COMMONS PEOPLE
MANAGING MUSIC AND CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY YOGYAKARTA

Proefschrift

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GLOSSARY OF PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

A

Acong: a librarian at Kunci Cultural Studies Center; an artist, and collector.

Ace House Collective: a Jogja-based artist collective and community.

Aktuil: a popular youth magazine, which published news and information about art and music (1967-1984)

Anitha Silvia (Tinta): a cultural event organizer; a member of C2O, a Surabaya-based library and cultural space; a key activist and one of the most important figures to run the Indonesian Net Label Union.

Adya Mahardhika (Adya): a musician, founder of Jogja Berdikari net label, and activist of the Indonesian Net Label Union. He was also a member of a punk band, Jiwalangkaji.

Aquarius: a local music shop located on Jalan Malioboro. When I visited the shop again in 2016, more than half of the shop has been allocated to sell t-shirts and souvenir to cater for local tourists.

B

Bajakan: a term used to refer to a pirated CD or DVD.

Bemby Ananto: the Head of Remastering Section of Lokananta Records. Ananto played an important role as a mediator between Lokananta and musicians and cultural activists who attempted innovative ways for expressing concerns towards the record company.

Blok M Square: a shopping mall in the southern part of Jakarta. The basement of the mall has become an important shopping center for second-hand books, cassettes, records, and other collectible items in the city.

Burn Your Idol: Wok the Rock's project of collecting 1000 CD-Rs of music fans in Indonesia. The project's name alludes to 'burning,' a common

technique used to reproduce music material from a disk to another using digital reproduction technologies. It addresses copying as an important element in listening culture. The usage of CD-R in the project evokes a sense of technological nostalgia. Newer forms of storing technologies have been replaced CD-R.

C

Cassette Store Day: an international celebration to promote the revival of cassette.

C2O: a Surabaya-based library and cultural space.

Cemeti Art House: a pioneer of alternative spaces in visual art in Indonesia founded by Mella Jaarsma and Nindityo Adipurnomo. Since early 2017, its name has changed to Cemeti Institute for Art and Society.

Chinese brands: a term used to refer to the Chinese-made disc players. In Indonesia, they are also referred to as merek Cina, or merek Cino, which means the same—Chinese brands. These brands are famous due to their flexibilities and abilities to correct mistake of the pirated discs.

D

David Tarigan: an artist, producer, music and culture aficionado, and founder of Irama Nusantara.

Dito Yuwono (**Dito**): a visual artist and co-initiator of Lir Space, an alternative space for arts and culture. He was also a member of Ruang Mes 56.

E

Ear Alert Records: a music blog and online distribution platform founded by Hilman Fathoni (http://earalertrecords.blogspot.com/)

G

Glenn Fredly: a musician and advocate of the Save Lokananta movement.

F

Folk Afternoon: a live music acoustic gig initiated by Sandi Kalifadani and Mira. Since its inception, the organization of the event has been organized by Lir Space.

Frau: a solo act by singer-songwriter Leilani Hermiasih, and her keyboard known as Oscar.

H

Hai: an Indonesian weekly popular culture magazine for

teenagers. The magazine was first published in 1977. The content of the magazine was targeted toward the youth male market. The content of the magazine—music, film, television series reviews, and high school life—made Hai the most popular magazine for all teenagers. The last edition of the print magazine was in 2017. Hai is now only published through an online platform (http://hai.grid.id).

Hilman Fathoni (**Hilman**): an artist and initiator of Ear Alert Records net label, and an activist of the Indonesian Net Label Union. He currently works at the Creative Commons Indonesia.

I

Indonesia Jumawa: an early attempt at archiving Indonesian music initiated by David Tarigan in 1998.

Indonesian Net Label Union: the association of Indonesian net labels, founded in Yogyakarta in 2012 (http://indonesiannetlabelunion.net/)

Indonesian Net Audio Festival: an annual music and sharing festival organized by Indonesian Net Label Union.

Irama Nusantara: a website which stores the digital archives of early post-independence Indonesian music. David Tarigan, the initiator of this initiative, is based in Jakarta.

Irfan Darajat: a musician and lead singer of Jalan Pulang band. He is also a music researcher and a member of Laras—Music Studies in Society research group.

J

Jalan Kaliurang: a street in the northern part of Jogja where shops to rent CDs of music, films, games, and computer software are located.

Jalan Malioboro: the central shopping street of Jogja. It runs parallel to Jalan Mataram.

Jalan Mataram: a street in the southern part of Jogja that is famous for vendors selling pirated DVDs. Jalan Mataram was important in the context of local cultural consumption during the 2000s. Along with the development of technologies for copying cultural material, many people opted for acquiring such material from the Internet.

Jalan Mozes Gatotkaca: an area which is populated with rental shops and mobile phone-related businesses.

Jogja Berdikari: a music blog and online distribution platform founded by Adya Mahardhika in 2008 (http://jogjaberdikari.blogspot.com/)

Jogja Record Store Club: a Jogja-based association of music organizers and merchandise sellers.

K

Kaliurang Project: a site-specific art project initiated by Mira, prior organizing Walk the Folk.

Kedai Kebun Forum: a restaurant and art space led by artist-activist couple Agung Kurniawan and Yustina Neni.

Kunci Cultural Studies Center: I co-founded Kunci in Yogyakarta, in 1999. Kunci is a collective of researchers and artists which focuses on critical knowledge production through means of media publication, cross-disciplinary encounter, action research, artistic intervention, and vernacular education within and across community spaces.

Kios bajakan: a term used to refer to a small stall selling pirated goods—usually CDs and DVDs.

L

Lir Space: an alternative space for arts and culture run by an artist-couple Mira Asriningtyas and Dito Yuwono. It is comprised of an art gallery, shop, restaurant, and reading room.

Lokananta: Indonesia's first recording company founded in 1955. It is based in Solo.

M

Manshur Zikri: a member of Forum Lenteng, an alternative space to focus on film and visual culture.

Mindblasting: a net label and an audio library founded by Taufiq Aribowo in 2009.

Mira Asriningtyas (Mira): a writer, curator, and co-initiator of Lir Space, an alternative space for arts and culture.

Museum Musik Indonesia: a museum for Indonesian music located in Malang, East Java.

N

Net label: an Internet-based platform where musicians share music for free.

Nirmana Records: a record company to focus on the reissue of Indonesian music in the form of vinyl (Instagram: @nirmanarecs, Facebook: @ nirmanarecs)

P

Pasar-pasaran: Javanese traditional markets that regulated and operationalized based on the Javanese market cycle or pasaran—Legi, Pahing, Pon, Wage, and Kliwon. Among cassette collectors, they are the potential sites to find rare music items.

Pasar Senthir: a gathering of temporary stalls selling all kinds of secondhand goods in a large car park situated in between Pasar Beringharjo, the main market in central Jogja, and Fort Vredeburg Museum.

Pasar Klithikan Pakuncen: a shopping center for used stuff at the southern part of Jogja.

Pasar Santa: a traditional market in Jakarta. The third floor of the market is now populated with start-ups—small shops, workshops, and restaurants. It gradually becomes a center for art and cultural activities in the city.

Popeye: a local music shop located in Jalan Mataram.

Prihatmoko Moki: a visual artist, musician. In addition to his visual art project, in this research, Moki is affiliated with Punkasila and the music-based activities of Lir Space.

Punkasila: a collaborative music project between a Melbourne-based artist Danius Kesminas and Jogja-based artists—Uji Handoko, Iyok Prayoga, Krisna Widiathama, Prihatmoko Moki, Rudy Atjeh, Janu Satmoko, and Wimo Ambala Bayang. The development of Punkasila involves changes in the constellation of its members. The more recent members of the band include Antariksa, Iwank, and Terra Bajraghosa.

R

Realino Records: a record label which focuses on punk music founded by Wok the Rock. The most productive years of the label was from 1999 to 2004.

Record Store Day: an international celebration to promote the revival of vinyl records. The initiators of the celebration in Indonesia are different groups established by musicians, fans, and music event organizers.

Rental: it can be referred to a computer rental, or a shop to rent CDs of music, film, games, and software. In the early 2000s, many computer rentals were transitioned into warnet.

Ruang Mes 56: an artist initiative and alternative space for contemporary photography and visual culture (http://mes56.com/).

S

Sandi Kalifadani (Sandi): an artist and activist of Lir Space. He is the main coordinator of music-related activities at Lir Space.

#sahabatlokananta: a popular hashtag on local social media platforms to convey popular concerns and care towards Lokananta Records. The popularity of the hashtag took place as a follow-up of the popularity of #savelokananta.

#savelokananta: the most popular hashtag on local social media platforms to convey popular concerns and care towards Lokananta Records.

Shopping Center: the name given to a shopping center, which predominantly sells various old and new printed materials in central Jogja.

Siswa Muda: the name of a news agency in Jalan Malioboro. In the pre-Internet era of Jogja, it used to be the shop where Wok collected the International Herald Tribune.

Studio One: the name of a famous rental in Jalan Kaliurang.

S**tudio Wahana:** another famous rental in Jalan Kaliurang. It has a branch in Jalan Mozes Gatotkaca.

T

Taring Padi: an artist collective which advocates empowerment and social justice through art. It was founded in 1998 by a group of artists, activists, and students, mainly from the Yogyakarta Indonesian Institute of the Arts. Yoyok, the cassette collector, is a member of the collective.

Taufiq Aribowo (**Arie**)**:** an artist and founder of Mindblasting net label, and an activist of the Indonesian Net Label Union.

TVRI: Televisi Republik Indonesia, the main government television station.

U

Uji Handoko (**Hahan**)**:** a visual artist, musician, Ace House Collective initiator, and member of Punkasila band. One of his latest projects is the development of Nirmana Records.

W

Walk the Folk: a live music acoustic gig for limited audience organized by Lir Space. The organizers defined the event as 'a participatory secret music gig.'

Warnet: an abbreviation of Warung Internet, or an Internet shop. In the end of 1990s, warnet was the only possible place to access the Internet connection and information that would not be available in other platforms.

Wednes Mahendra: a Jogja-based musician, who involves in many music projects—Asangata, Kultivasi, Bangkai Angsa. He used to be a prolific music blogger and he used to run a net label called Pati Rasa Records.

