opposite side of each learner's instrument and playing the part so that the learner can follow on the same set of keys or gongs. In later practices and in performance, the Balinese are able to fill in any remaining instruments not populated by foreign learners. At Sanggar Manik Galih, the experience is more variable based on the number and experience of foreign learners. Groups of visitors with whom Lasmawan has already worked tend to focus on pieces with which they are already familiar; newer students joining in may look around to the members of Lasmawan's family, village community, and other foreign visitors who play together for guidance, using the mirroring technique only for one-on-one practice sessions. Private or small group lessons within any of the programs mentioned may vary in pedagogical style as individual teachers adapt to learners' needs.

The approach to repertoire selection can vary greatly between programs as well. For example, beginning-level gamelan and dance students in the

Çudamani program historically learn pedagogical pieces called *tari dasar* (basic/foundational dance), presented in the distinctive male and female dance styles. For example, the male *tari dasar* embodies key elements of the traditional genre of male group temple dance *baris gedé*. These newly composed basic pieces enable both music and dance students to learn foundational elements of melody, form, and musician-dancer interactions characteristic to each genre of dance, with the advantage that students are able to learn wali-style genres without encountering potential controversy that would potentially arise with foreigners learning local, sacred pieces. More advanced students may progress to more challenging and more widespread repertoire. In contrast, the students at Manik Galih often learn pieces to accompany the local girls' dancing for village events; these are generally *tari lepas* ("free dance," neo-traditional dance compositions of the late 20th century) or standardized versions of ritual forms, such as the female group dance "Rejang Dewa." New musicians are placed on instruments within the ensemble depending on their skill and knowledge.

Foreigners who study Balinese performing arts through private lessons or small groups or for a short amount of time are less likely to perform; however, most programs afford larger groups the chance to perform their new skills within Balinese communities. Some performances are small and semi-private, limited to students, teachers, and other invited guests. Another option for visitors—advanced individual students or groups—is to play at the Bali Arts Festival. However, as it is the primary artistic showcase for the entire island, performances require a high level of skill, so it is uncommon for visitors who visit with more touristic purposes in mind to perform.¹⁹ Village civic events offer other performance opportunities, as do temple ceremonies where performing serves as an important devotional offering—*ngayah*. Though other programs, including Çudamani, also sometimes provide this opportunity, Lasmawan, for example, insists upon temple performances whenever possible. He describes the benefits of this type of experience:

Every time we play—I think every time we have sixty members—so we can play *beleganjur*, all the members combined from the village [with the students], we have a ceremonial thing. Close to a thousand people watch. That kind of thing, most of my guests think is better than in Denpasar [the Bali Arts Festival]. Because in Denpasar, my guests see after they play, there's just no connection . . . If we play in the temple, after we play, everybody's like "Oooo, we want to take a photo with you, with the *turis* (tourists, visitors)." It's crowded, and almost everybody looks happy, and everybody enjoys their time. (interview, June 22, 2012)

In a practical sense, performing at a temple ceremony is ideal because intention, not perfection, is valued. Beyond giving visitors the experience of a lifetime, these performances also allow them to do something meaningful for their Balinese communities. Although it may be the first and last opportunity to play for some tourists, for others it is part of a continued study of the Balinese performing arts that lives beyond the tourist experience, fostering the development of lifelong musical relationships between foreign and Balinese performers.

As much as arts programs for foreigners are educational, they also incorporate significant aspects of cultural tourism, especially through the addition of cultural tours arranged between periods of intensive study. Such excursions both provide well-needed breaks from learning and show visitors important geographic and cultural facets of the island. Performing arts edutourists generally visit the usual tourist sites—the beach, important temples (Pura Besakih and Pura Tanah Lot), Mt. Agung, the monkey forest, the *sawah* (rice paddies)—often chauffeured by a local driver hired for the



Fig. 2. Foreigners Studying Gamelan Attend a Temple Ceremony, Baturiti, Bali. Photo by author.

day. However, watching local musicians and dancers practice and perform at temple ceremonies and visits to the annual Bali Arts Festival not only present artistic study as an option for one's tourist experience, but also incorporate cultural tourism as a site of learning into visitors' artistic study (Fig. 2).

Despite general participant enthusiasm for the model as being distinctive, there is also awareness on both the parts of program organizers and participants that the programs do occupy a touristic space. For example, in a flyer for the 2014 "Experiencing the Arts in Bali" program hosted by Northern Illinois University, awareness of the student-tourist nexus was listed as an integral part of the program: "Students in this program are also encouraged to interact with other tourists to gain insights into the impact of tourism on the development of Balinese culture in the globalized era" (Northern Illinois University Study Abroad Office 2014). Edutourists can then be seen to embody a liminal space (Turner 2008 [1969]: 95-97) in which they not only perform Balinese arts, but also tourism.

