Localization, Nationalization, and Globalization Reflected in the Music-listening Habits of Young Balinese

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Introduction

Language played a very important role in the process of modernization and state-building in the 19th and 20th centuries. According to Hobsbawm (1990), a common written language was needed for people from various villages to work together in factories in modern European cities. Moreover, the emergence of mass media functioned to connect people in diverse regions through a common language, which was eventually adopted as the state's national language and taught in its modern school system.

In Asia, a similar process occurred regardless of the country's status—independent or colonial. In independent Japan, the state school system and the teaching of the national language started at the same time as the advent of industrialization in the late 19th century. In the Dutch East Indies, as Anderson (2006) illustrates, a common language for trading, which eventually became the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia), functioned to unite people and led to the independence of Indonesia. After several decades of state efforts to propagate the national language through its school system, the number of people who can communicate in it has increased.

In contrast to the process of nation-state building in the 19th and 20th centuries, which concentrated on strengthening the role of the state and solidifying its national identity, the advancement of globalization since the 1990s is said to have weakened the role of the state in two ways (Ohmae, 1990; Robertson, 1992; Featherstone, 1997). The first is the convergence to a global standard beyond national borders, and the second is divergence triggered by increasing self-assertion through diverse local agents against the convergence. In terms of language, English is becoming the common language of the world, global education systems have increased focus on the teaching of English to ensure that their citizens are employable and functional in the face of globalization.

Indonesia, which is the focus of this study, is no exception. English was included in the standard curriculum for primary school education in the national education policy in 1989 (Kagami, 2009: 99). The national education policy in 2003 included English as a foreign language that could be taught in the standard curriculum and be used as the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools (Kagami, 2009: 99-100). In the Ministry of National Education Decree No. 22/2006, English was included as a local content subject¹, and schools were given the freedom to teach it earlier than Grade 4 (Zein, 2017: 54). The teaching of local content was introduced into the national curriculum by the Minister of Education and Culture (Mendikbud) in 1993 and then secured its position in the standard curriculum in 2003 (Kagami, 2009: 100; 103; Moriyama, 2009: 65). Despite the confusion caused by the introduction of the 2013 Curriculum, which eliminated English from the primary school curriculum, English remained in primary school education because the full implementation of the curriculum was suspended. Today, Indonesia has the second largest number of primary school children learning English as a foreign language in the world (Zein, 2017). In particular, the ability to communicate in English is crucial for young Balinese to plan their future careers in the province of Bali, which depends on revenue from

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Policy revision, however, has not only encouraged Indonesian people to acquire English, but has also allowed each province to introduce the teaching of its local language within the framework of local content in the standard curriculum at primary and secondary schools. Provinces with large local language groups such as West Jawa, Central Jawa, and Bali are eager to strengthen the teaching of their local languages (Kagami, 2009: 106; Moriyama, 2009; Semadi, 2019).

Thus, in twenty-first century Indonesia, there are three different directions in its language scene: the continuing effort by the state to propagate Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, the promotion of the teaching of local languages by provincial governments, and the increasing demand among people to acquire English as a global language. The purpose of this study is to explore how these three directions influence young Indonesians' everyday lives through the analysis of their mother tongues and the languages in the songs they frequently listen to. For this purpose, questionnaire-based research was conducted with 150 students and former students as the participants in the Bali Province.

The paper first explains the historical background of the establishment of the national language and policy changes regarding languages in Indonesia. Then, it discusses the results of the questionnaire-based research. Based on the analysis of the questionnaire, this paper argues that despite the Balinese government's attempt to raise Balinese people's awareness of the preservation of the Balinese language, Bahasa Indonesia and English are gaining ground in young Balinese's everyday lives.

1. Government Language Policy

As the most multicultural country in the world, Indonesia has two layers of language in use: the use of language at the national level (Bahasa Indonesia) and local languages. Both layers of languages occupy important positions for the people of Indonesia. The Indonesian government enacted several official regulations to maintain and develop both layers of languages.

