Introduction

Bali, Dance, Power

It was hot sitting underneath the corrugated tin roof of the large, open pavilion. In the middle of a sea of children, some young girls were rehearsing a traditional temple dance. The other boys and girls who were not dancing sat around the edges of the pavilion, taking shelter from the mid-afternoon sun. Some talked about the latest pop music programs on TV while others discussed and pointed at photos as they flicked through magazines. Elsewhere in the compound, young boys and girls played games, sang songs, and ran about; in contrast, some older children sat and gazed at their cell phones. All this activity continued against the backdrop of Balinese gamelan music blasting from a portable music player. Suddenly, an authoritative voice was heard above the din as the dance teacher clicked on the microphone that was plugged into the music player. In an exasperated tone, she told everyone to settle down. She reminded the children that they were at their lesson to learn how to dance, not to chat, play, or sing. The sound of children chatting, playing, and singing stopped instantly but the girls at the center of the pavilion kept dancing as if nothing had happened.

After giving her forceful reprimand, the teacher refocused her attention on the rehearsal unfolding in front of her. Sometimes she sang into and away from the microphone, reinforcing important musical tones and rhythmic patterns while incorporating instructions in Balinese and Indonesian into the contour of the musical accompaniment. At other times, she performed specific movements, and the children imitated her. For the most part, the girls responded to her sung words and utterances, as well as the movements she performed. But when one girl struggled to follow these oral and visual cues, the teacher put down the microphone next to the music player and walked behind the student. She forcibly took hold of the girl, wrapping her arms around those of the learner to vehemently move the small body in time with the music. Concomitantly, she vigorously used her knees and heels to indicate to the pupil when to lift her feet and then place

them back on the concrete floor. As this dynamic instruction process continued, the children observing the rehearsal started to whisper, and the chatter grew steadily in volume. Once more, the young onlookers became absorbed in their conversations.

It was January 2004, and I was in the village of Keramas in Bali, Indonesia, conducting twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork. It was a privilege to have been invited by the teachers to observe the boys and girls who attended this *sanggar*, one of many privately run arts studios that operate across the island. The parents who came to the lessons to observe their children also welcomed me, as did the villagers who lived close by. The remarkable physical discipline displayed by the young performers during their dance lessons captivated my attention. Likewise, I became aware of the seriousness of Balinese children's dance training after spending hours observing teachers trying to force specific movement styles into boys' and girls' bodies. These observations sparked my interest in exploring the intricate web of relationships among the children themselves, as well as between the students and their dance teachers. By delving into these interpersonal dynamics, I sought to uncover how the younger generation actively participates in preserving and perpetuating traditional Balinese dance.

In this book, I explore the background from which the above scenes I have just recounted emerge to examine the personal relationships between children who attend and the teachers who operate a privately run arts studio. I explore how adults exercise a high degree of power over children inside the studio and in other traditional performance contexts. Outside the confines of the organization and world of traditional dance, an alternative dynamic exists, and I investigate how children exercise a greater degree of power and agency over their songs and contemporary dance activities. In each chapter, I offer a particular vantage point from which to consider how various aspects of practice, performance, and power influence children's formal and informal creative practices. I also examine how local, national, and global elements shape these activities.

Throughout, I argue that power is a not a possession but a dynamic relationship that shapes and molds individuals, their values, and practices (after Schirato, Danaher, and Webb 2012: 46). Such a perspective accords with that of Michel Foucault (1980: 93), who writes that "[power] is not an institution, and not a structure, neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical relationship in a particular society." Although power relations are critical to the Balinese performing arts, this specific aspect of the transmission of cultural knowledge between generations is often overlooked in academic scholarship. I address this lacuna by examining two examples of power relations in action: first, the power of adults to modify the actions of children to control and discipline their bodies; and, second, the power of children, although influenced by adults, to act more independently in relation to their songs and contemporary dance activities. In doing so, I explore the con-

sequences that such practices have for the cultural transmission of the Balinese performing arts.

Introducing Bali and Research on the Balinese Performing Arts

Bali, an Indonesian island located in the westernmost part of the Lesser Sunda Islands, is renowned for its lush landscapes, vibrant culture, and rich spiritual traditions. Often referred to as the "Island of the Gods," Bali has captivated travelers and researchers alike with its unique blend of natural beauty and cultural depth. The island's dramatic terrain features volcanic mountains, terraced rice paddies, and pristine beaches, creating a diverse ecosystem that supports both agriculture and tourism.