Wok the Rock: FX Woto Wibowo, or better known as Wok the Rock, or simply Wok. He is the director of Ruang Mes 56, the initiator of Yes No Wave and Burn Your Idol projects. He is very highly regarded by his peers in the arts and music scenes in Indonesia.

Y

Yes No Shop: a merchandise shop managed by Yes No Wave.

Yes No Wave: a Yogyakarta-based net label and the first net label in Indonesia. It was founded in 2007.

YK Booking: a donation initiative run by Jogja indie music community. It aims to provide various music equipment and other supports for bands, which tour Jogja.

Yoyok: a visual artist and avid cassette collector.

NURAINI JULIASTUTI

INTRODUCTION

Music is always *for* something. This research is about musicians, visual artists, music collectors, fans, curators, and cultural activists, participating in the popular discourse of music through relevant music activities. It narrates the stories of these people, with some of their music-based plans and initiatives. It also tells of the elaboration of the spaces where their work takes place. The implementation of the plans and initiatives occurs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in an urban media infrastructure setting.

A diverse range of conversations about everyday music practices with the different people that I had during my fieldwork revolves around what they had done or were thinking about doing with their music. The conversations touched on different areas of music and culture: music opens up possible directions in advancing the people's questions and thoughts. In some occasions, the plans and initiatives emerged as visions, ideas, hopes, and aspirations. On other occasions, they appeared as doubts and anxieties. These sentiments, attached to the topics around distribution, income, archiving, musicians-fans relation, politics of performance, enriched the conversations that I had with the people during fieldwork. They formed a pattern of themes, and appeared in different conversations, with different people. Their stories would be remembered, because in our subsequent meetings, they would be mentioned again. Each encounter led me to the production of stories; it is the stories, which they had always thought about for a long period. This gives a sense that it is part of an ongoing matter that needs to be dealt with.

Small asserts that "to music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing) or dancing" (Small 1998: 9). I extend Small's idea and frame the scope of musicking as something that can go beyond the usual performances of music—beyond the songs and the music, the musicians, and the stages. I study the people who

are moving under, around, through, across, and towards music. They are doing music and constantly thinking about other things at the same time.

I consider Harney and Motten's reflection (2013) about 'politics surrounded.' The notion of 'surrounded' or 'being surrounded' provides insights into a sense of possession, changes, emergency, protection, and being settled (Harney & Motten 2013: 18). In this dissertation, I explore how the condition of 'surrounded' or 'being surrounded' engenders determination of performing a self-defense, or further reflection on what is left and what needs to be done.

I refer to the people in this research as musicians, visual artists, music collectors, fans, curators, and cultural activists. They developed their artistic practice in the local alternative milieu. I observe that there are two kinds of force, which attributed to, as Harney and Motten propose, 'being surrounded.' First, the condition of being surrounded is guided by aspirations for sustainability. Such aspirations come from within and drive the people to become musical-based activists and cultural enablers. Second, the condition of being surrounded is shaped by the localities where the people are situated. The dynamics of Jogja demand the presence of social ethics in the aesthetic practices of the artists.

Music is often perceived as the finished product of creative process. Many things seem to be determined and judged through what is visible—albums, musicians and performances. People in music, or music people, are often defined according to their designated function within the industry. The meaning of music is constantly reframed.

I choose points of musicking, which embody the dynamic relations of music. I study the development of an Internet-based record label union, event organizing, cassette collections, cassette repair, initiative to save a historical record company, and establishment of a record company. I pay attention to various dimensions of musicking that might otherwise be characterised for their non-musical dimensions. They sustain the efforts exerted to make *something* happen. I study about friendship, kindness, friction, and informal supports. I study old and new habits of doing music – which go beyond the act of 'making music'. I present them as innovative experiments in the field of music and popular culture. At the same time, I show why and how they fail and do not work.

In the following sections, I introduce my research focus further through outlining some contributions made to the study of music and culture. Second, I elaborate on key concepts to frame this research. I present 'commons' (a shared resource) as a framework to think about music. In the cases presented in this dissertation, music does not emerge as a determinant of a case study. Rather music is inserted as part of the questions, or plans, to be executed in a certain project. To define music as a commons might sound odd, and indeed, there is more than one way to define a commons. In thinking about music as a commons, the focus is not on music of a particular genre. Music, which also serves as a commons, emerges as a horizon of possibilities, or a means, to be managed and maintained for different purposes.

I introduce the people in this research, the figures of the scene, through an elaboration of indie and alternative concepts. I describe their family background, and try to think about the politics of class through problematizing the way they are narrated in this research. I use terms such as self-organizing, collectivism, alternative cultural infrastructure, and institutionalization of cultural production as useful concepts to define the alternative milieu. It is the milieu, which shapes the production of tools and ways of organizing a series of action on managing music, culture, and life.

I propose sustainability as a shared imagination of what doing music means. The articulation of such imagination informs the structure of the dissertation. The structure articulates the questions brought about by managing commons; they are the questions about a sense of security, sustainability, and documentation. It provides insights into what aspects that the people need to work on when they think about music.

The development of new technology and social media provides an environment where collaboration, networking, and sharing, constitute the elements to inform peer-to-peer relations. The city of Jogja (also known as Yogyakarta) serves as an ecosystem, surrounding the people and activities presented here with contexts. It fuels the people with the spirit to develop alternative infrastructure for art and culture.

Third, I define the meaning of Jogja as a research field and the knowledge produced in the field. The knowledge production is characterized by my position in the field. I situate myself in between Jogja—the city where I have lived for twenty years, Kunci Cultural Studies Center—the organization I

co-founded in 1999, and the people that I research. To connect it with the idea of commons, I consider the knowledge presented in this dissertation as a product of collaboration and shared resources. It complements my theoretical contribution to the study of music and culture.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF MUSIC AND CULTURE

Many scholars approach Indonesian music from the genres, or the 'fluid genres' (Wallach 2008). Baulch (2007) has produced an important body of work on reggae, punk, death metal, and alternative music. Weintraub's work (2010) is essential to the study of the genealogy of *dangdut* in Indonesia. Luvaas (2012) writes about indie music, lifestyle, and youth culture. Barendregt (2011, 2017) has produced a series of writings which focus on Islamic popular music and culture. Such research creates a specific body of work and representation of Indonesian music. Without these important studies, my work would not be possible.

Indonesian music is also region-based, diverse, and rich. It constitutes a mainstream representation of how the study of music is regarded, or expected. It engenders a wide range of authoritative studies to focus on ethnic music and traditional music instruments [see for example in Sutton's works (1982, 1997) on *gamelan*, Supanggah (2002) on *karawitan*, Barendregt (2002) on Minang popular music, Suryadi (2003, 2014) on recording industries and cassettes in Minangkabau]. Music is situated at the dynamic crossroads between traditional music, western music, and various cultural references.

A focus on a specific genre, combined with a historical exploration, opens up a new branch of research area on sound, genealogy of music formats, recording industries, and taste formation [see Barendregt and Bogaerts (2014) on Indonesian-Dutch musical heritage, Barendregt and Hudson (2016) on the crossover study of Islam, popular music and lifestyle in Southeast Asia, Barendregt, Keppy, and Nordholt (2017) on the muted histories of popular music in Southeast Asia]. The focus on a specific musical genre is often tied with a celebrity, or pop star, study in popular culture. Such approach provides valuable insights into the important role of public figure in contemporary media culture. In between the blurring lines of information and

hoax, the celebrities who carefully 'crafted their images' (Rojek 2001) and seek acclaim for audience (Ang 1991), people seek guidance daily.

Various case studies in my chapters make clear that a certain genre of music can bind different people to an activity. Indie music, for example, is a major thread used to characterize the music released by net labels in the Indonesian Net Label Union (see chapter two). Folk is the music to be performed during Walk the Folk (see chapter three). In chapter four, I examine a case of a cassette collector who collects any cassettes that he regards as 'intriguing', or 'interesting' for whatever reason. Only when he started to think about developing a family library based on the collection, he began to reorganize the collection according to what his family members liked—dangdut, pop, and children stories. Transition from music archiving to music recording, as presented in chapter five, however, is not limited to a specific genre.

In this dissertation, I propose that to move away from the study of a genre or pop star is a useful approach to capture the trajectory of the contemporary popular music environment. I argue that the study of Indonesian music is enriched by taking into account the condition of cultural production and the well-being of cultural producers. The performance of action with music and culture is always intertwined with the struggle for self-sustainability and personal survival. I suggest that consideration for these aspects direct music studies to observe the collective dimension of music. It shifts a perspective from seeing individuality as the ultimate form of artistic elaboration to the emergence of music as a source of collaboration. To view music as a collective project means to understand it as part of long-term cultural strategy. It provides links to media access, alternative distribution mechanism, social engagement practices, archiving, and cultural activism. It reveals the shared questions, vision, and plans that would remain unspoken otherwise. It leads to the production of vernacular keywords to define the character of doing music and culture in contemporary Yogyakarta.

MUSIC AS A COMMONS

There is no term for 'commons' (a 'shared resource') in Indonesian. 'Shared resource' is roughly translated as *kepemilikan bersama*, or *milik bersama*. On a formal level, the conceptualization of commons can be found in Article 33,

the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In describing the regulation of national economy and social welfare, the article does not use the phrase kepemilikan bersama, or milik bersama. Rather, it defines shared resources through describing their characters and how they should be regulated—"important for the country", "affect the life of the people." The article refers to land, waters, and natural resources, as parts of shared resources. The importance of these resources lies in the decision that they all "shall be under the power of the state" and "shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people."[1] In the context of Indonesia, conventions around shared resources relate to the existing customary law. This research, however, provides little room to discuss the various ways of dealing with commons in the field of law. The discussion, instead focuses on how the commons always revolves around inclusion, exclusion, access, ownership, and regulation.

Hess and Ostrom's viewpoint about 'knowledge as a resource' (2007: 8) informs my argument in thinking about music as a resource. The meaning of music as knowledge represents the general perception about music that I seek to capture in this research. To perceive music as knowledge first, then as a resource second, to follow Hess and Ostrom, can be indicated through the projection of the music discovery and accumulation practices; they are projected at developing a public good for the well-being of the future generations. To study music as a commons offers a new framework to understand the proposal of another set of value systems outside the usual commodity value. Hess and Ostrom's study emphasizes the position of knowledge as a commons, a collective shared resources. In perceiving knowledge as 'knowledge common' (or 'information common'), organization and governance play the crucial roles.