Before independence, the territory of Indonesia was inhabited by various ethnic groups that were not interconnected. In the fifteenth century, when European colonizers came to Indonesia, each indigenous group attempted to separately seize independence. The struggle for independence was unsuccessful until each tribe decided to unite to fight. The use of the same language was crucial to obtain their freedom so that communication could be optimized. For this purpose, Bahasa Indonesia, which was based on a type of Malay language, was established as the unifying language of the nation. This was officially declared on October 28, 1928, which is known as the Youth Pledge Day.

The use of Bahasa Indonesia is steadily increasing in the midst of the compounding of Indonesian society with the government's support through the issuance of the laws of the use, defense, and development of Bahasa Indonesia in the community. In the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945, it is stated in Article 36 that "The country's language is Bahasa Indonesia." The 1945 Constitution is the supreme legal resource in Indonesia and was used as the basis for other subsequent laws.

Law No. 24 of 2009 governs the flag, language, national emblem, and national anthem based on the 1945 Constitution. The regulation of Bahasa Indonesia is discussed in 20 Articles in this law, specifically in Chapter III, Articles 25 to 45. The Articles are divided into 1) general provisions; 2) use; 3) development, coaching, and protection; 4) improving the function of Bahasa Indonesia to become an international language; and 5) linguistic institutions. The first section explains that Bahasa Indonesia is the country's official language, derived from the declaration of the youth pledge and a language of unity, developed according to the dynamics of the nation's civilization.

Bahasa Indonesia used Malay as its source language. This occurred because Malay was the lingua franca used as a communication language by Indonesian people of different languages. It has been popular since the advent of trading activities. It is also relatively simple because unlike languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, and other local languages, it does not require different speech levels that are dependent on the situation in which the speech is made, the speakers' status, and their relationships. This fits with Marsudi's (2008) explanation which says, "when viewed from its history, the Indonesian language comes from the Malay language used as the language of inter-island trade in the archipelago. With the sense of nationality, the Malay language was elevated into the language of unity through the Youth Pledge moment. The Malay language became

very dominant in that era due to its flexibility in other languages." Bahasa Indonesia then became more popular and was used to write official documents, used during instate events, and for communication between tribes.

Although the Malay language was initially used as the basis of Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia evolved because of the characteristics of the Indonesian people. This is due to the growing nature of the language and its adaptation to the place it is used. Bahasa Indonesia is now becoming rich with the absorption of words from various ethnic languages in Indonesia. Budiwiyanto (2012) stated the following: "Javanese was ranked at the top of its contribution to the development of Indonesian vocabulary, which was 30.54%. It was followed by Minangkabau (25.59%), Sundanese (6.14%), Madura (6.09%), Bali (4.21%), Aceh (3.08%), and Banjar (2.75%)."

The difference between Indonesian and Malay languages can be found easily, in terms of vocabulary and intonation. Javanese has the most significant percentage of Indonesian vocabulary contributors because it has the largest population of speakers. The absorption of words from various languages of the region makes Bahasa Indonesia more acceptable for the country's diverse population. Indonesian vocabulary is not governed by only one local language. Bahasa Indonesia can show Indonesia's identity as a multicultural nation that understands the meaning of tolerance. This fits with Article 25 of Law No. 24 of 2009 which states that Bahasa Indonesia serves as the identity of the nation, national pride, a means of unifying various ethnic groups, and a means of communication between regions.

Bahasa Indonesia was not meant to eliminate local languages, but to act as a bridge between diverse peoples and unify the nation. The country's language elections in the past were conducted peacefully and without intimidation. Although some tribes have a larger population than Malay language users, they chose this language because they realized that the chosen language should be one that is easy to understand and learn. Diversity is an absolute thing for the Indonesian nation, and tolerance is an inevitability for its people.