Balinese culture is deeply rooted in Hinduism, which arrived on the island over a thousand years ago and has since evolved into a distinct form known as Balinese Hinduism.[1] This spiritual foundation permeates every aspect of daily life, from elaborate temple ceremonies to intricate artistic expressions in dance, music, and the visual arts. Bali's cultural landscape is also dotted with thousands of temples, ranging from small family shrines to large, ornate complexes like Besakih in eastern Bali, which the Balinese consider to be the island's "Mother Temple." In recent decades, Bali has also experienced rapid development driven by international tourism, which has brought both economic opportunities and sociocultural challenges. This influx of visitors and global influences has led to complex dynamics between tradition and modernity, affecting gender roles, economic structures, and environmental sustainability. Despite these changes, Balinese society maintains strong ties to its cultural heritage, with many traditional practices and social structures adapting to contemporary contexts.[2]

Social life in Bali is also ordered by a version of the Hindu caste system that persists despite pan-Indonesian models of egalitarianism. In Bali, there are four *warna* (B: caste), which in descending order are *brahmana*, *kasatria*, *wesia,* and *sudra*. The first three castes account for 6 to 10 percent of the population; individuals who are members of this cohort are collectively called *triwangsa* (B: three people or race) or *jeroan* (B: insider). Most Balinese, however, belong to the lowest caste, *sudra*, and are commonly referred to as *jaba* (B: outsider). Like Javanese, the Balinese language (B: *basa Bali*) is organized into various levels that correlate with the caste divisions of Balinese society. There are three levels of Balinese: those in the *brahmana* caste speak *basa alus* (B: high Balinese); *kasatria* and *wesia* speak *basa midiya* (B: middle Balinese); and those in the *sudra* caste speak *basa kasar* (B: low Balinese). Much of the language is common to all speakers, with such vocabulary stemming predominantly from middle Balinese. The main distinction, however, lies between high and low Balinese vocabulary. Lower caste members are also expected to "speak up," using the appropriate form of Balinese, to their social superiors. Similarly, those affiliated with the higher castes are expected to "speak down," using lower forms of Balinese, to those who are not their

social equals. Finally, and when compared to low Balinese, high Balinese contains more Kawi (Old Javanese) and Sanskrit words.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, numerous artists from various backgrounds and researchers from myriad disciplines have traveled to Bali to undertake social, cultural, political, and historical research. The Dutch scholar Jaap Kunst and his wife C. J. A. Kunst-van Wely were among the first to undertake such work, and together they published the earliest musical study of Bali in 1925. Initial research on Balinese music, however, owes most to the work of the Canadian pianist and composer Colin McPhee who, due to living on the island for many years in the 1930s, became an expert in Balinese culture. Indeed, McPhee's (1966) magnum opus, *Music in Bali*, continues to influence the work of eminent scholars in ethnomusicology today.[3] Similarly, the book *Dance and Drama in Bali* ([1938] 2002), a collaboration between the German artist Walter Spies and the British writer and dance critic Beryl de Zoete, remains an important historical resource for researchers who study dance and theater in Bali, as well as the influence of globalization and cultural tourism on the island's performing arts.[4]

Research on Balinese dance tends to examine historical and contemporary genres presented in ritual and secular contexts.[5] Written by Balinese and non-Balinese academics and dance practitioners, such works tend to overview the development of dances. They often include photographs of specific movements and basic chorographic sequences to provide the reader with insight into how a dancer's body moves in performance. Complementing and extending this work, Annette Sanger (1986, 1988, 1989, 1992) investigates the role of music and dance in village life and outlines how the growth of tourism in Bali influences traditional dance presentations.[6] Furthermore, Swasthi Widjaja Bandem (2004) considers how Balinese composers and choreographers draw on existing genres to create new forms that, over time, become established in the tradition. Other important areas of academic investigation include the rise of female performers in Bali (Kellar 2000; Palermo 2009; Sawitri 2001; Talamantes 2004), and Balinese dance as national culture in Indonesia and beyond (Goodlander 2014; Hough 1992, 2000; Hough and Hatley 1995). In subsequent chapters, I situate my research within a broader scholarly context, drawing upon the work of the above scholars and others in the field. Furthermore, I demonstrate how my investigation into children's creative practices offers novel insights that both complement and expand upon existing knowledge. This approach not only builds upon established theoretical frameworks, but also contributes fresh perspectives to debates concerning the Balinese performing arts.

In their research on Bali, Made Bandem and Frederik deBoer (1981), Wayan Dibia and Rucina Ballinger (2004), Edward Herbst (1981), and Michel Picard (1996b) call attention to how specific dances (and certain forms of theater and music) are categorized according to genre and the context in which they are performed (see also Gold 2005). This system of categorization stems from dis-

cussions that first emerged in Bali during the 1960s regarding the preservation and promotion of the performing arts. In 1971, *Listibiya* (*Majelis Pertimbangan dan Pembinaan Kebudayaan*) (I: Balinese Arts Evaluation and Cultivation Board) sponsored a conference on sacred and profane dances "to address the potentially conflicting priorities of developing tourist infrastructure and maintaining traditional culture" (Clendenning 2016: 95). The conference delegates, including government officials, performers, and religious figures, agreed on a tiered model in which the "degree of sacredness [of a dance] depended on where a performance was held" (Dibia and Ballinger 2004: 10; see also Herbst 1981: 47).