Various technological tools and online music streaming platforms—YouTube, iTunes, Spotify, Last FM, SoundCloud, and other sources which are used to download music, legally or illegally—shape the daily habits of the people who serve as the informants for this research. "Our days are filled with ubiquitous listening," to follow Kassabian (2013). Digital formats, along with technology

1 The full description of Article 33 is the following: (1) The economy shall be organized as a common endeavor based upon the principles of the family system; (2) Sectors of production which are important for the country and affect the life of the people shall be under the powers of the state; (3) The land, the waters and the natural resources within shall be under the power of the state and shall be used to the greatest benefit of the people; (4) The organization of the national economy shall be conducted on the basis of economic democracy upholding the principles of togetherness, efficiency with justice, continuity, environmental perspective, self-sufficiency, and keeping a balance in the progress and unity of the national economy; (5) Further provisions relating to the implementation of this article shall be regulated by law.

development, inform personal sound experience, which later are used to construct the areas of the daily lives (Bull 2007). It enables one to amass the material (songs, files) on an unprecedented scale, and thus it can be perceived as a resource.

After a series of discoveries and exploration, music material and other findings are kept in personal laptops and other digital storage devices as collections, or simply supplies, for future needs. It propels the development of new vocabularies to depict the newness level of music and other cultural material gathered in the collection process (reviews, music videos, essays, news). The collected materials are referred to as archives, *musik lawasan*, (music of the olden days—deriving from the Javanese word—*lawas*, which means old), or *harta terpendam* (hidden treasure). The ownership of these materials is not based on their position as new music releases. But it is more of the result of the excavation of sound from the past. They are collected for preservation purposes.

There have been many scholarly works, which have attempted to answer questions regarding what music can be and do in a social context. This is complemented with the discussion about the new materiality of cultural material. The substance of the act of music, according to DeNora (2004), and its potential to structure the social life, lies in its 'dynamic material.' Sterne emphasizes that music is a thing, and at the same time points to its position as a 'bundle of affordances' to make possible something (Sterne 2012: 193).

As much as I have used the word 'music' here, the discourse of music that I observed is always about music in its relation to other matters. It is always about what action can be done to create a music commons that is, to go back to Hess and Ostrom, more equal, efficient, and sustainable. Small's argument (1988) about 'musicking' centers on the idea that the essence of music is at the 'doing'. This is an aspect of his argument that I consider in thinking about the meaning of music in my research.

According to Federici (2010), the concepts of 'empire', 'multitude', and 'commonwealth' proposed by Hardt and Negri (2000, 2004, 2009) are important in order to examine the development of commons as mediated by technology. Federici argues that Hardt and Negri's theory sees the production of commons as a process, which operates within the organization of work and production. Federici, however, criticizes the theory for it seems to "skirt the

question of the reproduction of everyday life" (Federici 2010: 4). To follow Federici (2010: 6), it is important to emphasize the reproduction of everyday life because commons always involves struggle for creating "collective interest and mutual bonds". Attempts to create a collective through commons reveal more pressing questions regarding what kinds of transformation works need to be done to make it happen. Chapter two provokes a discussion about whether a change in the distribution mechanism is accompanied with rectifying the hierarchical nature of a network. How would the questions about competition and individuality negotiated in the commons? Chapter three brings forward a reflection on how to connect with the people and the surroundings.

The chapters in this dissertation show that the desire for managing a commons is propelled by a sense of responsibility, sensibility, and a capacity to imagine what needs to be done to fill in what is lacking. It states an intention to contribute to a wider community. The commons-making process paves the way for the formation of new communities. This is the type of community which is different from the formation of a traditional community defined by geographical boundaries, culture, and religion. In this research, the imagined communities established on the basis of fandom, shared principles, and like-minded perspectives about ways for doing music.

TOKOH SKENA: ON INDIE, ALTERNATIVE, HUMAN RESOURCES

The people in my research are often referred to as *tokoh skena*, the 'figures of the (indie) scene', by their peers, because of their prominent position in that scene. Based on my observation, *skena* is also used in a loose manner, referring to a certain place where a music project takes place. To some extent, the scope of the works explored here is located within an indie music environment. However, my research does not focus on the textual and aesthetic realm of indie music. The people that I am researching here are moving within and across various music scenes at the same time.

The focus of my research is on the indie principle as a means to practice alternative ways of cultural production against mainstream-conventional procedures. My research privileges alternative principles. But the alternity narrated here cannot be easily pinpointed as "invitation to disorderliness" towards the "New Order's regime obsession with order."[2] What I mean by

indie is situated in the readiness for taking alternative approaches to control the cycle of cultural production and to consciously frame the musical activities within the wider social context.

The people in this thesis cut across different profiles of creative individuals. Some of them are musicians, in the conventional sense, while others cannot be categorized into artists. But, the various people in this research share similar concerns *to common the music*. The significance of the 'figures of Indonesian modernity' studied in Barker (2009) is in their production of the keywords, which would help illuminate 'the questions at stake in Indonesia today' (Barker et al 2009: 38). The people in this research bring forward important questions in contemporary music and culture, and convey what their takes on them in real contributions.

In his book, Mrazek (2002) proposes the notion of 'technology' to refer to methods, or certain ways to handle the intertwinement of culture, identity, and nation, in the late-colonial Dutch East Indies. Mrazek refers to the people in his research as 'engineers.' As engineers, they work to materialize their plans and dreams. According to Mrazek, what makes the engineers different is that "there is a calculated sameness between the planning and the dreaming" (Mrazek 2002: xvii). Mrazek's idea of the engineer is instructive to understand how the people in this research deal with certain questions and manage them through a series of doings. The doings are parts of the plans and the dreams; and this research shows that they are not always in accord with the expectations. To own these dreams, and to be able to realize them in plans, bring a sense of confidence. Their dreams and plans are useful for their surrounding.

In the title of this dissertation, I refer to the people here as the 'commons people.' The definition comes from an intention to connect them with their music commons projects. But it is also apt to refer them as the 'common people,'[3] as their dreams might be the kind of dreams that shared with many.

In everyday conversations, however, the word *tokoh* or figure connotes certain fame to a referred person. I do not use *tokoh skena* as a strict category to refer to an established musician or artist. But the people that I am talking about here are engaging closely with music, and showing care through what they are doing. It seems appropriate to refer to them as

2 It is pointed out by Hill and Sen (2000) in their study of alternative music as quoted in Baulch (2002: 222).

'practitioners' or 'musical-based activists.' They are also music fans, but their fandom activities are not limited to a certain band and musician. Their participation extends music consumption. They function as human resources. Their works concerned with how to make a musical-based project and to put forward certain questions, vision, and plans.

During fieldwork, I met with art managers, band managers, civil servants, and lecturers. Their roles seem to be interchangeable; they can be swapped with the others' roles. It is not unusual to meet a person with more than one role: a lecturer at a university who is also a bassist in a local band; a visual artist and an initiator of a new record company; a visual artist and a cassette collector; a visual artist and a librarian in an NGO; a musician and a band manager or a student and net label owner and musician. They signify the contemporary cultural enablers to make up a cultural landscape. They created different initiatives and played different roles in managing their relations with music.

SELF-ORGANIZING: ALTERNATIVE CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURE, COLLECTIVISM, AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

I commence this research with thinking that the management of a music commons leads to the development of alternative cultural infrastructure. The chapters in this dissertation make clear that this is the kind of infrastructure emanates from certain vision and plans. In whatever forms they have emerged, it seems that they sprang from the inside. Various initiatives and facilities devised are the tangible forms of vision and plans. What is bubbling beneath them is an ongoing dynamic process where certain vision and plans are continuously tested and shaped.

Collectivism and the institutionalization of cultural production are strong elements which indicate the projects narrated in this research. This needs emphasis as it marks different points of view in seeing the expression of the creative works. The chapters in this research narrate the works, which take place in various independent institutions. I contextualize these institutions within the rise of alternative spaces in post-1998 Indonesia. Creating an alternative space, I argue, has been a habit developed by a new generation of

3 I indebted to The Secret Agents duo, Indra Ameng and Keke Tumbuan, for the use of the term 'common people.' The Common People is The Secret Agents' project. The project intends to capture the latest trend in selfie culture and traveling. In the project, the duo presents their self-portrait image, taken in various places. They imitate the common practice of many people. In doing so, they state that, "I want to live like common people."

cultural activists in Indonesia as a model platform for fulfilling their visionary ideas. The ownership of new visions is an important element in the existence of the spaces. This section highlights the organization of alternative spaces as a method for managing music commons.

An involvement in alternative space, serves as an avenue for building a new network. It produces experiences, practices, and reputation, which taken together, function as a readily available modality and produces for the nearby future 'traces of past collaboration' (Simone 2004: 408) on which a new collaboration depends.

In the reform period that followed the fall of Soeharto in 1998, Reformasi gave rise to the emergence of what is categorized as 'alternative space'. Reformasi, ushered in a time when ideas spun quickly, and in which a number of new mass media (published in various genres--from female, male, unisex, urban, to religious-based topics), alternative media and local civil initiatives developed. An alternative space refers to new cultural spaces—artists-run space, gallery, performance space, or discussion place—for thoughts that would be homeless otherwise in the cultural spaces formed and designed by the established cultural authorities. This increased activity reflected the intensity of local cultural production in Indonesia and was partly encouraged by the urgency to express a long-suppressed counter-culture movement. It indicates areas, which had been experienced various tensions and conflicts during New Order era: freedom of expression and initiatives, production of ideas, and space.

In the Indonesian context, 'alternative space' was initially a category limited to its use within the visual art domain. Little is known about how the concept 'alternative space' had originally circulated, and how it evolved, and used in Indonesia. References about alternative spaces started to flourish in mid-2000s. Academics and researchers started to document this new trend (see for example in Crosby 2008, Darmawan 2006, Hafiz 2007, Juliastuti 2007, Jurriëns 2017, Rath 2003). Many informal publications also started to document the rise of alternative spaces: through exhibition notes at independent galleries, or in self-published artist monographs and post-event catalogue (Klinik Seni Taxu 2004, Widhi 2015). These references are important because they provide a deeper understanding of what the curators are doing with the spaces.