The second part of Chapter III of Law No. 24 of 2009 discusses the use of Bahasa Indonesia in official documents, laws, state speeches, education, public services, scientific works, and so forth. The use of this language is intended for the ease of access to the content of state documents and ease of understanding of the context of speeches or conversations. The use of Bahasa Indonesia can undoubtedly be replaced using the region's language if the coverage is national but regional, because the primary purpose of writing or speech is to communicate the message effectively to the person who reads or hears it.

The third section discusses the maintenance, development, and protection of Bahasa Indonesia. The government has conducted maintenance, development, and language protection by building a particular agency called Balai Bahasa (Language Center). The role of this agency is to develop, foster, and protect the language and literature of Indonesia. It tries to preserve national and local languages through several activities, such as conducting research and organizing seminars. All activities are conducted under the care of the Indonesian Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Mendikbudristek). Each Language Center has its own way of fostering and developing the language. Dewi, Sriasih, and Nurjaya (2017) revealed that "...there are two tendencies of the Language Center in Bali to maintain and develop the Indonesian language and literature by organizing competitions and holding workshops." Competitions and workshops are believed to foster a positive attitude toward Bahasa Indonesia. Counseling activities, journal and magazine publications, and the publication of references for standard Indonesian are also conducted regularly by the Language Center in Indonesia.

The fourth section discusses the development of Bahasa Indonesia into an international language, which was systematically and sustainably implemented. Currently, the Indonesian government encourages the activities of the Indonesian language for foreign speakers (BIPA). Adryansyah (2012) said that "Indonesia has 45 institutions that have taught BIPA in the country. Meanwhile, globally, BIPA has been conducted in 36 countries with more than 130 institutions." The BIPA program received a positive response from both Indonesians and foreigners.

These regulations have become a solid basis of reference for the use, preservation, and development of Bahasa Indonesia.

2. Government Regulation on the Use of Local Languages

As a unitary state, Indonesia comprises 1,340 ethnicities and 640 local languages (Wurm, 2001). These local languages have almost the same status as the national language, the only difference being that the use of these languages is usually limited to regions and locations. In practice, the local language dominates the community rather than Bahasa Indonesia. Na'im and Syaputra (2011) provide information about language users in Indonesia, as shown in Figure 1.

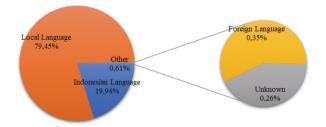


Figure 1: Percentage of Population based on the Language in 2010

■Indonesian Language ■Local Language ■Unknown ■Foreign Language

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics Republic of Indonesia

Almost 80% of Indonesians use local languages. The proportion of users of the Indonesian Language (Bahasa Indonesia) in Figure 1 is smaller than that of the users of local languages. However, this does not mean that the users of Bahasa Indonesia are only a handful of people. Indonesian people, in general, can use Bahasa Indonesia as well as the local language. However, most people are more comfortable using their local language when speaking in their tribal environment. The use of local languages in regional groups brings them emotionally closer. In addition, the government supports the use of local languages in the community so that there is no nervousness in using the language.

Following the mandate of the youth pledge, Bahasa Indonesia is used as the unifying language of the nation and is not as a substitute language for the community. Both local languages and Bahasa Indonesia hold an equal level of pride for Indonesian people. Article 32, Paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution declares that the state respects and maintains local languages as national, cultural assets. There has been an effort to protect local languages in Indonesia by preserving language through research, development, teaching, and use. Through research, language preservation activities have been conducted by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, and the Indonesian Language Center. Based on the research results, Indonesia has mapped the use of local languages in Indonesia to determine the proper treatment for preserving the local language.

