



Popular Banjar Song: Study on Music Form and Media Culture

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Abstract

Technological developments in society and their social practices contribute to the popularity of folk songs. In this regard, this study aims: (1) to analyze the form of popular Banjar song music, and (2) to analyze the discourse and culture-media context that underpins the popularity of the Banjar song. This research was conducted using qualitative methods with data collection strategies including observation, document studies, questionnaires, and interviews. In the aspect of content, analysis of the form of music is carried out in stages: (1) notating the popular Banjar song document; (2) analyzing the form/structure of the music; (3) presenting the elements of the music form, and (3) making conclusions. Meanwhile, in studying the culture-media discourse on popular Banjar songs, it is carried out using the Pierre Bourdieu's social practice approach which focuses on the concepts of habitus, capital, and the cultural field. Based on the analysis that has been carried out, it is known that popular Banjar songs have basic forms with three variations, namely the form of one part (A), two parts (AB), and three parts (ABC). However, it shows that most of the songs that exist are in the form of two parts, with a tendency to use major tonality. This finding confirms that the popular Banjar song is a product of mass culture, namely artworks produced from the popular culture ecosystem. In this study, it is also found that social and symbolic capital in the popularity of the Banjar song becomes a social practice that takes place in the cultural field of the people of South Kalimantan. The cultural field is a social space for cultural agents to actualize the popularity of the Banjar song.

Keywords: Banjar song, music form, cultural studies, symbolic capital, habitus

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INTRODUCTION

As has become common knowledge, there are not many folk songs in the Province of South Kalimantan (Banjar) that are recognized and can be appreciated by the wider community. This can be seen if you look at the list of South Kalimantan regional songs used in schools' learning. From various teacher learning practices in schools and many studies that other parties have carried out (Maryanto, 2013; Maulida, 2020; Sipahutar et al., 2015; Tho-

yibi et al., 2015), it is known that there are four regional song titles in South Kalimantan which are often used as learning materials in schools and research study materials, namely songs: (1) "Ampar-ampar Pisang", (2) "Paris Barantai," (3) "Saputangan Bapuncu Ampat", and (4) "Anak Pipit." In many choir competitions, for example, both at the national and international levels, the song "Paris Barantai" is the Banjar folk song that is most often used for arrangements. One of them is an arrangement in the form of a choir by Ken Ste-

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ven (Sakinah, 2018) which was presented by the Padjadjaran University Student Choir in the "54th International Competition of Choral Singing" in Austria in 2017 which won first place in the folksong category and second place in the choral work category.

The initial study of this research also strengthens the popularity of the four Banjar song titles above. Through the questionnaire that we have conducted, we have obtained 41 Banjar song titles that are best known and appreciated by the people of South Kalimantan. The four song titles mentioned above are included in the most popular category. From the data analysis of the questionnaire results regarding the popularity of the Banjar songs that we did, a list of the most popular Banjar songs in South Kalimantan's perception can be compiled. Namely, as many as 14 song titles, which are dominated by songs created by Anang Ardiansyah.

In studies that other parties have carried out, it is known that studies on Banjar folk songs are mostly carried out from the linguistic and anthropological sides. Namely, the exploration of the contents of certain cultural values and meanings in the song lyrics. For example, Banjar songs by Anang Ardiansyah have been studied in the context of the discourse in the song lyrics (Khadijah, 2019; Nasrullah & Ruswinarsih, 2019).

Another perspective that is quite important and has never been used in explaining popular Banjar songs is the study of popular culture media. This discourse is interesting because this kind of study can see the link between the development of the Banjar song and the system of its industrial society. Through the study of popular culture, as stated Adorno, the ideologies and motives behind the interests of the cultural industry that have an impact on the compromise and uniformity of producers can be explored and explained (Strinati, 2007). The image of compromise and uniformity is assumed to be the "ethnic taste" of the public of Banjar songs. This can explain the dominance of the popularity of Anang

Ardiansyah's Banjar songs in public perceptions.