During the Soeharto-led New Order era, the term 'alternative' referred to ideas which signaled an opposition to the authorities or an attempt to provide

avenues for progressive thoughts. Throughout this period, the concept 'alternative' was largely used to underline various forms of journalism that were in opposition to the political news making of mainstream journalism, strictly confined within the tight yet vague rules and regulation of the regime.[4]

Along with an associated fast growing movement, however, the category of alternative space is hard to define. It is formed by a set of loose definitions. An alternative space is composed by a group of individuals, with different backgrounds and trajectories, who develop their own attitudes to test their thoughts on arts and culture. Their works range from art production and research—all conducted with clear interdisciplinary intention, provision of art and culture that supports wider infrastructure,[5] as to facilitate dialogues with policy makers to organizing activities that can be classified as community empowerment.

In the field of art and culture, alternative spaces have been playing key roles. The strategies used to manage their shared goals and aspirations are diverse—club, collective organisations, company, center, or even laboratory. But they embody self-organizing and working together as important principles to inform the cultural production environment. However diverse the character and work fields of people and organizations involved, it indicates that they are a part of a broad movement and share similar values.

Jakarta, Bandung, and Yogyakarta are arguably the most important cultural centers in Indonesia. In the first decade of the 2000s, these cities constitute the main locations of alternative spaces. Although as the word 'alternative' suggests, these three cities are no longer considered the main locations for alternative spaces. During research, I observed that such spaces find fertile ground in other cities and have influentially changed the landscapes of their cultural environment. The chapters in this thesis narrate the continuity of alternative spaces as a model of working together in art and cultural scene.

Post-1998 Indonesian society is marked by the emergence of alternative

4 Various student newspapers and magazines and activists-journalists magazine "Suara Independen" are cases in point. Along a similar line, Allen's exploration of the dynamics of artists' magazines in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States (2011) indicates the identification of artists' magazines as an alternative space. According to Allen, "Like other artist-run, independent, and nonprofit exhibition spaces and collectives, magazines challenged the institutions and economies of the mainstream art world by supporting new experimental forms of art outside the commercial gallery system, promoting artists' moral and legal rights, and redressing the inequities of gender, race, and class" (Allen 2011: 7).

5 See Merdikaningtyas's report (2005) on the growing intention to develop independent alternative cultural infrastructure through the development of a network of alternative libraries in early 2000s in Yogyakarta.

spaces and initiatives. The lifespan of an alternative space depends on its social and political context. The structure of the alternative spaces resembles that of the state-made cultural institutions. While providing spaces for critical and progressive thoughts, they function to perform cultural responses to the regular lack of cultural infrastructure in their environment.

Lefebvre (1991) proposes a theory of social space production, which anchors in the foundation of three principles—spatial practice, the representation of space, and spaces of representation. In the context of this research, Lefebvre's theory is useful to understand the implementation of vision and plans in providing the definition of what the space means. To follow Lefebvre, vision and plans can emerge in the forms of everyday activities. The everyday activities connect vision and plans to how a space is lived and activated in practice.

My research, however, also shows that there is the feeling of lacking something, which informs vision and plans owned by the initiators of the alternative spaces. This is translated into different useful practices. The usefulness becomes an aspect that is sought for and lends a pliable character to inhabit by an alternative space. An alternative space might start from an idea, which is developed into other ideas and something else. It runs from one dream to another and consequently transforms into different kinds of spaces. This is one of the shared characters of the people I met during fieldwork. An alternative space has the capacity for producing other spaces.

Alternative space, or other forms of collective spaces, might function and give the impression of an ordinary public institution. One alternative space might differ greatly from another due to various reasons in terms of everyday organization. The semblance to the operationalization of the spaces, which includes the network and collaboration practices, is that they are all coached in informal ways and practices.

In many cases, an alternative space grows out of something that initially may not clearly be defined as a 'space', but simply an individual, or a group of people, with the intention to employ it for different social purposes. In his study of alternative space in Indonesia and China, vanhoe (2016) refers to alternative spaces as 'also space.' The meaning of the space is flexible, depending on the needs of the context where it is situated. The concept of

'alternative space', as pointed out in Isabella (2015), might be over-used and reproduced too much. In practice, as Isabella argues, there might be not much done to "actually be alternative" (Isabella 2015: 259).

Instead of perceiving it as something romantic, I argue that the term 'alternative space' captures the spirit of cultural practices and the disobedient character that needs to be nurtured in post-Reformasi Indonesia. Alternative is a word that can be used to host the pliability which is entailed in the production of culture. Alternatives can serve as a horizon where rooms for exploring possibilities to work and think together are open.

While I value the tenacity of the alternative spaces, and I recognize their roles in democratizing public cultural landscape, I want to push the efforts at defining an alternative space by further asking to what extent they complement and complete the existing art infrastructure and practices. In his curatorial writing to the *Fixer: Exhibition of Alternative Spaces and Art Groups in Indonesia* organized by Ruang Rupa, Darmawan (2010) points to the function of alternative spaces as 'fixer.' The alternative spaces developed to, in Darmawan's words, "fix the severance in the chain of the production cycle of art ideas, but also to bring the ideas into the larger context of the public" (Darmawan 2010: 15).

Darmawan (in Juliastuti 2012: 121) elaborates more on the meaning of fixer performed by the alternative spaces as 'contextual responses.' Such responses serve as an applicable infrastructure to cater to the local needs. The emphasis on such responses is on the performances of experiments. Budianta (2003) depicts the climate of the post-1998 environment as an emergency situation and the cultural activities to take place in the period as part of 'an emergency activism'. Their activities are conducted to fill in holes in the environment. My chapters narrate collectives' responses to different social questions of the post-Reformasi period.

SUSTAINABILITY: WOMEN AND SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Contemporary music practices pose new questions about shared concerns for ongoing sustainability. They form part of the imagination of what doing music means. The focus on sustainability becomes a shared value throughout the various projects which I have examined.

INTRODUCTION

Gibson-Graham (2013: 21-22) proposes the idea of well-being, which encapsulates the interaction between five elements: “material well-being, occupational well-being, social well-being, community well-being, and physical well-being.” My definition of sustainability relates to ideas, activities, and the imagination. My definition is concerned not only with the existence of music, but also with those who make music, and the spaces where music activities are situated. The idea of sustainability articulates various key moments where resources, infrastructure, and access, are reutilized, revalued, recreated, and rethought.

Music is not only something to buy, keep, and listen to: music is also something that moves along with the reflection about access, distribution platforms, the ethics of distribution and earning income through creative expression, and a sense of shared history. This is the thinking that becomes an ethic of working for sustainability.

In the previous section, I discussed about the development of alternative cultural infrastructure as a contextual response and a site to nurture self-organizing capacities. It connects to the discussion about sustainability. The chapters in this dissertation show that various forms of alternative cultural infrastructure function to sustain certain ideas behind a cultural project. Technological things are often seen as a form of infrastructure. They function to preserve important musical archives. In this section, I connect the notion of sustainability with people, who function as a kind of infrastructure. In the conclusion of chapter one, I refer to Larkin’s proposal (2013) to see the relational aspect that lies between technological things, in order to see the infrastructural aspect which emerge from it. People provide help and support for cultural access.

I have discussed about how the people in this research perceived themselves as ‘human resources’; their relations with music is defined by certain questions, vision, and plans that they have. Simoné (2004) proposes the idea of ‘people as infrastructure’ to extend the idea of infrastructure and people’s activities. Simoné’s ‘people as infrastructure’ defines adeptness at generating ‘maximal outcomes’ from the tentative and precarious proceses of remaking the city and urban environment, which in turn shapes how one lives, makes things, and collaborates with other people (Simoné 2004: 407-411). As the chapters in this dissertation make clear, various cultural projects examined depend on different models of ‘people as infrastructure.’ They emerged as a group of individuals, couple, union, or mechanism to work together—*koneksi*

(connection), *gotong royong* (mutual aid) and jaringan (network). During fieldwork, I also observed that the people often referred to another group of individuals, or an artist collective, as 'support system'. My findings also show that the adeptness at generating maximal outcomes is also a useful repertoire to recognize the usefulness of informal infrastructure bordering on piracy.

Women are visible in this research in ways that engender further questions about the meaning of support and providing support. How would caring works of women be understood in a cultural production? In this regard, I consider Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen's view (2000) about 'housework' in the context of cultural production. Mies and Bennholdt-Thomsen assert that in order to promote a just perspective of the contemporary social movement, one needs to renew a perspective of women in the cultural production. They propose a subsistence, or 'life production' perspective, as opposed to 'commodity production.' In the context of this research, I return to the general perception of music as the finished product of creative process. To talk about support in the context of contemporary art often means to talk about a certain kind of organizing and caring works that are often gendered, or discoursed in certain ways. The kind of care that is performed is related to their multiple positionalities as women, wives, and mothers.

In chapter two, I write about Tinta, who despite her unfailing support and work for the Indonesian Net Label Union, still felt that she was not being appreciated. She was sure that everyone involved in the union organization would do as much as her for the union. But, the last part of the chapter reveals her feelings about her colleagues at the union, who seemed to let her do a bit too much by herself without any support for the organization of the Indonesian Net Audio Festival in Bandung. Perhaps in a moment that is defined by Ukules (1969) in the *Manifesto for Maintenance Art as an epiphany*, Tinta realized that not everyone is equally willing to share free labour. This led to a discussion about how to deal with work division in the union, particularly in a context when everyone in the union is regarded as equal. How could the new arrangements regarding work co-ordination be reached without resorting to more control?

At the same time, Tinta often referred to herself as the 'mother of the union.' Such tag might derive from a simple fact that she is the only woman among the core members of the union. It is also an appropriate tag given how much she has done for the union. It is also appropriate as while Tinta works, she brings her caring qualities to the union. Her care transforms into many forms

of support and serves as part of the foundation on which the organization of the union stands. The union relies on the support of a woman.

In chapter four, I describe Yoyok's activities as a cassette collector. While explaining what he did with the collection, he told the stories of other collectors, who discontinued their collecting practices due to the disapproval of their wives. Collecting is perceived to be an activity with little economic value and it takes up much space in a house. A collection needs to be protected, which means further allocation of more money. There is a narrative about a concern of how collecting troubles the household budget, and 'women who is constantly thinking about the organization of a household'. Collecting is imagined as a domain, which continuously needs to be justified against the interrogations of a woman.