Chapter III, Law No. 24 of 2009 focuses on protecting Bahasa Indonesia and the local languages, especially in the second (use) and third (maintenance and development) parts of the chapter. In the second part, it is said that local languages can be used in writing and publication. Some local language departments in universities in Indonesia already use local languages in their theses, a practice that is quite popular today. The local language is no longer used only as an object of study, but also functions as the intermediate language in research reports, such as the use of the Sundanese language at the Indonesia University of Education and the Javanese language at Yogyakarta State University. Even though all regional language programs don't use the local language as the intermediate language in their theses, some are preparing to implement this policy. In the Balinese Literature Department at Udayana University, all subjects are taught in the Balinese language, and in Dwijendra University, the Balinese language is the medium of instruction in the pre-service teacher training course for local language subjects.

The use of local language in mass media also receives protection from the government with this law. TVRI (the only government TV channel) has a television program that uses the local language. For example, TVRI East Java in Surabaya has Javanese language programs such as the *Ndoro Bei* program and *Pojok Kampung*, and TVRI Bali broadcasts the news *Gatra Bali* and comedy *Bondres* in the Balinese language. In addition to the government TV channel, some regions have private TV companies such as Jogja TV in Jogjakarta, TATV in Solo, and Bali TV in Denpasar, which operate in their respective regions and often use local languages in their programs. These channels can still survive today with the community's support and legal protection from the national government.

Moreover, local languages can be used while naming places, in-product information, and general signs, as shown in Figure 2. According to Mulyawan's (2017) study on outdoor signs in the Kuta area in Bali, 22 signs use pure Balinese, 2 signs are a combination of Balinese and Bahasa Indonesia, and 19 signs use Balinese letters as a translation of Bahasa Indonesia. The number may be small, but it illustrates that the use of language and literature in public areas follows the central government's efforts through the provincial government to preserve the region's language.



Figure 2: Place name with Javanese and Balinese characters

In the third section, provincial governments are obliged to develop, foster, and protect the language and literature of the province in conjunction with language institutions. Through these regulations, it can regulate the use, preservation, and development of existing languages in the area. Provincial governments in Indonesia are granted authority because each province in Indonesia is unique. They are tasked with helping the central government because it is considered to be better suited to understand the conditions of the people in the area, thereby optimizing the preservation of local languages.

Since each provincial government has the authority to determine how to preserve and develop language, the policies of some provinces may differ from others. For example, the Javanese tribe occupies three provinces in Indonesia, namely, the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Central Java, and East Java, but their policies vary. Efforts to preserve local languages can be found through Central Java Governor Regulation No. 57 of 2013 and No. 55 of 2014. The Javanese language is used as an everyday language and to provide information, communicate, and educate the community- such as in religious sermons and regional meetings. This regulation is only binding for the people of Central Java. The Special Region of Yogyakarta created Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2021, which states that Javanese is the official language of the region. The Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta created regulations on the use of Javanese languages, such as setting a particular day to use the Javanese language for all levels of society.

Javanese people in these three provinces with similar cultural roots usually discuss and coordinate in terms of culture and language. They have routine activities every five years to optimize their local languages. This is essential to establish synergy between the governments of the three provinces.

In Bali, the Provincial Government established Regional Regulation No. 3 of 1992 on Balinese Language, Script, and Literature; Chapter III of Article 5 (d) affirms that Balinese language and script are used in a law for customary villages² (Nengah Arnawa, I Wayan Gunartha & I Nyoman Sadwika, 2018). More recently, in 2018, Bali Governor Wayan Koster issued the Bali Governor Regulation Number 80 of 2018 concerning the Protection and Use of Balinese Language, Script, and Literature, and the Implementation of the Balinese Language Month. The regulation was aimed at maintaining the Balinese language in public spaces (Bali Topnews, 2021).

Thus, national and provincial governments have made efforts to promote national and local languages that are the center of their people's identity. With these political efforts in mind, the paper now turns to the results of the efforts, by focusing on young Indonesians who have grown up in this social and political environment. In the following section, the mother tongues and languages used in the songs of young Balinese people will be discussed, based on the results of the questionnaire-based research conducted by the authors.