The model includes three categories: first, *wali* (B: offering), a term that refers to sacred dances most often, but not always, performed in the *jeroan* (B: inner courtyard) of a Balinese temple; second, *bebali* (B: semi-ceremonial dances), which denotes dances performed alongside, but which are not necessarily integral to, a religious ceremony—these are most often, but not always, performed in the *jaba tengah* (B: middle courtyard) of a temple; and, third, *balih-balihan* (B: literally "that which is watched"), which specifies secular dances that have no religious importance that are generally performed in the *jaba* (B: outer courtyard) of a temple. Regional preferences and variations mean that these categories are not always enforced. Moreover, the boundaries between them are often blurred. However, the most important aspect for the Balinese is that dances and theatrical genres performed for Balinese-Hindu deities are shown the utmost respect and should not be degraded by being included in cultural tourist performances. Despite the idiosyncrasies associated with its practice, the above model is central to my research because it has implications for the repertoire children learn when they choose to study Balinese dance and the religious and social contexts in which they perform.

Research concerning the teaching and learning of Balinese dance is also important to my work. Rucina Ballinger (1985: 172), who first conducted fieldwork in Bali in the 1970s, writes that children have "[w]eekly if not daily" contact with dance from an early age and that they always sit at the front of theatrical and dance performances to get the best view of the action (see McPhee 1966: 8). She also states that traditional approaches to dance transmission rely on methods that involve imitation and physical manipulation but little or no verbal correction (Ballinger 1985: 173–75). By focusing on the apprentice-pupil relationship, Ballinger highlights the uniqueness of the Balinese teaching style, and stresses that the transmission of dance to children is vital to ensure the passing on of the tradition. Sanger (1986: 318–32) also writes about the traditional style of dance instruction. While she verifies Ballinger's findings concerning the importance of children's informal learning of music and dance, Sanger points toward significant changes affecting the transmission of the tradition. For instance, she highlights the growing use of Western-style analytical teaching techniques and recorded musical accompaniment in village dance lessons for children (Sanger 1986: 341–43).

Wayan Lendra ([1991] 1997), Natalie Kellar (2000), Brett Hough (2000), Azti Nezia Suryiant Azmi (2008: 338), and Bethany Collier (2014: 469) also outline other changes that have affected children's learning and performance of traditional dance, including the influence of the nation-state regarding the dances children learn and the styles of music to which they perform.

Early anthropological work by Jane Belo ([1935] 1970a, [1935] 1970b, [1936] 1970c, [1937] 1970d), Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead (1942), and Margaret Mead and Frances Macgregor (1951) that focuses on the enculturation process in Bali also informs my research. While these authors rarely discuss children's musical activities, they all imply that music and dance play a vital role in how boys and girls learn about Balinese culture. Indeed, Mead ([1940] 1970b: 336) states that "the Balinese child is exposed from infancy to a gesture, posture system, to a way of walking and a type of attitude which makes him [*sic*] early susceptible to the more formal patterns of movement and sound which are characteristic of his [*sic*] culture." That said, recent feminist and psychiatric scholarship offers incisive critiques of how the above authors interpret Balinese culture, personality, and gender (Errington 1990; Goodlander 2012; Jensen and Suryani 1992; Parker 1997). My research acknowledges these and other critical perspectives and integrates them to provide a more nuanced understanding of these historical sources. This approach facilitates a multifaceted understanding of present-day enculturation processes and gender constructs in Bali, particularly in relation to traditional dance practices. By synthesizing historical insights with more recent debates, my work contributes to and extends the ongoing scholarly discourse on gender, performance, and cultural preservation in Balinese society.

Regarding children's learning of traditional dance in Bali, contemporary research by Nyoman Catra (2022), Nyoman Cerita and Kathy Foley (2020), Sonja Downing (2019), Lisa Gold (2013), David Harnish (2013a), Andrew McGraw (2013), Jonathan McIntosh (2014, 2018), Manolete Mora (2011), and Sarah Weiss (2013) highlights the growth of *sanggar*, that is, private community organizations, in which boys and girls increasingly receive formal performing arts training. These studies complement and extend Sanger's (1986) research on traditional music and dance in which the author describes a *sanggar tari* (I: dance studio) in the village of Singapadu in the south-central regency of Gianyar. Sanger (1986: 179) states that "dance classes of this kind are mushrooming all over Bali" and that dance pedagogy in many *sanggar* is changing due to government-sanctioned practices that influence the teaching of the arts at the local level. By focusing on a specific *sanggar*, I examine how children learn and perform Balinese dance, and I investigate how government institutions influence and shape the cultural transmission of the tradition.[7] Having outlined scholarship pertaining to Bali that informs my analysis, I now situate my research within the anthropology/ethnomusicology of dance and dance studies.