My reflection on being a woman in this case shows how the shaping process of the internal part of a plan occurs. But this is the process that is often not made visible. When revealed, it sheds light on other points that can be used to understand about how to keep it going. It questions the purpose of doing something and it provides insights into the ethics of working towards a set of goals. In what follows, I want to deepen the discussion about sustainability through making a connection with time and economy of survival.

ON TIME, BEING PERSISTENCE, AND ECONOMY OF SURVIVAL

The question of time makes its way into the organization of cultural activities through different paths. It provides insights into the condition, which enables cultural production. Such questions often relate to questions about the resource of the initiators. But, the discussion about money, useful materials, and other assets, is often confined to the organization of cultural activities. It is regarded as separate from the precarious living of the activists.

A number of scholars who have written on the informality of alternative spaces have connected it with the discussion of time. For example, in Luvaas (2012), Crosby (2013), Dahl (2016) equally emphasize the productivity of hanging-out, or *nongkrong* as a common mode of working together. I observe, however, that their research does not connect the discussion of time with the time management of the cultural activists to earn a living on a daily basis. The seemingly idle *nongkrong* engenders the impression that the

practitioners of nongkrong have the privilege of 'having time' to *nongkrong*. The chapters in this dissertation show that the discussion about the condition of cultural production always entails discussions about the well-being of cultural producers.

The cultural spaces described in this research are characterized by the relative autonomous nature of their financial capacities. They are established on the personal financial resources which support the running of the organizations. Private funds are complimented by foreign aid organizations. During the early 2000s, the availability of funding from foreign aid organizations was vital to inform the 'knowledge performativity of the alternative spaces' (Juliastuti 2010). At the same time it provides insights into the lack of funding in the field of art and culture from the state.

The discourse of funding provides an occasion for discussions about the sustainability of the cultural activities, independent financing for these activities, and the life improvement of the cultural activists. Funding needs to be discussed not only in relation to its significant position to enable certain cultural activities, but also to provide sustenance for the cultural enabler status.

The performance of action on music and culture is always intertwined with the struggle for self-sustainability and personal survival. Another set of questions, in other forms, comes from the closest circles of people with whom the people that I researched live with—the parents, family members, partners, and friends. Questions that I often heard from their conversations revolved around the usefulness of their work: will being a net label owner and producing music earn you a lot of money? Why is it important for you to collect all these old cassettes? Don't you want to be just a regular worker or *pegawai* in an office and receive a monthly salary?

The organization of the independent cultural projects needs to be balanced against the everyday needs of the family, ongoing friendship, and personal limitation. In a condition where many things seem to be determined and judged through what is visible—the number of albums produced by a musician, the productivity of a record company, the comprehensiveness of a record collection—the efforts exerted to make *something* happen does not always show.

The discussion about it is often regarded as mundane. Most of the time such

discussions are hidden away by the necessity of compromising the everyday. The everyday struggles for maintaining these cultural projects and dealing with pragmatic matters at once is a part of cultural production. During fieldwork, the people that I talked with mentioned about the idea of setting up merchandise business and creating a café to support the running of a gallery, how to fit the budget of purchasing cassettes for collection within the daily household budget, how to create an independent record company, and run a small grocery shop to make an additional income. There is a sense of shared understanding that in order for one to engage in a cultural project, it is important to fulfill the basic needs.

SURROUNDEDNESS: JOGJA ISTIMEWA

I imagine the city of Jogja (also known as Yogyakarta) as an ecosystem which provides networks, spaces to thrive in (as well as in which to fail), and spaces to learn together about methods, skills, and practices. Taken together, it is an environment which functions as an apparatus which molds the people who are a part of this research. To imagine the city of Jogja as an ecosystem is to see different living organisms which live together in a network, and each of them functions to provide resources for the others, and those who have wished to access them. Jogja is a city that serves as a mechanism which forms the people who have chosen to live and work in it. Likewise, it is a city which is being constantly reworked by its inhabitants.

The streets of Yogyakarta are dominated by an abundance of motorcycles. They appear in various designs and colors, alongside *dokar* (horse and carts), *becak* (trishaws), private cars, taxis and rusty buses that emit thick exhaust. Motorcycles intensify the crowdedness of the streetscape as well as increase the noise and pollution of the city. The streets are busy: not only with many kinds of vehicles, but also many kinds of advertisements, banners, signs, slogans, informal kiosks, and roaming traders. Motorcyclists use the footpath when the traffic is jammed; with a lack of car parks, car users park on the side of already-narrow roads and thus take up vital space for traffic. The city's walls are also always busy: intensely decorated and vandalized with many kinds of street art and graffiti. When I started the fieldwork period, many new malls and hotels were being built throughout the city.

In the chapters throughout, I use both 'Yogyakarta' and 'Jogja' to refer to the

same city. The name 'Yogyakarta' represents how the city is addressed in the news and formal conversation, the latter represents how the city is addressed in informal conversation. I prefer referring the city as 'Jogja', as that is the familiar name of the city to me and many of the artists studied here.

During my fieldwork, I had to use different modes of transportation. The change in how I traveled the city, from a motorcycle to a *becak* or a taxi, has re-oriented my views towards the urban landscape. As the speed of my travel depended on how fast I could go with my motorcycle, or on the ways the *becak* driver or the taxi driver drove, I began to look at the cityscape with a different look. While sitting on either the *becak* seat or the car one, I saw how the graffiti on the city walls was replaced by a new layer of graffiti and changed the daily appearance of the walls. The dynamics of the city, as appears on its walls, emerged to be a readily available source of conversation for the locals, domestic tourists, and wanderers. On several occasions, such dynamics found their way into communications with the becak or taxi drivers who brought me to various parts of Jogja.

On one day, I could easily travel from my office at Kunci, to KKF—for an interview or lunch, and then go to an exhibition at Ace House Collective later in the afternoon. Jalan D.I. Panjaitan, Jalan Tirtodipuran, Jalan Suryodiningratan, Jalan Ngadinegaran, Jalan Mangkuyudan, Jalan Parangtritis, Plengkung Gading, and Alun-alun Kidul—were the names of the streets that made up an important part of the daily lives of the people that I talked to during fieldwork. They were the streets in which Kunci's office, the organization where I work, as well as the rented house where I stayed during fieldwork, were located. The aforementioned spaces are all within a kilometer from each other.

The artists and the other people that I met for much of this research would often go to the same places for coffee, lunch, dinner, and shopping. It is through doing this research I felt that I got to know the city better. Sometimes, I met my informants in a discussion event organized by Kunci or another organization. Just as the bustling streets we regularly passed, participations in all events listed on the art and cultural agenda of the city, as well as the conversations, brought in excitement and exhaustion at once.

Holt's book (1968) depicted Jogja as a vibrant city through the dynamic activities of arts related and cultural organizations. Jogja maintains its reputation as the measuring stick for Indonesian contemporary art. The city is

home to many important artists, galleries, and studios. It is also home to prestigious education institutions namely Gadjah Mada University and Yogyakarta Indonesian Institute of the Arts. Hence the city is labeled as *kota pelajar*, or, student city.

Many students and artists, having completed their education, choose to live and work in this city. The city is also home to many who have ambitions of being writers, poets, curators or art managers.

The dynamics of public art activities that has been initiated by local artists since the early 2000s is mixed with different forms of public creativity and political expression. Different forms of traditional art and other art activities related to Javanese cultural production still hold a strong currency in increasing the inflow of domestic and foreign tourists to Jogja. It is among the intense, rapidly changing and highly contested urban life, intersected with tourism, that art is created, consumed, performed, and participated in.

The Yogyakarta Keraton (Sultan's Palace) which is located in the city's centre at the end of Jalan Malioboro—the city's main street and tourist market—welcomes flocks of tourists and new students to the city. The city is open to tourists and visitors who explore the different histories and trajectory of the city. These factors make up Yogyakarta's Javanese *keistimewaan*-ness (its difference, its uniqueness).

The streets' walls indicate a contestation between the wills of politicians and business and subcultures to claim and reclaim elements of public space. Sometimes their interests overlap, but more often, they're in conflict. There is always something new to see on the city's walls: the proliferation of street and graffiti makes it difficult to consume in a single journey. Moreover, they give a vital indicator of changing attitudes: they are small fragments that suggest changes in ideologies and values.

For example, on the corner of Jalan Brigjend Katamso and Jalan Kolonal Sugiono: graffiti sprayed in support of the Kopassus or the Army's Special Forces' attack on Cebongan Penitentiary, Sleman, Yogyakarta which left four detainees dead on 25 March, 2013. The detainees were suspected of killing former commando First Sgt. Heru Santoso who was stabbed to death in Hugo's Café on Jalan Solo in eastern Yogyakarta. The graffiti was soon replaced with some more graffiti that was promoting the annual Yogyakarta Arts Festival (Festival Kesenian Yogyakarta). This graffiti was in turn replaced

with a poster celebrating the coming of Ramadhan. Violence was a part of the streets and the walls and embodied in graffiti and other creative signatures.

The word *istimewa* has been used in both formal and informal conversations as a metaphor for referring to the special quality of the city. It derives from the official name of the province where the city is located, *Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*, Special Region of Yogyakarta. The special status of the region was given by the state due to the existence of Keraton Yogyakarta as the ruling monarchy and the important role of the palace supporting the country's independence during the national revolution.

Such *keistimewaan*-ness has become a weapon against the orang *Jogja asli*, the Jogja people born and bred, as opposed to orang *pendatang*, the migrants. The last phase of my fieldwork as well as the writing phase, however, saw how it has developed into a controversial situation. Jogja is increasingly portrayed as a city that is growing to be intolerant and losing its aura of openness – a quality which attracted so many artists and students in the past. As I write this chapter, there have been many cases where intolerance has become a problematic. These include a Catholic district head in Bantul who was protested against by a group of people, the banning of books with communist and socialist themes by the Islamic Defenders Front, a series of threats and intimidation directed towards the Papuan students who lived in student dormitory. The city is no longer simply *Jogja Istimewa*, but has also become *Jogja Istimewa (Intoleransinya)*, the special intolerant Jogja.

The ratification of the Indonesian Constitution of the Special Status of Yogyakarta in 2012 was a controversial political move.[6] Leading up to the ratification of the constitution, the draft was circulated widely and broadly polarized Yogyakartans into two camps—*pro-penetapan* and *anti-penetapan*, pro-ratification and anti-ratification of the constitution (see Lay 2008, Laksono et.al. 2011, Huda 2013). Although this research doesn't discuss the constitution, the controversy surrounding it, provides insights into the ways of re-imagining the city performed by the people who live in it, including those with whom I talk to for this research.