Questionnaire-Based Research Background

This questionnaire-based research was planned as part of research on Asian people's national identity, reflected in their perception of musical culture. In the questionnaire, respondents were asked about musical pieces that they associated with certain terms. The author (Ishii) has conducted similar questionnaire-based research in five other Asian countries. The terms were selected from the expressions used in the Japanese national curriculum to refer to the music existing in Japan. These terms, "music of Japan," "music of our country," and "hometown music," are adjusted and translated into the language of the target country. At the end of these questions, the respondents' "favorite music/ music they frequently listen to" is asked to find out about the musical culture in their daily lives. In this study, the Balinese youth's responses to "favorite music/music you frequently listen to" is analyzed.

3-2. Data Collection

Two different sets of data were analyzed in this study. The first is the responses collected directly from university students during the author's visit to the Bali Province in 2019. Out of a 101 responses, 94 responses written by students of Balinese identity were used. Another set of data was collected in 2021 by e-mail due to the restrictions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The participants were 53 former students of Balinese identity who graduated from another university between 2018 and 2021. The latter respondents majored in English when they were at university. In this paper, the former respondents will be referred to as Group A respondents, while the latter will be referred to as Group B respondents.

On the first page of the questionnaire, the purpose of the research, the researcher's (Ishii) affiliation, the anonymity of the participants, and the participants' right to retire from/not to participate in the research were explained. Moreover, respondents were asked to provide information such as their age, sex, ethnic identity, mother tongue, language of instruction used in their primary and secondary education, and any experiences that they thought might make their answers exceptional.

This was followed by the instructions for filling out the answer sheet. They were informed that they did not need to answer the questions if they could not think of a musical piece, the same piece could be repeated in answers to different questions, and they should not discuss the questions with other participants or search for answers with their smartphones. Moreover, they were asked to provide as much additional information as possible about the musicians, composers, and genres of the musical pieces they cited in their answers.

3-3 Results

The responses are divided according to the respondents' mother tongue/s; the musical pieces were categorized based on musical genres and the languages used in their lyrics. The authors searched for, added, and corrected missing or incorrect information in the responses.

The results of the Group A participants' responses are as follows. Tables 1 to 3 show the categorization of the pieces provided as answers by each mother tongue group based on musical genres and the languages of the lyrics for each mother tongue group.

Total number of respondents: 94

Number of respondents based on their mother tongue: Bahasa Indonesia 30

Balinese 57

Bahasa Indonesia & Balinese 7

group: Bahasa Indonesia 230 Balinese 361	
Balinese 361	
Bahasa Indonesia & Balinese 64	

Table 1: Mother tongue: Bahasa Indonesia (30 respondents, 230 pieces)

genre	lyrics	number
Western Pop Music	English	73
Korean Pop Music	Korean&English	23
	English	5
	Korean	2
Japanese Pop Music	Japanese&English	2
	Japanese	2
Indonesian Pop Music	Bahasa Indonesia	113
	English	4
Pop Bali	Balinese	4
Dangdut ³	Indonesian	2

Table 2: Mother tongue: Balinese

(57 respondents, 361 pieces)

genre	lyrics	number
Western Pop Music	English	139
Korean Pop Music	Korean&English	30
	Japanese&English	3
	English	1
Japanese Pop Music	Japanese&English	2
	Japanese	1
Indonesian Pop Music	Bahasa Indonesia	143
	English	10
	B.Indonesia&English	1
	Japanese	1

	No lyrics	1
Pop Bali	Balinese	22
Dangdut	Bahasa Indonesia	3
Reggae	Bahasa Indonesia	3
Kids' song	Bahasa Indonesia	1

Table 3: Mother tongue: Bahasa Indonesia & Balinese (7 respondents, 64 pieces)

genre	lyrics	number
Western Pop Music	English	30
Korean Pop Music	Korean	1
Indonesian Pop Music	Bahasa Indonesia	32
	English	1

The results of the Group B participants' responses are as follows. Tables 4–6 show the categorization of the pieces provided as answers by each mother tongue group based on musical genres and the languages of the lyrics for each mother tongue group.