The Anthropology/Ethnomusicology of Dance and Dance Studies

The British anthropologists Alfred Radcliffe-Brown ([1922] 1964) and Edward Evans-Pritchard (1928) were among the first to comment on the social function of dance, but they did so only in passing in relation to fieldwork conducted on the Andaman Islands, an archipelago situated in the northeastern Indian Ocean, and among the Azande in Sudan. J. Clyde Mitchell's (1956) study of the *kalela* dance performed by migrant workers in Northern Rhodesia contrasts with the aforementioned studies because it focuses on the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, and age in the making of identities and cultural practices.[8] Despite this development, it was not until the 1970s and 1980s, and when researchers applied various theoretical paradigms to their work, including cultural relativism, linguistics, and communication theory, that the study of dance in anthropology become a legitimate area of scholarly inquiry (see Henry, Magowan, and Murray 2000: 255). This led scholars to expand the scope of their work to investigate dance and the body from cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspectives (Blacking 1977b), the meaning of movements and gestures in specific social and cultural contexts (Kaeppler 1985), the relationship between dance, gender, and sex (J. Hanna 1988), and dance as an embodied discourse (Cowan 1990; Novak 1990). This work repositioned the study of dance within broader theoretical frameworks relating to human movement and embodiment (see Reed 1998). In the 1990s, it also facilitated the emergence of dance studies, an interdisciplinary field that incorporates research by scholars from anthropology, literature, cultural studies, sociology, politics, and history.[9]

Unlike anthropologists, ethnomusicologists have always been interested in studying dance and the body. This is thanks largely to the influence of the American scholar Gertrude Kurath (1960), whom Bruno Nettl (2002: 85) credits for inspiring a whole generation of dance researchers in ethnomusicology. Other notable ethnomusicologists who embrace the study of dance include Curt Sachs ([1937] 1963), Alan Merriam (1972), and Anthony Seeger (1994). Although a social anthropologist by training, John Blacking's (1969a, 1969b, 1969c, 1969d, 1969e, 1970, [1973] 1976, 1977a, 1977c, 1985) research on Venda music and dance in South Africa, and, in particular, his work focusing on the (dance) movements of the various Venda Girls' initiation schools, is of central importance to the development of ethnomusicology, generally, and dance studies in the UK, specifically.[10] Following Blacking's lead, other researchers explored the stylistic relationships between music, dance, and human movement in various Sub-Saharan African contexts (Chernoff 1979; Friedson 1996, Waterman 1990), as well as rainforest societies in Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, and Brazil (Feld [1982] 1990a, 1990b; Roseman 1991; Seeger [1987] 2004).[11] In addressing the aftermath of the "crisis of representation" in anthropology and ethnomusicology

in the 1980s and 1990s, Tomie Hahn (2007), Michelle Kisliuk (1998, 2008), and Timothy Rice (1994) also provide notable discussions of how their learning to perform dance during fieldwork informed and shaped the development of their research (after M. Hood 1960; see also Baily 2001).

Few studies in anthropology and ethnomusicology, however, focus explicitly on children and dance. Richard Schechner (2004: 158) writes that young actors must have their bodies manipulated into "shape" as part of the training process in Indian Kathakali dance, and Fiona Magowan (2007) notes that Yolngu children in North Australia must learn to dance from an early age to participate in ritual ceremonies. Andrea Emberly and Jane W. Davidson (2011) discuss the revitalization of a group song and dance genre (*tshigombela*) performed by Venda girls in Limpopo, South Africa, and Marie Ozah (2006) describes how symbolic youth performance contributes to the ongoing maintenance of the community in Ogoja, Nigeria. In addition, Sean Fine and Andrea Nix Fine (2007) and Alexis Kallio and Heidi Westerlund (2016) investigate how music and dance training assists children in overcoming trauma in post-conflict Uganda and Cambodia. Although not dance-focused, research by Sally Anderson (2003), Harald Beyer Broch (2003), and Noel Dyck (2003) provides valuable insights into the training of children's bodies in relation to badminton, handball, and ice hockey. The authors also comment on the important role that adults play, as coaches or organizers, in relation to children's sporting activities. Specifically, Dyck (2003) outlines how the relationship between Canadian teenagers and their ice hockey coach impacts significantly on their embodied play and the development of their gender identities. The latter study relates to my research, because, like ice hockey coaches, dance teachers play an influential role in shaping children's gendered participation in Balinese society.

The present study also builds on the work of Sue Jennings (1985) and Amanda Minks (1999) to examine how children learn to control their bodies in play and dance settings. Jennings (1985) investigates children's play-dance in her work on Temiar dance and movement practices in Peninsular Malaysia. In play activities, Temiar children often imitate the movements of adults in trance, singing and using pieces of bamboo to mimic the instrumental stompers that accompany adult performances. Occasionally, adults join in with children to teach them the correct melodies and rhythms, and sometimes they tell boys and girls to calm down if their play becomes too boisterous. Although they do not always follow adults' wishes, adults do not force children to stop what they are doing. Thus, children's play-dance is an important enculturation tool whereby boys and girls learn about Temiar cosmology and how to relate to their peers, parents, and other adults. In contrast, Minks (1999) examines the role of pop music in children's lives in a public elementary school in the northeastern United States. Minks notes that at the end of music classes, and if they have been well-behaved, the teacher allows children to play compact discs (CDs) that they have brought to school.

During this time, the teacher also permits boys and girls to leave their seats and dance. From discussions with her child co-researchers, Minks (1999: 81) states that "many of the fifth-graders, boys and girls, were self-conscious about dancing in public, with peers rather than alone or with siblings." Throughout this book, I examine how children learn to control their bodies when they choose to engage in play, as well as traditional and contemporary dance activities, and I explore the role of technology, specifically the influence of television and popular music (see also Marsh 2008), in the lives of the young Balinese.