As a result of the constitution ratification, the Sultan of Yogyakarta is regarded as having too much power. The implementation of the policy of the 'Sultan Grounds' (Tanah Sultan) is an instance of how the constitution opens up business opportunities that would only benefit the already privileged Sultan family. The discussion takes place within the context of the city that gradually

grows as an uncomfortable city; it contradicts the slogan of the city—Jogja Berhati Nyaman. *Nyaman* literally means comfortable. However, I prefer to translate Jogja Berhati *Nyaman* as 'Jogja with a contented heart'. The slogan was replaced with 'Jogja Never Ending Asia' in 2001. And it was replaced again with 'Jogja Istimewa' in 2015. At the same time as the city is developing into an uncontrollable city, 'Jogja Berhati Nyaman' has resurfaced.

The reappearance of Jogja Berhati Nyaman comes with a critique—that the city has stopped being relaxed and comfortable. Traffic jams are everywhere (it is just like in Jakarta or Bandung on weekends and holiday seasons) and the city is unable to cope with its tourists. The proliferation of hotels causes traffic jams and environmental damage. The streets become so crowded (there are too many advertisements on the streets and the new buildings obscure the view of Mt Merapi). New initiatives and city activist groups have emerged to focus on the changes in the agrarian condition. They call for 'Jogja Darurat Agraria', the Agrarian Emergency Jogja, and 'Jogja Ora Didol', a Javanese statement that means 'Jogja is not for sale'.

Cities are in constant change. In the case of Jogja, 'change' means that the city is increasingly for sale. The politics of the city are increasingly heated and polarized. To live in the city means, as the collective 'Jogja Darurat Agraria' aptly puts, "to defend and struggle over threats and confiscation of the living space in the Yogyakarta Special Region, which seems to make the living condition in Yogyakarta uncomfortable." More many residents, the city is becoming unbearable. One only needs to glance at the city walls to see this: stickers and silk-screen posters to protest against the changes of the city are pasted on the walls adjacent to different signs produced by right-wing religious groups. Such proximity depicts the growing friction and tension. To inhabit it, and this is what the Jogja Darurat Agraria has been trying to function, is to express solidarity with certain marginalized views.

The people in the chapters, as it would be clear later, need to think, and are asked to rethink about the ethical dimensions of their work—the impact, relevance, and significance amidst the changing city landscape of Jogja. The needs of city becomes more urgent and demands the measurement of the importance of the works. "The times call for ethical action" (Gibson-Graham,

6 The Constitutional Court ratified the constitution on August 31, 2012. Its implementation underlines the political meaning of the special status of the city. To follow the constitution, the status is established through granting the formal consent to the Sultan Hamengku Buwono and Adipati Paku Alam as the ex-officio governor and vice-governor of Yogyakarta. It is regarded as a point that jeopardizes the democratization process, and has impacted on the organization of the city. The chapters make clear that this informs the way artists organize and reorient their works.

Cameron, Healy 2013: xviii). The times call for reflective practices. It demands for creating works and projects, which address current social issues. To be an artist, or to decide on engaging with art and cultural practices, requires a development of regular tendency to question and reposition the creative works among an ecosystem.

POLITICS OF REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE AND CLASS

Family background and the rise of creative class

In order to provide insight into how class relates to the people in this research, I look at their family background. I use it as a departure point to see how imagination about welfare is circulated as a family value. The family backgrounds of the people in this research are diverse. The occupations of their parents, however, can be categorized into two broad groups—civil servants and private sector jobs. Based on our conversations, during college years, their parents performed in an advisory role to transform the ideas about stability in everyday life into a set of recommendation for courses to take and careers to choose.

To be a *pegawai negeri*, or civil servant, conforms with popular narratives about access to a sense of security and individual well-being. It does not only reinforce the state domination in exercising political control of economic resources and access. It also instills attitudes of how to manoeuvre in securing personal stability amid the dynamic political and ideological condition. Parts of the popular narrative about being a civil servant is that being one means to have a long-term fixed income, be included in state support system, and access a pension (see Reeve 1985, Jones and Manning 1992: 363-410). Parents of the people in this research who worked as civil servants mainly occupied low administrative positions in different government offices.

As it will be made clear below, the parents who worked in private sector managed small-scale businesses, or worked in a small-scale business venture. Robison's class categorization (1996) within the rise of the new rich in Indonesia is useful to define their character. Based on the scale of business and earnings, it can be estimated that they fall into the category of middle class. Such estimation emerges from particular situations where their businesses are prone to social and political changes. During New Order era,

they were not part of collusion and nepotism chain, which enabled them to obtain credit access for their businesses (Robison 1996: 84-93). Some people told me about the closure of their fathers' business, affected by the *krismon*, an abbreviation of *krisis moneter*, or monetary crisis in 1997 (see Turner 2003 for more insights into Indonesia's small entrepreneurs during monetary crisis). This can be regarded as narrative where middle class-ness status slipped into lower class, with greater financial precarity. Precariousness is a familiar thing. However, precarity might not be something to discuss among family members. But it becomes part of personal experiences and living strategies to relate—scarce monthly allowance, regular empty fridge, or parents who always change jobs (from a herbal drink seller to a grab driver, a peasant farmer to a masseur, a human right activist to a UN consultant on casual employment).

Wok the Rock's father owned a news agency in Madiun and his mother ran a food stall at their home. Anitha Silvia (Tinta)'s father worked as a teacher in Jakarta and he also had a side job as a security officer at a mall in South Jakarta. Like Wok's mother, Tinta's mother used to run a small food stall at her home. Mira Asriningtyas' parents were both teachers in Yogyakarta. The parents of Taufiq Aribowo (also known as Arie Mindblasting) worked at a municipality hospital in Lamongan (the father the head of administration, the mother a nurse). The father of Hayyi Al Qayumi (Acong) worked as a peasant farmer in Jember and his mother had passed away when he was young. Hahan's father still works as a small-scale entrepreneur. The areas of his business are wide, depending on what seems to be more lucrative at a certain time (from making gold pendants, selling tires for cars, to providing charcoals made from coconut shells). Hahan's mother works as a notary in a local law firm in Magelang. The parents of Adi Kusuma, or Uma, worked as staffs at the army hospital in Magelang.

Many of my informants' parents are retired from work. The people that I researched have become used to earning a living in independent and creative ways. In this dissertation, they are narrated and known as visual artists, musicians, curators, producers, music shop owners, writers, researchers, librarians, and cultural activists. They might have the occupations that the parents would not have hoped for them to have. This is the case when the courses in universities do not relate with the actual jobs possessed. To follow his parents' recommendation, however, Arie Mindblasting pursued a master degree in public health in Jogja. Rather than simply being a place to study, Jogja has turned into a site where he nurtured knowledge and networks in

noise music and free distribution platforms. Wok, on the other hand, is a graduate of a visual communication design department. But rather than working in an advertising agency, a common path to follow after graduation from the department, he works as a music producer and cultural activist. Mira is a graduate of a communication department who has become a curator. Tinta is a graduate of a public administration department who has become an artist.

The people in this research are sometimes referred to as *anak metal* (metal kids), *anak punk* (punk kids), *anak noise* (noise kids), *anak folk* (folk kids), depending on the music they are involved with. Some of them are *anak lapak*; their involvement in music is through organizing music events and merchandise pop-up shop, or a lapak, during a gig or festival. More generally, they are also known as *anak indie* (indie kids). They have carved their own ideas of how they should be defined. Their appearance also serves as an avenue, and a site to work on, to suggest a different outlook compared to other existing categories. They recognize various categories to embody certain ideas of youth, lifestyle, and class. At the same time, they develop their own perspectives about themselves.

To illustrate this, I use '*alay*' and 'hipster' as cases in point. '*Alay*' is possibly an abbreviation from *anak layangan*, or someone who likes flying kites. Thajib (2011) notes that *alay* is a popular phenomenon and stereotype formed in the media and everyday discourse. According to Thajib, the connotation of *alay* attached to being tacky, too trendy, cheap, and ridiculous. Based on my observation, *alay* is often used as a derogatory remark among the people in this research. It forms a style that these people do not belong. As a popular term, hipster refers to the category of consumption that is considered more superior than alay. However, this does not mean that the people in this research would accept to be defined as such. My assumption is that the people in this research tend to define themselves in vahue terms, but maintain the idea that in whatever style they perform, it has to be convincing, original, and conceptual.

To work in art and culture is an option, which leads to the possibility to express a different artistic life than the parents' generations. This includes an adoption of a new lifestyle. McRobbie's research (2016) on the formation of creative economies provides a useful approach to frame their activism. A wide range of creative works that McRobbie researched covers visual art, website marketing, performance, fashion, writing, film-making, and music. According to McRobbie, the rise of the creative economies is accompanied with the 'workplace politics'

and 'creativity *dispositif*' (McRobbie 2016: 27). To follow McRobbie, to be part of the creative class is to be willing to get involved in a precarious economy. This indicates that these people are not afraid of failing. In the case of this research, these creative practices are situated in between doing art and trying to make a living. The areas of their creative practices are not part of the big economy machines.

I observe different performances of personal expenditure in everyday life. Buying a house, car, other properties, and having a significant amount of savings, are important. However, these are things that have become increasingly difficult to obtain. On the other hand, there are aspects of the everyday, which require costly payments. Parts of the income are allocated to buy music related goods and merchandise (CDs, vinyl, cassettes, t-shirt), tickets for music gigs by favorite musicians, travel to neighbouring countries to attend important music festivals, and buy enough food for pet dogs or cats. This might give the impression that they are part of the middle class. The ability to travel abroad, buy vinyl records, and own a dog might give the impression of *tampang kaya*, or to appear rich. This is even when other aspects of their life indicate their precarity. The chapters in this dissertation show the modest settings and practices of my informants.

University life and participation culture

The people that I talked to during research are not *orang Jogja asli* (the original Yogyakartans). They have come to Jogja for study, or work; Jogja is their new home after being brought up somewhere else. Their educational background is varied.