Total number of respondents: 53

Number of respondents based on their mother tongue:

Bahasa Indonesia 26

Balinese 12

Bahasa Indonesia & Balinese 15

Number of pieces answered by each mother tonguegroup:Bahasa Indonesia 132

Balinese 54 Bahasa Indonesia & Balinese 57

Table 4: Mother tongue: Bahasa Indonesia (26 respondents, 132 pieces)

genre	lyrics	number
Western Pop Music	English	45
Korean Pop Music	Korean&English	37
	English	7
	Korean	2
Japanese Pop Music	Japanese	3
Indonesian Pop Music	Bahasa Indonesia	30
	English	5
	B.Indonesia&English	1
	Javaniese&English	1

		Korean&English	1
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Table 5: Mother tongue: Balinese

(12 respondents, 54 pieces)

genre	lyrics	number
Western Pop Music	English	26
Korean Pop Music	Korean&English	13
Indonesian Pop Music	Bahasa Indonesia	12
	English	3

Table 6: Mother tongue: Indonesian & Balinese

(15 respondents, 57 pieces)

genre	lyrics	number
Western Pop Music	English	18
Korean Pop Music	Korean&English	3
	English	1
	Korean	2
Indonesian Pop Music	Bahasa Indonesia	26
	English	5
	B.Indonesia&English	2

4. Discussion

4-1. The Respondents' Mother Tongues

In the earlier sections, the national government's efforts to propagate Bahasa Indonesia as the national language and provincial governments' efforts to maintain their culture by promoting local languages were discussed. The mother tongues of the respondents of this research seem to reflect the consequences of such policies.

It is known that many Indonesians can use Bahasa Indonesia in addition to their local language as a result of their school education. In this research, almost all respondents answered that they received primary and secondary education in Bahasa Indonesia. Only three respondents in Group A received primary and secondary education in Balinese, and they were bilingual. Another three in Group A were educated in two languages, and their mother tongue was Balinese. This means that, including these six people, all respondents could use Bahasa Indonesia. Furthermore, the mother tongues of all respondents indicate that a transition is occurring in Balinese people's mother tongues from Balinese to Bahasa Indonesia. This is a step forward toward the formation of a common national identity in Indonesia. The number of respondents based on their mother tongues is as follows.

Of the 94 respondents in Group A, 30 answered that their mother tongue was Bahasa Indonesia, 57 answered Balinese, and 7 answered that they were bilingual (Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese). Of the 53 respondents in Group B, 26 answered that their mother tongue was Bahasa Indonesia, 12 answered Balinese, and 15 answered that they were bilingual (Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese). The proportion of people whose mother tongue is Bahasa Indonesia and those whose mother tongue is Balinese is reversed between Groups A and B.

This difference between Groups A and B was as the researchers had expected. In this research, the respondents were chosen from two groups of young people. Group A respondents were university students who were studying to become teachers and had no specific interest in learning foreign languages. Group B respondents were former students of the English language department. Between these two groups, the authors expected to find more outward-oriented features in Group B respondents. The larger proportion of native speakers of the national language than those of the local language in this group confirms the expectation to some extent.