In the discourse of the culture industry/popular music, the entity of Banjar songs can also be assumed to function as a "social glue" for the people who support it. This means that the form of Banjar songs is a popular type as an ideological product of its culture industry, in which it contains a kind of "technique" that is used to understand the conditions and at the same time its social aspirations. As Adorno argues (Storey, 2010), the social glue function of popular songs as in popular Banjar songs, can occur because of the characteristics of the content of popular songs which tend to offer relaxation.

The producer of the popular music industry by offering relaxation through songs to the public has made popular songs something that is deemed necessary. This can be understood because the characteristic of popular songs seems to be a medium that provides imaginations of happiness, resolution, and even reconciliation of daily life problems in society. From the convenience that the popular song/music offers, one of the impacts is to make the audience stop thinking critically about the harsh and meaningless realities of capitalist society (Strinati, 2007). On the other hand, popular song lyrics are thought to have more meaningful themes and content when social and economic conditions threaten (Pettijohn TF & DF., 2009).

This kind of discourse is interesting and relevant to the topic of the popular Banjar songs in South Kalimantan, especially from the 1980s to the 1990s. The conditions at that time were that natural resources and the environment in South Kalimantan, in reality, were quite critical and vulnerable, for example, in the reality of environmental damage to forests and rivers since the 1980s (Subekti, 2016).

As far as we have observed, studies on Banjar songs from South Kalimantan that have been carried out by other parties mostly use a pedagogical perspective, namely applying them to the development of learning practices in schools. Of course,

it also includes the perspectives of social science, anthropology, and linguistics-philosophical, as previously mentioned. Previous studies of this kind have focused more on the formulation of certain meanings based on the lyrics of Banjar songs (Hadi & Saputra, 2021; Humaidi, 2016; Khadijah, 2019; Mahmudah, 2016; Nasrullah & Ruswinarsih, 2019; Rohliyani, E., Zulkifli, 2019).

A musicological analysis of the music form of Banjar songs has never been carried out in-depth. Then, the culture-media study approach to analyze popular culture discourse on Banjar songs intensively has never existed. Therefore, the two perspectives chosen in this study (the music form and the media-culture study) are relevant to do and have a value offering scientific novelty. Thus, it can be stated that the two objectives of this study are (1) to find the music form of popular Banjar songs and (2) to explain the culture-media discourse, which is quite significant for the study of popular music in Indonesia, especially in the object of popular regional songs.

METHOD

The study of popular Banjar songs was conducted based on a qualitative-descriptive paradigm. The data collection strategy was carried out by observing the phenomenon of the development of popular Banjar songs, document studies (audio, video, musical score, and literature), questionnaires distributed to 50 respondents, and interviews with relevant resource people (selected purposively), such as musical figures, musicians, singers, and connoisseurs of popular Banjar songs. The research was conducted in South Kalimantan from 2020 to early 2021.

Analysis and interpretation of research data were carried out using an interactive model consisting of three lines: data reduction, data presentation, and concluding (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Meanwhile, in analyzing the content of music, a music form theory framework (Prier, 2017) refers to elements of music or song struc-

ture, which include sentences, motifs, periods, commas, symmetrical, musical phrasing, and song harmony. These stages are carried out in the following order: (1) notating the 14 popular Banjar songs; (2) analyzing the form/structure of the music; (3) presenting the elements of the music form, and (4) making conclusions.

Analysis of the culture-media study of popular Banjar songs uses the constructive structural approach (social practice) of Pierre Bourdieu, with a focus on the concepts of habitus, capital, and field. Some of the data validity testing techniques for this study were carried out by extending the participation of researchers, the persistence of observations, triangulation, member checking, expert discussion, and referential adequacy.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Concept of Popular Banjar Songs

The discussion about popular culture, especially popular music, has become a debate in academic knowledge. The debate covers the definition of popular music to its relation to the media. The question "what is popular music" is full of complex concepts. One party can define popular music based on the song concept/folk songs, that all songs are folk songs. That is, all music is popular music, even though it is only popular in certain circles (Middleton, 1990). This concept is debated because it does not have clear boundaries, for example, about certain music categories. On the other hand, many music critics think that the main key to the definition of popular music is its commercialization value (Shuker, 2005). From this perspective that seems more relevant, music can be said to be popular music when the music has a commercial orientation. This does not mean that the commercial aspects of popular music or songs are always the main thing, but rather the properties that can be enjoyed by large audiences (mass culture).