In addition, this book contributes to the ethnomusicological study of children's creative practices. While ethnomusicologists have long been interested in musical transmission, prior to 2000 only a few conducted child-focused research, notably Blacking (1967), Margaret Kartomi (1980, 1981, 1984, 1991), Carol Merrill-Mirsky (1986, 1988), Minks (1999), and Patricia Shehan Campbell (1998). These studies focus primarily on children's songs and play activities, and in some instances consider boys and girls to be passive recipients in the enculturation process. In contrast, recent work by Tyler Bickford (2017), Downing (2019), Andrea Emberly (2013, 2019), Kyra Gaunt (2006), Kathryn Marsh (2008), and Jui-Ching Wang (2015), as well as chapters in the collections edited by Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok (2006), Patricia Shehan Campbell and Trevor Wiggins (2013b), and Chee-Hum Lum and Peter Whiteman (2012), emphasizes the agency of boys and girls in their musicking activities (after Small 1998).

The scholarship from anthropology and ethnomusicology outlined above inspired me during my fieldwork with children in Bali and the writing of this book. Moreover, my experiences of participating in various world music ensembles during my undergraduate and postgraduate training in ethnomusicology and social anthropology at Queen's University Belfast meant that my "learning to perform" (Baily 2001) children's songs and traditional dances was central to my fieldwork methodology. I chose to foreground this approach because the transmission of the Balinese performing arts is always intersubjective, in terms of children learning from each other and adults.[12] Furthermore, my learning of children's songs and traditional dances always occurred in relation to the movements of others—adults and children—all of whom modified and disciplined my body. Learning in this way allowed me to move, literally and metaphorically, between adults and children. This occurred on and off the rehearsal floor and performance stage, and in and out of play activities. In addition to the physical act of singing and dancing, I spent countless hours reviewing video recordings of my dance lessons. Consequently, I learned how to analyze my body and those of my teachers and young co-researchers. Reflecting on how others modified and disciplined my body, as well as learning how to articulate intra-subjective experiences in my fieldnotes, led me to develop efficient music and dance skills that enabled me to participate more fully with children during my research (see chapter 1).

Helena Wulff (2001: 3210) states that many dance scholars, including anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, have trained in various traditions before entering the field. When conducting fieldwork, many also learn step sequences and movements that are different from those they studied previously. Wulff (2001: 3210) declares that far from being regarded as a modest attempt to comprehend dance and movement systems such an approach "deserves recognition . . . as an important methodological strategy." When I first entered the field, however, I had no prior dance training. Indeed, the only dancing in which I had participated up until that time was when at elementary and high school my classmates and I were obliged to learn traditional Scottish dances in the weeks immediately before Christmas so that we could then perform them at end-of-term parties. My decision to undertake significant dance training during fieldwork was therefore perhaps a little unusual, given my lack of prior dance experience. Nonetheless, the experience provided me with significant insights concerning how my undisciplined body transformed to the point where others could modify my actions by means of a glance, gesture, or vocal inflection. This realization also reinforced for me how integral power relations are to the transmission of the performing arts in Bali.

Perspectives on Power Relations, Discipline, and the Body

Scholars in anthropology, politics, and sociology have long investigated how the exercise of power modifies relationships between individuals.[13] In such studies, the term "power" generally refers to the ability to influence or control the behavior of others or the course of events, and the term is often associated with social structures, institutions, and hierarchies. Regarding the anthropological study of children and young people, however, Wulff (2006: 129; see also 1988, 1995) notes that researchers have paid less attention to how adults exercise power over younger generations. By placing children at the center of my research, I investigate how power relations are essential to the transmission of Balinese dance, music, and song. Focusing on children's bodies as sites where musical, poetic, kinetic, and social ideas are "seen-in-the-world" (Hughes-Freeland 2008: 19), I also explore how the young Balinese learn, play with, and enact such values into being, and how such processes inform notions of tradition and social change. In doing so, I respond directly to Minks's (2002: 392) clarion call to broaden the study of the "youngest minority" (Nettl 2015: 417) in ethnomusicological scholarship by going beyond the study of children's songs to document children's learning and performance of adult dance. This seems especially important in Bali given that adults refer to children using the terms *lanang cenik* (B: literally "small men"), which means "boys," and *istri cenik* (B: literally "small women"), which means "girls" (see also Downing 2019: 21). To frame my analysis of power relations vis-à-vis Balinese children's practice and performance of dance, music, and song, I draw on the work of Steven Lukes ([1974] 2005) and Foucault ([1975] 1991).