Turis or Not Turis?

Students, visitors, guests; musicians or dancers—these are the English words commonly applied to individuals studying Balinese performing arts by program hosts and the visitors themselves. Yet, in conversations with drivers or Balinese outside the program who interact with these visitors, it is much more common to hear them be called *turis*.²⁰ The term "edutourist" encapsulates some of this ambiguity and suggests that visitors both embody and transcend characteristics of tourists.

In many ways, edutourists resemble other sorts of tourists. As visitors, they often arrive in Bali under tourist visas and stay for a relatively short period of time. Because of the pedagogical style, the presence of multilingual hosts, and short duration of their programs, few of the visitors learn more than basic phrases in Indonesian or Balinese, which is insufficient to holding meaningful conversations with the Balinese people they encounter. Group study programs in particular obviate the need for visitors to take care of transportation, housing, food, or negotiating most other daily necessities, and direct payment for these services cements the transactional nature of these visits.²¹ Finally, Balinese performing arts edutourism programs create a narrative of Bali for their guests, both through explicitly pedagogical choices and the more implicit cultural narratives that visitors absorb through interacting with their teachers, going on excursions, and living within the particular Balinese context where they are situated. Though such edutourists gain access to parts of Balinese life

that many other visitors never see, even those who stay within villages remain at least one step removed from regular Balinese life.

However, there are significant aspects of the edutourism experience that resemble education rather than tourism. Although experiences of performing arts edutourists may vary during their studies in Indonesia, instructors who teach gamelan to non-Indonesian musicians largely agree that studying in Indonesia with skilled native musicians is crucial to students' ultimate understanding of the music and culture. Hardja Susilo (1934-2015), the first Javanese gamelan teacher in the United States, stated that his role in teaching foreigners (from 1959-2014), was to serve as a "bridge to Java," to expose students to gamelan, and then send them to expand on their skills abroad (Harnish, Solís, and Witzleben 2004: 53-67). As with language study, musical immersion allows students to accelerate their understanding of culture, musical theory, philosophy, and nuances of performance. Edutourists may also come away with other skills, such as increased self-confidence, awareness of their own culture, and increased feelings of connection to their host culture (Dwyer and Peters 2004).

This sense of connection is one of the primary reasons that many edutourists prefer musical study to more conventional forms of tourism. A former student at Çudamani writes, "Çudamani Summer Institute has opened my eyes to Balinese culture in ways I could not have experienced in any other program" (Gamelan Çudamani 2015). A visitor to Mekar Bhuana reviewed her experience on the TripAdvisor travel website, noting, "Travelling to Bali with two musicians in tow, it was inevitable that we would seek out an authentic, traditional Balinese music experience. Mekar Bhuana delivered this experience, and more!" (TripAdvisor 2015). Aleanna Collins, a student of Lasmawan's who has come to study twice in Bali, reflected on her visits:

I think that we're doing it is very different from a tourist approach, and I'd be really interested to see how that is compared to this. I really, really like this because—I kept seeing this traveling group of teenagers on the way here, they were going to Thailand or something, and it's with this whole program that's like "Rustic Pathways"—structured, in this little group ... I'm staying with the people who live here, and I live in the village, and we get to see this women's group come every night and get to experience that part of everybody's daily life, for example, whereas the Rustic Pathways people are going to go "do activities." (interview, June 19, 2012)

For many, the feeling of connection also imbues these learning opportunities with a feeling of authenticity—experiencing a Bali more “real” than what other visitors see. Ethnomusicologist Elizabeth Macy vividly captures this sentiment in writing about her initial impressions during her first trip to Bali as an undergraduate student traveling with Lasmawan’s Colorado College study abroad group:

Living in the village, my classmates and I spent our early days in Bali immersed in music, dance, and culture. We woke with the roosters, ate with our hands, went to the temple to pray, and grew accustomed to the squat toilets and cold baths (via washbasins and ladles). When we ventured out of the village (in our chauffeured vans) to visit tourist sights, we collectively scoffed at the “real” tourists—we didn’t belong to the same mold, our experiences were somehow more valid, more “authentic.” (Macy 2010: 49)²²

These experiences may be more “real” for the Balinese, too—at least those who are involved in teaching. The musicians and teachers who work closely with foreign edutourists praise their newfound playing skills, crack jokes with them that transcend the language barriers, and often undertake the ultimate modern ritual of casual acquaintance: students and teachers friend each other on Facebook. Though Balinese teachers still receive monetary compensation from turis, it is for imparting skilled knowledge rather than unskilled service or goods. And though there are inevitable complications that arise in building relationships that are both economic and personal, the ability to embody both at once may provide a more nuanced way in which the Balinese can negotiate their own cultural representation.