Based on this conception, music or song can be said to be of the popular

type, but at other times it is not. Even so, the popularity of music or song is still having problems, given the value of popularity that is sectoral or not universal. Song charts and air-play radio, for example, will vary in each medium. One favorable conclusion to strengthen the conception of the popularity of a music/song with material value is by attaching the conditions for the music/song recorded. In addition, both the musicological and the socio-economic approaches agree that popular music has several characteristics. Among them is the hybridity of traditions, styles, musical influences, and it can be an economical product that is invested in the ideological interests of its consumers (Shuker, 2005).

Through the discussion above, the Banjar song in this study can be very convincing to enter the concept of popular music. Namely with its main supporters, as musical works recorded, mass-produced, can reach a wide audience, and have commercial value (Sadie & Tyrrell, 2001; Shuker, 2005). It should be emphasized here that, the concept of "popular music" is not in the sense of "genre" of music: "pop". This is because popular music is often a term used outside the academic field to refer to music as mentioned above. As for "pop music", it is often seen as the boundary of a music genre that utilizes mainstream media channels. The popular Banjar song in this study is not classified in the definition of "pop music".

Music Forms of Popular Banjar Songs

Based on the analysis of music forms that have been carried out, it is known that popular Banjar songs tend to be in basic forms, with variations in the form of One Part (A), Two Parts (AB), and Three Parts (ABC). As with the trend of popular song forms in general (Middleton, 1990; Sadie & Tyrrell, 2001; Shuker, 2005), most of the popular Banjar songs are two-part songs. These popular Banjar songs are also known to tend to use the tonality of Major. This kind of tendency certainly describes the character of the popular Banjar song as a product of mass art or artwork produ-

ced from the ecosystem of popular culture. Musicologically, this tendency is indeed a characteristic of everyday musical forms, such as children's songs, folk songs, and popular songs (Prier, 2017). The following is a list of the results of the analysis of the music form of the 14 most popular Banjar songs (Table 1).

Based on the results of this analysis, to clarify the structure of the existing song forms, the following is an example of the results of the analysis of the song "Pambatangan" in the form of two parts that use major tonality and have a symmetrical pattern (Figure 1).

Pambatangan

Figure 1. The melodic notation and the structure of the parts of *Pambatangan*

Habitus, Capital, and Cultural Field

Habitus, as the main concept in Bourdieu's constructive structural theory, is a system of disposition, which is in the form of various permanent attitudes that are used to become, see, act and think, or as a long-term schematic system of perceptions, conceptions, and action (Bourdieu & Novenanto, 2018). Habitus is a form of attitude or behavior in a social environment. Traditionally, habitus is a character formed

Table 1. Song Titles, Music Forms, Tonality, and Popular Banjar Song Categories

Song Titles	Music Forms	Tonality (Harmony)	Symmetric-Non-Symmetric
Ampar-ampar Pisang	Two parts (A-A-B)	G Mayor	Symmetric
Paris Barantai	One part (A-A)	F Mayor	Not symmetric
Pambatangan	Two parts (A-A-B-A)	D Mayor	Symmetric
Uma Abah	Two parts (A-A-B-A)	F Mayor	Not symmetric
Halin	Two parts (A-A-B-B-A-A)	F Mayor	Symmetric
Sanja Kuning	Three parts (A-B-C-B)	D Mayor	Symmetric
Kambang Goyang	Two parts (A-A-B-B)	F Mayor	Symmetric
Sangu Batulak	Two parts (A-A-B-B-A)	D Mayor	Not symmetric in Motif 2 (A')
Sungai Martapura	Two parts (A-A-B-B)	D Mayor	Not symmetric
Sapu Tangan Bapucu Ampat	Two parts (A-A-B-B)	C Mayor	Not symmetric
Pangeran Suriansyah	Two parts (A-B-B-A)	C Mayor	Not symmetric
Mancari Si Jantung Hati	One part (A)	C Mayor	Not symmetric
Baras Kuning	Two parts (A-A-B-B)	F Mayor	Symmetric
Anak Pipit	Two parts (A-A-B-B)	F Mayor	Symmetric