In *Power: A Radical View*, Lukes ([1974] 2005) argues for a conceptual analysis of power based on three distinctive interpretations, which he refers to as the one-, two- and three-dimensional views of power. In this book, I draw on the one-dimensional view of power to explore who succeeds in cases of decision-making concerning children's practice and performance of dance, music, and song.[14] I do this because the one-dimensional view of power focuses "on *behaviour* in the making of *decisions* on *issues* over which there is an observable *conflict* of (subjective) *interests*" ([1974] 2005: 19, original emphasis). While Lukes critiques the one-dimensional view for being limited to those forms of power that can be observed, it provides a useful framework with which to examine how adult "processes of power and subordination" (Wulff 2006: 129) modify the actions of children in a Balinese arts studio. Accordingly, I investigate how power is a mode of action realized through personal relations between adults and children within a specific *sanggar* and in other traditional dance contexts. Examining how children respond to the actions of adults in these contexts also allows me to consider how the young Balinese draw creatively on local, national, and global influences in the dance, music, and song activities in which they choose to participate outside of the organization.

Power relations are also central to Foucault's ([1975] 1991) study of the disciplined body.[15] In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault ([1975] 1991: 138) argues that discipline produces "subjected and practised bodies" that are more able to follow instructions. Despite embodying enhanced capabilities, a disciplined body also becomes docile because it can be subordinated, manipulated, and controlled with ease. With reference to power relations, Foucault ([1975] 1991: 136–37) outlines three "techniques" that collectively produce docile bodies: first, the scale of control—modifying the body so that movements, gestures, and attitudes become automated; second, the body as the object of control—ensuring that the body performs actions and gestures with the utmost efficiency; and, third, modality—coercing and supervising constantly the "processes of activity rather than its result." It is worth noting for the purposes of this research, and considering the above techniques, that a body does not become docile simply due to teaching and learning practices. Instead, discipline imposes "the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency and speed" ([1975] 1991: 152). Writing elsewhere, Foucault (1982: 789) notes that a relationship of power does not necessarily "act directly and immediately on others"; it can act "upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future." In later chapters, I apply Lukes's (2005) one-dimensional view of power and Foucault's (1991) theory of the disciplined or docile body to investigate how the actions of teachers influence children when they study and perform traditional dance.

While I apply Western theories to my work, I also incorporate into my analysis the views of scholars who have underscored the need for researchers to pay

attention to how local conceptions of power in Southeast Asia differ fundamentally from Western notions. For instance, Benedict Anderson (1972) posits that in Javanese thought, power is seen as concrete, homogeneous, and constant in total quantity, but varying in its distribution.[16] This view contrasts with Western ideas of power as abstract, heterogeneous, and potentially expandable. Likewise, Clifford Geertz (1973, 1980) argues that nineteenth-century Bali was organized around the concept of the "theatre state," where power was expressed through elaborate rituals, ceremonies, and spectacles rather than through coercion or economic control. This view challenges the notion of the state as a rational, bureaucratic entity and instead presents it as a cultural artifact that is shaped by local beliefs, values, and practices. Shelly Errington's (1990) work builds on the foundational research of Benedict Anderson (1972) and C. Geertz (1973, 1980), offering a more intricate analysis of gender and power dynamics in Southeast Asia. Errington examines how cultural practices and assumptions shape notions of masculinity and femininity, and how power is conceptualized and allocated between genders. In a more recent study, Margaret J. Wiener (1995: 58) explains that in Balinese culture, power or *kesaktian* (I) is derived from establishing and sustaining connections between an individual and the unseen spiritual realm, particularly (though not limited to) the gods. Wiener's analysis emphasizes that in the Balinese worldview, personal power and authority are intrinsically linked to one's ability to forge and nurture relationships with divine forces, rather than solely through worldly means. This perspective underscores the deep spiritual foundations underlying Balinese society and the centrality of the invisible realm in shaping material reality.

By highlighting these alternative conceptions of power in Southeast Asia, the above scholars challenge Western-centric assumptions and encourage a more nuanced understanding of local political and social dynamics. Their work underscores the importance of engaging with indigenous epistemologies and ontologies when studying non-Western societies. It also serves as a reminder that power is a culturally constructed concept that takes on different meanings and manifestations across diverse contexts. By synthesizing Balinese conceptualizations of power with Western theoretical perspectives, my research contributes to the ongoing scholarly discourse on power dynamics. Specifically, I extend this analytical framework to examine the role of power and agency in children's creative practices in Bali. In doing so, I offer new insights into the manifestation of power relations in the realm of children's cultural production and participation.

Another issue-at-large in this book is the power or agency that children have in relation to their songs and contemporary dance activities. For some time, and rooted in the work of sociologist, philosopher, and political economist Max Weber (1947), social scientists have conceived of agency in terms of the power that individuals have to act independently within social structures. Nevertheless, as Jackie Wiggins (2015: 104) states, agency does not reside in individuals but

"rather in the relationships among individuals and between individuals and societal structures," such as institutions (see also Giddens 1979). I define the term agency as the capacity of individuals to act independently, make their own free choices, and exert influence within their social contexts. This definition emphasizes human autonomy and the ability to shape one's circumstances. Thus, in my research, I highlight the active role of my young Balinese co-researchers "in shaping and being shaped by social forces" (Valentine 2011: 350). I do this by examining how boys and girls exert power in relation to their creative expressions as opposed to focusing only on how adults modify the actions of children in relation to traditional dance. Thus, my research not only extends anthropological and ethnomusicological work pertaining to children and young people, but also contributes to the interdisciplinary field of childhood studies in which scholars consider children to be "social actors" (James 2007: 262) who demonstrate agency through their sociocultural competency and knowledge.[17]