Marketing Kebalian and Beyond: Musical Identity as Tourism

Comaroff and Comaroff argue that ethnicity is “best understood as a loose, labile repertoire of signs by means of which relations are constructed and communicated; through which a collective consciousness of cultural likeness is rendered sensible; with reference to which shared sentiment is made substantial” (2009: 38). The signs of Balinese ethnic identity as abstracted from Balinese traditional life—offerings at temples, rice paddies, even cremation processions, and certainly the performing arts—have been cultivated and commodified by the local tourist industry for foreign consumption as one of many ways of creating and preserving kebalian within the past few decades

(Picard 1999). In analyzing the identity economy—the tailoring of ethnic identity into profit, within which much cultural tourism might lie—Comaroff and Comaroff identify three pillars: intellectual property, the relationship of politics and law, and the “growing naturalization of the trope of identity” (2009: 150). In particular, they point to cultural identity, “at once essentialized and made the subject of choice, construction, consumption” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 150) as the medium through which ethnicity is represented and from which tourists, in this case, can cherry-pick additions to purchase and incorporate into their own sense of self. It has been suggested, in fact, that this is what predominantly white gamelan musicians in the United States are seeking when they first begin their studies—to adopt “culture, where we had none” (McGraw 2013b).

Performing arts edutourism, however, complicates the transactional relationship in that it allows visitors to not only consume the experiences of ethnic authenticity, but also to enter this liminal space between student, tourist, and (temporarily) local community member, thus transcending the role of a conventional tourist. While the negotiation of cultural identity and financial remuneration remain concerns within this pedagogical community, it provides one means for the Balinese and visitors alike to transcend conventional tourist relationships through supporting the performing arts. As instruction of and performance by foreign musicians becomes more present in the Balinese musical landscape, including opportunities for students to contribute directly to daily life in host communities, so too does this conception of Balinese performing arts travel with its students, many of whom comprise a more permanent transnational Balinese performing arts network. As such, these connections through arts education have the potential to continue to strengthen the Balinese arts, both in Bali and abroad. 🌸

Notes

1. The latter of these are largely populated by individuals with previous artistic experience within one of the hundreds of Balinese performing arts ensembles outside of Indonesia.

2. I would particularly like to thank the members of Gamelan Çudamani (especially leaders and organizers Dewa Putu Berata, Emiko Saraswati Susilo, and Judy Mitoma), I Madé Lasmawan, Ni Ketut Marni, I Ketut Gedé Asnawa, I Nyoman Sedana, Seniasih, and I Ketut Kodi for providing me with a rich and varied initial set of experiences in Bali in 2010 and 2012, and sparking the observations presented here through your diverse and thoughtful approaches to teaching the Balinese performing arts. I would also like to acknowledge the Florida State University

International Dissertation Semester Research Fellowship as the major sponsor of my Indonesian studies in 2012, and faculty research grants from Emory University and Wake Forest University for supporting further study in 2014 and 2016, respectively.

3. The performing arts edutourism phenomenon described here appears to be mostly aimed towards individuals from English-speaking Western nations, with some exceptions. For example, Japanese enthusiasts of the Balinese performing arts also travel to study, but under substantially different circumstances. See Steele 2013.

4. Among these scholars and artists were Walter Spies (1895-1942), Margaret Mead (1901-1978), Gregory Bateson (1904-1980), Colin McPhee (1900-1964), Jane Belo (1904-1968), and Miguel Covarrubias (1904-1957).

5. Although Jaap Kunst (1891-1960) visited Bali a decade earlier, his book (Kunst and Kunst-van Wely 1925) is based on a much more limited time on the island. Kunst should be noted, however, for his influence on the development of ethnomusicology as a discipline and the founding of gamelans in Europe and North America in response to his influence within early ethnomusicological societies. These gamelans outside of Indonesia have in large part created demand for Balinese arts edutourism programs.

6. The tripartite division of the performing arts set forth by LISTIBIYA follows a Balinese Hindu cultural understanding of the world as being divided into three—in the Balinese language, *utama* (highest), *madya* (middle), and *nista* (lowest)—which can be applied to geographic orientation as well as individuals. The categorization also echoes the increasingly popularized Balinese Hindu concept of *desa, kala, patra*, which is loosely translated from the Balinese as “(appropriateness within the parameters of) time, place, (and) situation.” The impact of the 1971 categorization system on the performing arts writ large is uncertain—local consensus seems to be the real barometer in musical choice for any occasion—however, it is probable that the early adherence to LISTIBIYA certifications for performing groups and the resulting approved repertoires are still foundational to what groups that perform for tourists consider appropriate repertoire today.

7. *Konservatori Karawitan* (Conservatory for Traditional Music; KOKAR) was the name of the performing arts high school in Denpasar until 1976, currently known as Sekolah Menengah Kesenian Indonesia (SMKI). The collegiate conservatory was known as Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia (ASTI; The Indonesian Academy of Dance) until 1988, when it was renamed Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia (STSI; the Indonesian high school of the arts). In 2003, it became Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI; the Arts Institute of Indonesia).