by the community's environment, but it is not natural because it is more shaped by learning and social-historical experiences. In practice, habitus can be in the form of skills and actions in certain ways such as a lifestyle, which stands on the unconscious/non-reflective. Habitus is not produced by rational reason but rather by impulsive decisions. Therefore, the form of habitus can be in the form of emotions, tastes, and can even become a philosophy of life. Habitus is what then produces a particular social practice strategy (Bourdieu, 1990).

This habitus position will find its form in what Bourdieu calls the cultural field. The concept of this field is similar to a cultural field or space where social actors "compete" to obtain cultural capital

(Lubis, 2014). Thus, the prevailing social practice in Bourdieu's theory occurs on the accumulation of habitus with capital in certain areas. Bourdieu's theory of social practice can be formulated in the equation in Figure 2 below.

$$\boxed{\text{Habitus X Modal}} \times \boxed{\text{Arena}} = \boxed{\text{Praktik}}$$

Figure 2. Bourdieu's equation of social practice theory

In the case of the popularity of Banjar songs as a social practice, it can be assumed as an accumulation of the habitus with a cultural capital in the song, which is in the field of its formation. The critical

question is, how are the habitus and cultural capital behind the popularity of Banjar songs? What cultural field supports the popularity of Banjar songs as a social practice? The following is a review of these two questions.

It is known that the song "Paris Barrantai" by Anang Ardiansyah in the public view has the highest level of popularity. This song directs the figure of Anang Ardiansyah as an important subject in the discourse of Banjar songs in a broad sense. At this point, the habitus of the popularity of Banjar songs will point to popular music culture as a social system. As Shuker (Shuker, 2005), "said, the "character" of popular music is the value of hybridity which then becomes an economic product so that it can be invested in the ideological interests of its consumers.

Habitus of Banjar song's popularity as a social system also needs to be seen in the building structure. The habitus system is a dialectic synthesis between objective structures and subjective phenomena (Siregar, 2016). Thus, the interaction between objective structure and subjective phenomena on the popularity of the Banjar songs can be assumed as its habitus. In the objective structure, the popularity of the Banjar songs will refer to two elements which at the same time become its capital/resource, namely: (1) the value of identity *kebanjaraan* (Banjar culture) internalized in; (2) Banjar language. Regarding the subjective phenomenon of the Banjar songs' popularity, the power relation to songwriters as cultural capital (social and symbolic), will then become a social practice for the South Kalimantan public as a cultural field.

Discourse on Identity and Language

One of the materials that can be used as an economical source in the popular music industry is regional identity and regional language material. Music with regional languages has a big market opportunity. The Banjar language has a large number of speakers. From the 2010 BPS population census data, for example, the Banjar ethnic group in Indonesia is known to have a po-

pulation of 4,127,124 people. Of these, 2.7 million people live in South Kalimantan Province, 1 million people outside South Kalimantan Province, and 500 thousand people outside Kalimantan Island (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010). This amount is large enough to become a consumer of Banjar song music in the Banjar language. Thus, Banjarese language music can also be part of the diversification of popular music products, with Banjar ethnicity as the cornerstone of the market.

For example, Banjar songs by Anang Ardiansyah have been accepted by the Banjar community as "common property" so that they are seen as representing the expression of the cultural identity of the Banjar people. The regional identity in the Banjar songs, which was initially subjective, is not permanent. From the 1980s to the 1990s, the popularity of Banjar songs was represented by songs by Anang Ardiansyah which had certain musical characteristics. In the 2000s a different musical form emerged. For example, the musicality of the Banjar song is more "modern" in the album "Gawi Manuntung" by the music group JEF in 2019. In this era, Banjar songs also appeared with a developing musical form, such as dangdut songs by Nanang Irwan and jazz musicality in this era. Dino Sirajudin and his group arranged banjar songs.