Organization of the Book

This book examines power dynamics that shape how children learn, practice, and perform dance, music, and song in Bali. By taking the reader on a journey starting with lullabies sung to infants, through children's learning and performance of traditional dance, and culminating in an examination of boys and girls' contemporary dance activities, it purposefully outlines how the young Balinese participate in the performing arts. It also examines how, by being moved by and moving through tradition, they engage with local, national, and global elements that influence their formal and informal performance practices. The Balinese believe that the body comprises three separate but interlinked sections: head, body, and feet. The use of three-word titles for each of the following six chapters pays homage to and reinforces this concept, one that is also integral to traditional dance pedagogy and performance.

Chapter 1 contributes to debates on research methods in child-focused ethnographic research. In choosing to devote a chapter to this topic, I describe how I drew on William Corsaro's (1985) "reactive" approach—a method that involves responding to or following children's wishes—as my key fieldwork strategy. This enabled me to develop practical knowledge of Balinese dance and children's songs, which in turn allowed me to gain deeper insights into the daily lives of the boys and girls who chose to take part in my research. Such knowledge made it easier for me to interact with children, and for them to invite me to participate in their dance, music, song, and play activities. I discuss how such encounters benefited my research and permitted my young co-researchers to discover who I was and why I wanted to learn from and with them.

Chapter 2 demonstrates that despite adult influences over their songs and song-games, Balinese children exercise a degree of power in continuing and recreating their song repertoire. Children exercise power by making decisions

concerning what traditional Balinese songs and song-games will endure and how they create and integrate Indonesian songs into the repertoire. Such songs also provide boys and girls with important skills. These skills enable them to manipulate forms of music and movement with confidence from an early age, often before they engage in traditional dance lessons. I examine the differences between Balinese and Indonesian songs in terms of tonality, language, form, and content. My analysis of select musical examples highlights the important relationship between music and movement in certain songs, and underscores how children use television to indigenize in their vocal lore influences external to the island on which they live.

Chapter 3 examines how dance teachers modify the actions of children who choose to attend traditional dance lessons. By drawing on Lukes's (2005: 14) notion of "effective control" and Foucault's (1991) theory of the disciplined body, I discuss how the pedagogic practices the teachers employ enable children to embody the skills necessary to perform specific dances. Moreover, I highlight how such methods guarantee that children become and remain subordinate to their teachers, despite the children's own agency. I provide ethnographic examples from dance lessons to illustrate the main aspects of the teaching and learning process, highlighting the use of technology and a shift away from traditional modes of teaching and learning in favor of conservatory-style approaches. I analyze these changes with reference to research by other scholars, particularly Sanger (1986) and Hough (2000), to provide insight into the contemporary transmission of dance to children.

An integral part of studying traditional dance in Bali is learning how to perform. By focusing on pre-performance rehearsals and particular aspects of "backstage ethnography" (Wulff 1998a, 1998b), Chapter 4 examines how teachers and adults prepare children for dance performances. During this process, boys and girls learn about the values attributed to costume and makeup, as well as how to present themselves on stage. I use Foucault's (1991) ideas concerning the disciplined body to examine how dance teachers refine students' skills before a performance. I also comprehend how decisions by the former affect the staging of presentations in various contexts.

Chapter 5 explores children's roles in a traditional dance-drama activity, the performance of a story about a mythical creature called Barong. Combining elements of dance, drama, and music, the activity introduces children to a method of training and performance that differs from what they experience in their routine dance lessons. I examine how, by performing Barong, children learn about their relationship with the spiritual world, their physical surroundings, and their gendered participation in Balinese society. I consider what kinds of emotions can be generated by the movements of a children's *barong* and how the performance evokes spiritual and emotional engagement with the landscape that ties Balinese children and adults to their island.

Chapter 6 examines popular music in the lives of Balinese children. Focusing on children's contemporary dance activities, I explore how although such presentations may look and sound far removed from "traditional" dances, they are nonetheless influenced by customary practices and aesthetics. The chapter investigates the impact of local, national, and global popular musics on boys and girls, and highlights how they choose to indigenize them in performance. Throughout, I use globalization theories and Foucault's (1986) concept of "heterotopia" to explore how children exercise agency and power to create performances that are simultaneously new and Balinese.