4-2. Favorite Music/Music the Respondents Listen to Frequently

From the results overview, it is clear that the respondents' musical life is overwhelmingly dominated by pop music-Western, Western-style Korean/Japanese, or Western-style Indonesian. The dominance of Westernstyle pop music is a common feature of Asian youth's musical lives, but there is a difference. University students in Japan and Taiwan prefer Western-style pop music in their own languages to those in foreign languages (Ishii & Shiobara, 2011; Ishii, 2015). Pop music from the US and UK was dominant only in Singapore, where the first language of the younger generation has already shifted to English from their respective ethnic languages (Ishii, 2017). Balinese youths in this study are somewhere in the middle. They listed as many foreign songs in English as Indonesian pop songs. In Group A responses, the proportion of foreign and Indonesian pop music is about the same, but in Group B responses, foreign pop music is more popular. Furthermore, about half of the responses in the foreign-pop genre are Korean

pop songs sung in English or in a mixture of English and Korean. This indicates the influence of globalization on pop music culture because singers who sing songs in English are not necessarily from English-speaking countries. If they sing songs in English, they may appeal to audiences from all over the world. Indeed, some Indonesian singers have also adopted this strategy and sing Indonesian pop songs in English. Thus, the English language is indirectly penetrating local pop music culture via Korean and Indonesian pop music.

In contrast to the popularity of foreign and Indonesian pop music, Balinese pop songs are virtually missing from the respondents' answers. Altogether, only 26 responses were Balinese pieces, and 22 of them were listed by the respondents in Group A whose mother tongue is Balinese.

The concept of Pop Bali is rather broad. Fushiki (2009) explains that Pop Bali is a Balinese version of regional/ ethnic pops in Indonesia which is usually sung in the local language and is sometimes combined with local musical elements. In the case of Pop Bali, the nature of music itself has kept changing because of the influence from other types of music at different timings. Unlike Pop Bali until the mid-1990s, which was considered as music with a somewhat rural flavor and for the older generation, contemporary Pop Bali has a young and welleducated urban audience because its style has changed to be closer to Indonesian pops, which is supported by university students. Contemporary Pop Bali has been promoted by Bali TV, which was opened in 2002 as part of the conglomerate formed around a newspaper company, Bali Post.

The results of the questionnaire demonstrate that unlike Fushiki's explanation, there is a huge gap between the popularity of Indonesian pop music and Pop Bali. Even the respondents whose mother tongue is Balinese prefer foreign and Indonesian pop music to Pop Bali. They hardly listen to Pop Bali songs, and the Balinese conglomerate's strategy does not seem to be working effectively in the musical lives of the young Balinese participants in this research.

5. Conclusion and Limitation

This study explores how Indonesian youth balance the national language, their local language, and English as a global language through an analysis of their mother tongues and the languages used in the songs they frequently listen to. The results revealed that the participants listened to foreign pop music in English and Indonesian pop music, but hardly listened to Balinese pop music. Drawing on the results, this could be due to the decline of the local language, which was caused by the national project to unite people through language and a convergence toward the more dominant musical culture as a result of globalization. However, that conclusion is too simplistic if the limitation of this research is considered.

The study has the following limitation: the nature of the respondents as young, well-educated elite. If Pop Bali is not considered as cool as Indonesian pop music, but is still considered as music with some rural flavor, it is unlikely that the respondents of this research would show a preference for it. Pop Bali may be more popular among blue-collar workers. Whether Pop Bali is not popular because of the language or because of the respondents' elite identity is a question that remains unanswered.

Moreover, the following questions have been raised in this research. If the propagation of Bahasa Indonesia progresses further and people's unity as Indonesians is strengthened, will they be better able to resist the convergence to one dominant musical culture? If so, will Indonesian pop music become dominant in young people's lives in the future? In that situation, what role will Pop Bali play in people's identity? To answer these questions, longitudinal research on Balinese young people's music-listening habits is required.

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Notes:

1. "Local Content Subjects" is a category in the national curriculum. Each provincial government decides what subjects should be included in "Local Content Subjects" and whether English should be taught as one of them.

2. Customary villages are not official villages in a modern administrative system, but traditional ones that coexist with the modern system and have traditional laws.

3. Dangdut is a type of popular commercial music with a rural image that developed from Mulayu modern and became popular after the mid-1970s (Takonai, 2012).

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