I can divide my informants into two groups based on when they were born. The first group is the people who were born in early 1970s. Wok the Rock, Arie Mindblasting, and Yoyok, belong to this group. I am one of a few members of Kunci who was born during the 1970s. We are part of Generation 98 who has the privilege of experiencing Reformasi 1998, at first hand. Our involvement in arts and culture is formed by many cultural channels which opened to follow Reformasi 1998.

In the previous section, I have written a section about the rise of alternative space, which paved the way for a new generation of cultural activists. It also served as an important medium to train the capacity for organizing independent cultural spaces. As a political moment, Reformasi provided the

source of new vision for many young artists, writers and intellectuals. But instead of transforming into collective vision, it is constantly being refracted. Some 20 years into the process of 'reformasi', we are still dealing with the remnants and legacy of the Soeharto era.

The second group in this research is the people who were born in between mid-1980s to early 1990s. Tinta, Hilman, Mira, Acong, Hahan and Uma belong to the second group. The moment of Reformasi is already become a myth, if not entirely forgotten. When Reformasi took place, they were still in primary or high school. For us older members of Kunci and our associates, Reformasi is a kind of privilege because of the momentous political and social change which happened during this era. Reformasi 1998 is a matter to learn and relearn, mediated by mass media documentation and other archives available. In certain cases, it was part of their memory of how they listened to the conversation about Reformasi 1998 between their parents and much older siblings or relatives at home.

The people in the second group are known as the emerging artists and cultural activists. Their involvement in field of art and culture started with taking part in extra- curricular activities within the university environment. It is often combined with an active involvement in various alternative spaces and other independent cultural spaces paved and formed by the others from previous political generations.

Going to exhibition openings and music gigs, making zines, making music and artworks, creating personal blogs, are parts of developing politics of aesthetics, networks, and camaraderie. Residency, volunteerism, internship, assistantship, become common methods for learning about how to organize an art event. Such is the common paths that the people in this research took before initiating their own projects, or setting up independent art spaces. During the New Order era (1968-98), to set up an independent space was part of reclaiming a more open and democratized cultural space against authoritative cultural sphere. My research findings show that in post-Reformasi era, to engage in various cultural projects is part of being an educated youth. It also means to navigate around the many opportunities for doing art enabled by the multiplied art infrastructure.

The activities and involvement in different alternative spaces provides an additional tool to identify one's capacity. In everyday conversation, it is not uncommon to hear a person referred to not just by their name, but also the

name of the organization that he or she is associated with. For example: Wok [of] Mes 56 , Arie [of] Mindblasting, Lani [aka] Frau and Laras, Menus [of] Jogja Noise, Tinta [of] C2O, Yoyok [of] Taring Padi, Hilman [of] Earblogspot, Mira [of] Lir Space, Dito [of] Lir Space. Chapter three narrates a story based around Walk the Folk, a music gig, organized by Lir Space. The description of the people who participated in the event reveals their involvement in various cultural spaces—Unieph [of] KKF (Kedai Kebun Forum), Titah [of] Warning Magz (an independent magazines), Anom [of] We Need More Stage (a photography collective which focuses on music performance). They might know each other, but this does not necessarily lead to collaboration. The chapters in this dissertation show that the projects examined take the form of collaboration. They reveal the process that each project has to go through in order to manifest questions, visions, and plans, into a particular activity.

At this point, it is useful to compare the difference climate of the university inhabited by Generation 98 and post-Generation 98. Based on my experience, it was not being a student that was the most crucial to our development. But being in a university, or living on campus, provided many moments of, following Harney and Moten (2013), 'fugitive enlightenment.' We nurtured our capacities for talking back. The post-Generation 98 moved back and forth between campuses to various independent cultural spaces. To talk back is to acquire a skill for managing a commons. My findings show that the available spaces to nurture the capacities for talking back have been multiplied. These are the spaces to practice collaboration and to learn how to live together.

METHODOLOGY

Position in the field: Jogja, Kunci, and commons

Jogja is not only the site of research, it is also my second home. As a city in which I have previously lived for twenty years, and whose prominence as a nurturing ground for the development of my future ideas somewhat surpasses my hometown of Surabaya, Jogja was indeed a familiar city. I moved to Jogja to continue my education at Gadjah Mada University in 1994. My anthropological fieldwork spanned two different periods—from October 2012 to April 2013, and July 2014 to January 2015. During my fieldwork, I did a series of conversations, walks, visits and trips. I did a lot of hanging out, and taking notes. Every day was a repeat of each of these activities, while following new directions at the same time.

Though the site of this research is Jogja, I found myself constantly travelling to other cities in Java - Bandung, Jakarta, Surabaya, Malang, and Solo - in order to follow and capture the dynamics of the works and activities of people being researched here. The chapters in this thesis narrate different projects in which a range of people work together, or plan for new activities.

The definition of the field in an anthropological research is subject to changes and constant reflection. The globalizing deterritorialized, and mobile social environment challenge the definition of the field (see Gupta and Ferguson 1997). As such, the spaces of my research are multiplied. Throughout my research, I moved from various online spaces—artists' personal websites, record labels' websites, art and cultural organizations' websites, to offline spaces—houses, studios, offices, bedroom-cum-studio, markets, cafes, and galleries. The people in this research use traveling as a mode of working and aspirations; they travelled locally—inter-city, inter-province, and internationally.

The meaning of Jogja as a field goes beyond the multiplicity of research spaces generated during fieldwork. In my case, Jogja became a field not by chance, or as something that stumbled on me. In assuming the role of a PhD researcher, I was never regarded as an outsider in the city: Jogja is my home after all. I was playing the guest while in the field, or I swapped the role of being the host with being the guest all the time.

Many of the people that appear in the coming chapters have been friends and colleagues for years (long before I started doing this PhD project). This research has also allowed me to consolidate friendships and collaborations, meet new people and create a different network. The wealth of network and knowledge generated from an active involvement with Kunci Cultural Studies Center enabled me to develop a solid ground for doing a research about music commons.

My interest in commons is shaped from the inside as well as the outside of Kunci. Two of many Kunci's projects particularly, *Media and Technology Convergence in Indonesia: Cultural Perspective on Handphone Culture and Creative Digital Production* and *Made in Commons*, have shaped my concept about 'music as a commons', collective action, vernacular knowledge, and self-organizing. The fieldwork process produced moments to amplify the questions that I already have through the organization of Kunci's projects. It provides valuable insights, which I could use to enhance my work at Kunci.

Outside Kunci, I have also been benefited from the discussions about commons in particular, which take place in various art organizations in Indonesia and beyond.[7]

Knowledge production in the field

To follow Geertz (1973: 7), doing ethnography means constructing a reading of "a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures", combined with an ongoing personal effort to gain confidence in doing so. It informs the meaning of ethnography as "a thick description" (Geertz 1973: 9-10). Fieldwork is a site for knowledge production. Jogja has often been a research field for many local and foreign researchers from different disciplines. My project has focused on a site that has been constantly dissected for various research purposes. But different elements of the local cultural ecosystem have been played an important role in various stages of my personal formative years. I always feel that I am in Jogja's debt. Impulses for exploring a range of interests occurred inside and outside the designated duration of fieldwork. I try to convey this symbiosis relation in an honest and straightforward manner. These are the aspects that I attempt to describe "thickly" in this research.

Doing fieldwork points to many stages where social observation and critical reflection can be transformed into shared-understanding and shared-knowledge. Observation, writing, and organizing public gatherings, have been part of my usual interaction. They have formed the practices from which I earned my stripes among the artists and cultural activist tribe in the city. I pay attention to what I have learned, and unlearned, during research. It engenders "a microscopic character" to the description (Geertz 1973: 21). This thickens the description and the knowledge produced in this research.

What does it mean to do a fieldwork in a place called home? Doing fieldwork in Jogja alerted me to elements of my own subjective position within the city and community of artist-practitioners. The more time I spent doing fieldwork,

7 Kunci Cultural Studies Center is part of Arts Collaboratory—a network comprised of twenty-five independent art and cultural organizations in Asia, Europe, Latin America, and Middle East. Within Arts Collaboratory (http://www.artscollaboratory.org/), the relation among network members, former funders and their grantees, are reimagined and reconstructed. Through collective meetings and savings, the organization of Arts Collaboratory revolves around the sustainable translocal ecosystem. During my stay in the Netherlands, I participated in some discussions, and visited site-specific exhibitions related to the issue of commons, organized by Utrecht-based Casco Art Institute: Working for the Commons.

the more questions I had about both my privileged educated position and long-term ignorance. I kept thinking about how to build a more reciprocal relationship with the people I talked with during my research. How could the relationship between researcher and researched be more equitable? I came to the field with an intention to gain a lot of knowledge. But instead it also made me wary of the possibility for influencing something, or taking too much for myself.

There were also moments when I felt that I was positioned as an individual with a kind of authoritative position—a resource person from Kunci and a PhD student at a university in The Netherlands. But, these were also the moments where I had to deal with the questions of the others and my own questions (and confusion) at the same time. This is how the process of the interpretation of facts and truths has taken place.

In what follows, I describe various opportunities where I showed my appreciation for access to physical and non-physical resources that were made available to me during research in return. It explains what it means to do a research on a subject, which intersects at many points with what I have already been doing as a cultural activist in Jogja.

Throughout fieldwork, I collected research materials ranging from interviews, notes, videos, photographs, and electronic files of music, films, books, artist monographs, zines, magazines, cassettes, CDs, records, and maps. Most of the photos and videos were taken with my mobile phone. Sometimes I uploaded glimpses of spaces and research materials on social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter or Facebook. They were useful to advance communication. I gathered hints from comments or images posted by the people in this research. And sometimes I silently observed the conversations which were taking place in their social media accounts. But not everyone in this research has social media accounts. There are different ways of navigating around contemporary media culture. For research purposes, I bought some of the cultural products which would become my research materials. To purchase something from an artist was often to be an action to open up and renew conversation. On other occasions, I was fortunate to have been given some materials for free. This happened, despite my insistence on paying. Other people let me borrow certain materials to scan or copy.