Apart from the musical aspect, the discourse on regional identity in the Banjar songs needs to be traced to its industrial distribution media. In general, the media for the popular music industry in the 1980s to 2000s, the form of a cassette tape, CD (compact disc), and VCD (video compact disc), was the main one. In this kind of media, the visual packaging of Banjar song recording media is very much filled with the visualization of Banjar cultural identity. The visualization of tape covers of Banjar songs produced by the Suryanata Record company (Figure 3.) puts forward the Banjar cultural identity through the visualization of Banjar people's traditional clothes and houses. Things like this, the visualization of Banjar cultural identity through

traditional clothing can also be seen on the CD cover visual of JEF's "Gawi Manuntung" album (Figure 3). In addition to the visual of traditional clothing, other forms of visualization of Banjar cultural identity were also found, namely the visual motif (cloth craft) of *Sasirangan* on the cover of the tape of Nanang Irwan's dangdut Banjar song. In this visual (Figure 4), you can see the shape of a triangle and a parallelogram (part of the various motifs of cloth crafts *sasirangan* and ornaments of Banjar traditional house carvings) on the edge of the cassette cover. It is known that cloth *Sasirangan* has become the cultural identity of Banjar people, especially the people of Banjarmasin City.



Figure 3. Pictures of Banjar traditional houses and clothes as a visualization of Banjar cultural identity in the cover of the Banjar song cassette produced by Suryanata Record (left) and the cover of the CD "Gawi Manuntung" by JEF (right)

Based on the previous review, it is clear that the musicality aspect as an expression of identity *kebanjaran* in the Banjar song is dynamic. This is different when seen from the language aspect. Although objectively speaking, the Banjar language

practice in its users' speech is dynamic, which affects the Banjar language's form in the Banjar song lyrics, subjectively there is a value in the Banjar language which can be said to be "essential." Essentialism of *kebanjaran* in Banjar song lyrics is evident in the public's view of South Kalimantan, which is dominated by the view that the lyrics of the song should be in Banjaranese language, with a particular linguistic form (Hadi & Saputra, 2021). The phenomenon of Banjar songs in the 2000s that used certain Banjar lyrics was often considered not to speak Banjar in an ideal way. This has led to the public view of the Banjar song, that the Banjar song of the present era lacks Banjar cultural value. Discourses on regional identity politics in the Banjar song add discourse material to popular culture studies. In other areas, similar discourses can be found. In the phenomenon of popular music in the Bali area, for example, there is a competition for the maintenance of regional language forms with freedom of artist expression (Ardini, 2017).



Figure 4. Banjar's regional identity is seen in the picture of the motif of the cloth *sasirangan* and the Banjar traditional house ornament (triangular shape and parallelogram) on the cover of Nanang Irwan's Banjar dangdut tape cassette cover.

Social-Symbolic Capital and Cultural Field

"Paris Barantai" as the most popular Banjar song in the public view, is known to have been recorded for the first time by Anang Ardiansyah with the music group Orkes Rindang Banua (active in Surabaya) in the form of phonograph records or vinyl in Lokananta (Solo City) around 1959

(Syaifullah, 2008). Then the distribution on the national broadcast of RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia) has delivered this song to more mass audience reception. In that era, the popular music recording industry in Indonesia still used vinyl media. In the late 1960s to 1990s, music recording companies in Indonesia switched to recording the cassette tape media, replacing the vinyl media. In the area of South Kalimantan, especially Banjarmasin City, in the 1980s, there was a music recording company that produced cassette tapes (Ardasa, 2018), namely Suryanata Record. From 1983 to 1995, Suryanata Records was known to have produced approximately 40 albums of Banjar songs in cassette form, most of which are songs composed by Anang Ardiansyah.

In the decade of the 2000s, the popularity of "Paris Barantai" is getting bigger. This is related to the re-arrangement done by the music group Radja in the album "Journey to Banjar" in 2015. The music group Radja has a special position for the people of South Kalimantan because of its important position in the national music industry. The public often refers to people who have entered the national entertainment industry as "artists" (meaning celebrities). One of the benchmarks for a person to be called an "artist" (celebrity) is having appeared on television broadcasts nationally.