8. This number is an estimate from my own web-based research, but is based in large part on a database maintained by the American Gamelan Institute (American Gamelan Institute 2015). The strongest concentrations of gamelans outside of Indonesia are located in the United States, Canada, Japan, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, France, and Germany.

9. The number of individuals traveling from the United States who pursue formalized study in Bali is particularly notable considering that relatively fewer

American tourists visit Bali in general as compared to those from Australia and Japan, which also have thriving gamelan cultures. A number of American visitors also arrive in Java to study gamelan; however, differences in Balinese and Javanese culture, especially in regards to the tourism industry, have created a vastly different set of edutourism circumstances on each island.

10. Balinese teachers recently active in the United States were IWay(/j)an Gand(e)ra (1938-2002; son of McPhee's informant I Madé Lebah) and Tjokorda Agung Mas (1920-1988). Hardja Susilo (1934-2015) was the first Javanese gamelan teacher in the United States (and the father of Emiko Saraswati Susilo, whose contributions to transnational Balinese gamelan culture are discussed in this article). Current Balinese teachers active in the United States include I Nyoman Wenten and Nanik Wenten, I Madé Lasmawan and Ni Ketut Marni, I Ketut Gedé Asnawa and Putu Oka Mardiani Asnawa, I Nyoman Saptanyana, I Madé Bandem and Ni Luh Nyoman Swasthi Wijaya, I Nyoman Windha, IWayan Dibia, and IWayan Sudirana. As opportunities for Indonesian musicians to simultaneously study and teach abroad became more regular, it became increasingly common for foreign graduate degrees to also become important for musicians teaching in the Indonesian conservatories. Considering senior professors and top administrators at ISI alone, this list includes I Madé Bandem, IWayan Rai, IWayan Dibia, I Nyoman Sedana, I Nyoman Catra, and I Nyoman Astita.

11. Ethnomusicologist Robert (Bob) Brown (1927-2005) founded this program; Flower Mountain was his home in Bali. He was a foundational individual in spreading knowledge about the Indonesian performing arts within the United States.

12. These institutions are known specifically for attracting visitors from a diverse set of locations and backgrounds, but this list is by no means exhaustive. Additionally, there are a number of other Balinese teachers who host individuals or private groups (such as collegiate study abroad programs or non-Indonesian gamelan ensembles) within their home villages. Other venues not specifically home to gamelan instruction groups may host lessons or performances as well as martial arts, yoga retreats, or other group events.

13. The images presented here represent an amalgamation of the overall aesthetic of these websites, each of which creates a specific brand by engaging one or more particular audiences targeted by their design. For example, as of June 2015, the Mekar Bhuna page targets an explicitly multinational audience by featuring photos of students from the United States, Australia, Malaysia, Korea, Singapore, and France, and offering four methods of payment accessible to individuals around the world. As another example, in addition to hosting intensive programs and private lessons, Flower Mountain rents out the spaces for other types of retreats. Their website provides information appropriate to that end.

14. The websites may be less of a deciding factor for students who learn about arts edutourism programs via word of mouth as to whether or not they wish to enroll. This is not to suggest that they are immune to such enticing images, but

perhaps that they became ensnared by exoticism when initially they began their study (McGraw 2013b).

15. These observations and those below on pedagogical style are based on my own study for several weeks with Çudamani and at Manik Galih in 2010 and 2012, respectively (as well as private lessons through Bali Module for the world); discussions with individuals who have studied at one or more of these sites for the same or in different years; and observation of photos and videos of lessons available on the program websites.

16. Berata and Susilo have also worked extensively with Gamelan Sekar Jaya in California.

17. Though less often used, *angklung* is another option available for study with Çudamani.

18. Sanggar Manik Galih also regularly makes use of *angklung* and *beleganjur*, with some lessons on *gender wayang*. Visitors may also study dance with Marni. Lasmawan is constantly working to expand his offerings (for example, he acquired a *selonding* in 2014).

19. This is where the distinctions between study and tourism becomes particularly nebulous and is why the two should be considered on a spectrum. There are foreigners who arrive to Bali and do nothing except study and perform gamelan music; foreign musicians who perform in the Bali Arts Festival often fall much closer on that end. On the other hand, visitors who squeeze in a few lessons between massages and cultural tours may be found arranging study through the same arts institutions.

20. This term is generally used in conversation about other individuals. Though not explicitly rude, the Balinese tend to avoid calling one a tourist to one's face.

21. Though monetary payments in return for lessons have become more conventional in Bali, the traditional model was based on long-term exchange of favours. Such exchanges become increasingly more logistically difficult on a globalized scale.

22. Her dissertation, on musical tourism in post-disaster economies, problematizes this reaction further.

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