Notes

1. It is crucial to acknowledge that Balinese society is characterized by significant heterogeneity, contrary to what the broad terms "Balinese society" or "the Balinese" might suggest. In employing these and other related terms in this book, I am specifically referring to a particular demographic: individuals residing on the island who self-identify as Hindu, are of Balinese ethnicity, and are primarily located in the southern region of Bali where my fieldwork was conducted. This specificity is essential to avoid overgeneralization and to recognize the diverse cultural landscape of Bali. The island is home to various religious, ethnic, and cultural groups, each contributing to its rich social tapestry. My research focus, however, centers on the aforementioned group, which represents a significant, though not exclusive, portion of the island's population. It is important to note that this approach to defining "the Balinese" aligns with established anthropological/ethnomusicological perspectives. See Barth (1993: 5–13) for a more comprehensive discussion regarding the conceptualization of Balinese identity and its complexities.
2. For further information regarding the history of Bali see W. Hanna ([1976] 2004), Vickers (1989), and Wiener (1995).
3. See, for example, research on Balinese music by Bakan (1999), Dibia (1992), Goodlander (2016), Gray (2011), Heimarck (2003), Herbst (1997), and M. M. Hood (2010). Additional research includes work by McGraw (2009, 2013), McIntosh (2018), Susilo (2003), Tenzer (2000), and Willner (1992).
4. Research on Balinese dance that draws on Spies and de Zoete ([1938] 2002) includes M. Bandem (2001), Davies (2006, 2008), Dibia (2013, 2016), Formaggia (2000), Hough (2011), Palermo (2009), Rein (1998), Susilo (1997), and Talamantes (2006).
5. This includes research focusing on dance and theatrical genres such as *arja* (Collier 2014, 2022; Dibia 1992, 2012b, 2013; Herbst 1997; Kellar 2000, 2003, 2004), *barong* (M. Bandem 1976; Foley 2022), *baris* (M. Bandem 1975; Roskott 1995), *gambuh* (M. Bandem and deBoer 1978/9; Formaggia 2000; Susilo 1997), *kebyar* (Arini 2004; Lendra 1983), *legong* (M. Bandem 1985; Dunbar-Hall 2008), *topeng* (M. Bandem and Rembang 1976; Catra 1996; Coldiron, Palermo and Strawson, 2015; Daniel 1981; Dibia 2013, 2016; Emigh 1979, 1996; H. Geertz 1991; Jenkins 1979; 1980; 1994; Palermo 2009; Young 1980), *rejang* (Rein 1998), *sendratari* (DeBoer 1989, 1996), and *wayang wong Bali* (M. Bandem 2001).
6. Other studies that focus on dance and cultural tourism in Bali include Barker, Putra, and Wiranatha (2006), Dunbar-Hall (2001, 2003), Harnish (2005), Johnson (2002), McIntosh (2014), and Picard (1990, 1996a, 1996b).

7. This includes complementing and extending contemporary research by Corona, Putri, and Quinteros (2015) and Dunbar-Hall (2010, 2011), as well as Tenzer's (2011: 107–9) work pertaining to children's involvement with gamelan music, Downing's (2010, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2019) scholarship focusing on girls learning gamelan music, and McIntosh's (2014, 2018) research regarding how children become nascent culture bearers by learning and performing traditional dance.
8. Ness (1996) revisits writings by early scholars, among them Radcliffe-Brown ([1922] 1964) and Evans-Pritchard (1928), to survey the early development of dance research in anthropology. Elsewhere, Kaeppler (1978, 1991) and Girurchescu and Torp (1991) overview the academic study of dance in the United States and Europe. Grau (1993) discusses Blacking and his influence on the evolution of dance studies in the UK. Wulff (2001) provides a succinct introduction to dance scholarship in anthropology.
9. Influential research on human movement and embodiment includes studies by Csordas (1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1999), Farnell (1994, 1995, 1999), and Jackson (1989). Research by Chrysagis and Karampampas (2017), Desmond (1997, 2001), and Morris (1996, 2009) has contributed to the development of dance studies.
10. Blacking (1987/8) also wrote and presented a six-part television series for Ulster Television in Northern Ireland. The series, entitled *Dancing*, examines numerous global dance genres and styles.
11. Works by Kartomi (2012), Mason (2014), Morcom (2013), Spiller (2010), Sunardi (2014), and Villepastour (2017) demonstrate the breadth and importance of music–dance studies in contemporary ethnomusicological scholarship. See also the articles in the collections edited by Stepputat and Seye (2020a, 2020b) that focus on choreomusicology.
12. Numerous scholars who have examined Balinese dance have employed ethnography through practice including Emigh (1979, 1996), Jenkins (1979, 1980, 1994), Palermo (2009), Roskott (1995), Sanger (1986), and Talamantes (2004).
13. See, for example, Adams (1977), Dyck (2008b), Farndon (1985), Gledhill (1994), Jonsson (2022), Ortner (2006), and Rapport (2004).
14. In his explanation of the one-dimensional view of power, Lukes draws on Dahl (1961), Polsby (1963), and Wolfinger (1971), all of whom analyze political power in the United States in the early twentieth century.
15. Foucault ([1975] 1991, [1973] 2003) studies various social institutions, most notably psychiatric and prison systems. The author writes often about the links between power and knowledge, focusing on structural relationships, institutions, and techniques rather than individuals.
16. While some aspects of Anderson's (1972) analysis have been critiqued or refined over time, the core insights about the distinctive nature of Javanese power concepts continue to inform research on Indonesian political culture, providing a valuable lens for interpreting both historical and contemporary developments in Southeast Asia.
17. This includes complementing and extending the work of child-focused scholars such as Corsaro (2015), Haugen (2008), McDonald (2008), McNaughton, Hughes, and Smith (2007), and Smith (2008).