Seeing the popularity of the Banjar song as in the case of the song "Paris Barantai" which is related to the social capital of the actor (agent), both the author and the recording industry network such as the figures of Anang Ardiansyah and the Radja group, this reinforces that social capital is connected to the symbolic capital brought by the social agent. Specifically, this social capital can be seen in the knowledge and experience capital of Banjar song agents. This can be seen in the social capital of Anang Ardiansyah, who started his musical career in Java. As a soldier, at that time he had significant social-symbolic capital, that his military assignments in various areas outside South Kalimantan such as

Bandung, Cirebon, Surabaya, Makassar, and Balikpapan, clearly added to his social capital load. Anang Ardiansyah's profession as a soldier, activist of the Golkar Party, and later as a local government bureaucrat (Deputy Chairman of the North Hulu Sungai Regency DPRD in 1999-2004) was a special position during the New Order era. Prestige and symbolic reputation like this work in the social practice of Banjar song. This practice certainly takes place with a supporting factor, namely the public's trust in the intended symbolic quality (Bourdieu, 1991), in this case, a character like Anang Ardiansyah.

Like Anang Ardiansyah, another important Banjar song figure who has social capital is Hamiedan AC. Hamiedan is known as a music artist who has knowledge and experience in Jakarta. Hamiedan AC then added to its social-symbolic capital by establishing a Hamico Record company in Kandangan City (Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency) in the 1980s. In this phenomenon, social capital is indeed built from social networks that can then be converted into economic and cultural capital to actualize (Bourdieu, 1986).

Apart from the social capital of the artists' agents and their music industry networks, one agent who has also contributed to the popularity of the Banjar song is the political authority, in this case, the local government. As the discourse on regional identity in the Banjar song that has been discussed earlier, this discourse is also supported and echoed by the regional government of South Kalimantan. Starting from the provincial to district level governments in South Kalimantan, their various activities and policies pay a lot of attention to the Banjar song. Several records of Banjar songs are known to be supported by the local government. Physically, this can be seen in the appearance of the local government logo on the cover visual of the CD album "Journey to Banjar" of the Radja group and the album "Maragap Nang Anum" from *Taman Budaya* of South Kalimantan Province (see Figure 5). One closely related case is the phenomenon of the

Banjar singing and songwriting competition organized by the local government in South Kalimantan. One of them is a Banjar song singing competition organized by the Barito Kuala Regency Government (see Figure 6).



Figure 5. The support of the South Kalimantan local government in developing the Banjar song can be seen on the logo of South Kalimantan Province (top corner) of the cover of the Banjar song album, the music group Radja (left) & the album “Margap Nang Anum” of Taman Budaya South Kalimantan (right)



Figure 6. The support of regional government in developing the Banjar song appears in the logo of the Barito Kuala Regency Government (top left) on the poster of the 2020 Banjar song singing competition

The discourse of social and symbolic capital in the Banjar song above, in the end, can be seen as a social practice that takes place in a cultural field of its people. The cultural field of the people of South Kalimantan has become a social space where agents of the Banjar song’s popularity compete with each other, through the

potential for social and symbolic capital. These capitals have been shown to work on the popularity of the Banjar song, as in the profiles of Anang Ardiansyah and Hamiedan AC, the recording industry’s economic capital, and the social capital of the regional government of South Kalimantan.

CONCLUSION

Some conclusions that this study can generate are as follows. *First*, the musical form or structure of popular Banjar songs is simple, mostly in the form of two parts using major harmony tonality. *Second*, based on Bourdieu’s analysis of social practices, it is found that the habitus of Banjar song popularity has its objective and subjective structure. Its objective structure is supported by two social capitals/resources, namely: (1) internalized value of *kebanjarian* identity (Banjar culture) and (2) the Banjar language. Whereas in the subjective structure, the popularity of the Banjar song takes place in the power relation between songwriters (social and symbolic capital) and the public social practice of South Kalimantan (the cultural field).

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