In my case, to define the experience of doing fieldwork is to partly explain the experience of collaboration with the people I met for this research. Two of Kunci's publications became the main source of the discussions to be held in both festivals organized by the Indonesian Netlabel Union, which I describe in chapter two. These two books are Lawrence Lessig's *Free Culture: How Big Media Uses Technology and the Law to Lock Down Culture and Control Creativity* and Marcus Boon's *In Praise of Copying*. They are published as part of the Media and Technology Convergence Project. Their Indonesian titles are *Budaya Bebas: Bagaimana Media Besar Memakai Teknologi dan Hukum untuk Membatasi dan Mengontrol Kreativitas* and *Memuliakan Penyalinan* respectively. A net label owner used the publication of *Budaya Bebas* book as a case study about copyright and the phenomenon of Creative Commons to complete his undergraduate study in law.

Throughout my research, I received numerous invitations to write in a zine or contribute a chapter to an edited book. The invitations indicate that I am regarded as part of the people being researched. A PhD researcher is a role which served as a medium for social exchange. I wrote about "The Trajectory of MP3 in the Context of Indonesian Net Labels" in the zine published by the Indonesian Netlabel Union in conjunction with the international MP3 Day in 2015. In the same year, I took part in Kunci's exhibition, *Made in Commons: Indonesian Iteration*, in Jogja National Museum, in 2015. In collaboration with Gatari Surya Kusuma, a Kunci member, we created Klub USB, an offline platform where people can meet, bring their electronic files of everything, and build a public collection from them. I also wrote about cassette collecting in an essay titled 'On Dust and Caring" in the zine published by Jogja Record Store Club in conjunction with the international Record Store Day in 2016. These were mostly co-operation with people and institutions I already was familiar with through my works for Kunci.

Narayan (2012: ix) describes writing as a process "when words gather together with energy, other places, other people, and other voices stir in a parallel life." To apply this in an ethnographic research, writing appears as a process where our thoughts encountered the thoughts of the others. These thoughts walk in parallel, creating a feedback loop to shape the writing. During fieldwork, I met many local scholars and writers who shared similar interest in music, digital culture, sharing culture, and popular culture. Sometimes it leads to an intellectual collaboration. In other times, it leads to an informal conversation around music and other matters. In both occasions, I

had to respond to the question about what I was doing in Jogja. I asked the same questions about their researches. To follow Narayan (2012), writing is a transformative process: it has the power to evoke, connect, narrate, and reframe (Narayan 2012: 93-107). The topic of my research becomes the source of connection. It allows me to develop new networks with local scholars. In addition, it also allows me to be part of the rise of emerging music scholars.

My contribution to Laras—Studies of Music and Society is an example. Laras is a collective of musicians and writers to focus on popular music. Their first publication was an edited volume called *Ensemble: The Mosaic of Music in Society* (Hermiasih ed., 2016). Part of chapter one of this thesis was published in Laras' edited volume titled "*Biografi Akses: Burn Your Idol dan Narasi tentang Keterbatasan serta Jalan untuk Memecahkannya*" (Biography of Access: *Burn Your Idol* and Narration around limitation and ways to overcome it). The topic of my article was considered new, or perceived as part of the emerging area to work on music. It was placed in a section called "*Ansambel Komunitas*" (Community Ensemble), along with other three articles to talk about merchandise shop (see Bagoes Anggoro Moekti), net label (see Taufiq Aribowo), and friendship, friction, and hospitality in indie music tour (see Gisela Swaragita). Taufiq Aribowo, or Arie Mindblasting, and Gisela Swaragita, are musicians, and parts of the key informants for my research about net label in chapter two. Their involvement in Laras indicates that Laras is a new music researchers' collective, which depend on the support from local musicians. It also indicates that making good music is as important as learning to write an academic text about music.

Throughout my research, I felt that I was doing fieldwork together with the people that appear in the pages of my thesis. As Tsing puts it, "the point of ethnography is to learn how to think about a situation together with one's informant" (Tsing 2015: ix). Doing ethnography entails the performances of learning and unlearning process. It has opened up possibilities to meet and collaborate with the people from multiple planes of positioning and discursive strategies.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: ACCESS, SHARING, PARTICIPATION, AND ARCHIVING

The research questions revolve around access, sharing and support, participation culture, and archiving. They are the areas which reflection, imagining, doing things together, thinking about precariousness and stability, inform the ways one feels connected with music. The music commons is about performing connectedness with music, and doing something which grows from these relations. The formulation of research questions shapes the design of the dissertation.

Access is an area where questions about availability and limitations posed and characterize media consumption. How the needs for music information and knowledge are fulfilled and characterized by the changing everyday urban infrastructure? Media memory is an important factor which shapes the sensitivity and appreciation towards the provision of music and art knowledge. How does such memory translate into a range of media tactics for accessing music? To draw on copying and piracy consumption as an important method for accessing music, I discuss about illegality as a useful method for knowledge sharing. How would copying be emphasized as a collective experience in music collection? Further, how would it be explained as an important contributing factor to the development of shared resources?

To obtain music for free has become a part of the norm of daily music consumption. To provide music without charge is a familiar act among musicians. Sharing can be part of the strategy for widening the scope of audience. Sharing is also an area where questions about the sustainability in art can be asked. How artists become sustainable through sharing their works for free? How sharing is imagined, reframed, and used to materialize support? To share music indicates a growing sense of taking a more active role in how information and knowledge should be governed. How would sharing and illicit-sharing advantages be explained in accumulating cultural materials? What kinds of support system to precondition the construction of alternative infrastructure in sharing? What aspects that can be shared, and what other aspects that cannot be shared? Can sharing be transformed into a reliable support and caring network?

The emergence of commons is always accompanied with the discussion about the meaning of taking part. The interest in discussing the matter of

participation, establishing a political position, morality stance, and conveying thoughts on the issue seemed to grow during research. What does the interest in the participatory art signify? What does it mean to be interested in participatory art when the meaning of participation in local context has been continuously redefined? Would participation also imply a capability to walk, and to take action? How would the changes in defining the production of work in art equip an artist with sensibilities towards one's context?

Archiving informs the sentiments regarding the fear of losing the grasp of something. An archiving or documentation initiative is not only justified in a condition where we have already lost a lot. Archiving can be a form of initiative, which opens up an opportunity for conveying certain musical vision to other people. It embodies intuition and urges concerns what needs to be done to develop an ongoing act to save certain cultural materials. It activates the capacities for organizing, which materialized into the development of new cultural infrastructure. How can the sense of lost in the practice of collecting be captured? How would the idea of precariousness provide insights into the nature of collecting and the significance of emptiness? What kind of criteria is set to decide on whether something is considered important or unimportant? How does the valuation work in collecting practices? How can a narrative about the intertwinement between recording, lost sound, and archiving music be drawn?

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Chapter one discusses the materialistic orientation of cultural access. It is a precondition for the emerging ideal of commons. To engage in contemporary music and popular culture is to practice different modes of consumption—buying, pirating, borrowing, renting, copying, and downloading. It is coupled with an exploration of everyday urban media infrastructure from which music and other cultural material accessed. It is part of a process of how cultural material is a regarded as a resource. To regard cultural material as a resource is to pose questions against its availability and limitation. As the Internet provides a useful site of knowledge exploration, it requires knowledge of how to navigate the

territories (shared or unshared) and the authorities which guard them. To regard cultural material as shared resources is to question their meaning as intellectual properties.

Chapter one also allocates a discussion about Burn Your Idol. Burn Your Idol is a music fans-based art project where ownership and access are reoriented and reimagined. The project produced a special disc collection based on participants' favorite music. The project evokes illegal copying as an important method for accessing music. But in this project, the idea of copying is tweaked as a useful method for sharing. Burn Your Idol developed a series of public presentation where the audience was invited to enjoy a selection of music from the discs. The participants' music favorite became something that shared with the others. Art becomes a field through which the making of sharing platform for music is imagined. Chapter one narrates the translation of media memory into media tactics, which can be transformed as a tool to generate new shared music resources.

Chapter two is about Indonesian Net Label Union. Net label is an Internet-based distribution platform for musicians to share their music for free. The development of the Indonesian Net Label Union represents a self-organizing act to indicate an attempt to work together and reclaim distribution space. The decision to share music for free generates public resources. Distribution is also a space to consolidate ideas around sustainability for future works and precariousness of an artist. The union constitutes an avenue for making commons and doing commons. In this case, to commons is to employ sharing as a uniting concept and envisioned to be a collective project to achieve a collective sustainability.

The union activists thought about the best mechanism for a wider access of their music, without taking cues from the mainstream of music industry. At the same time, they were also the music practitioners who were willing to experiment with new ways of seeking financial compensation for their works. In chapter two, I interrogate the embodiment (and the disembodiment) of sharing as well as the meaning of its sustainability. In doing so, I examine the interlinking of sharing with piracy, materialization of support from the fans' loyalties, and friendship, which forms the alternative infrastructure of the net label organization.

Chapter three focuses on Walk the Folk—a participatory music gig. Lir

Space, an alternative space for visual art and culture organized the gig. The running of Lir Space indicates a space-making act, a crucial element of the cultural movement post-1998, which is extended to the organization of Walk the Folk. Walk the Folk took place in improvised open stages amidst the beautiful scenery Kaliurang area, the popular tourist destination in Jogja. The environmental dimension of the gig extends to an intention to develop a more meaningful relation with social environment. Using stage, audience, participant, and mode of interaction between musician and audience axes, Walk the Folk engenders the opportunities to reimagine the meaning of participation and contribution. Walk the Folk contributes to the nurture of moments to produce the participation climate within art production. The development of commons requires participation habit.

In an attempt to understand the meaning of participation in Walk the Folk, I trace historical references, which point to social engagement practices, coupled with the desires for capturing the environment better. I use the case of the leftist Institute of People's Culture (or Lekra, an abbreviation of Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat) and the urgency to produce seni kerakyatan, or art for the people, as the aesthetics and political standard for evaluating art in the 1950s and the 1960s. I also situate Walk the Folk in the context of *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (KKN), which roughly translates as 'practical university studies'. KKN is a student community service, and an established mechanism designed to deliver a concrete contribution. In the context of contemporary Jogja where artists are asked to rethink the ethical dimensions of their works, it is worth revisiting practices of Lekra and KKN.

The last two chapters—chapter 4 and 5—focus on archiving. But archiving, or a sense of documenting music material, is also touched on the other chapters. Chapter one discusses file collection as part of obtaining knowledge. Chapter two discusses some net labels which makes sense of their practice as a strategy for documenting the works of particular musicians. Archiving, and remembering, emerged as a thread to tie these chapters.

Chapter four explores collecting practices among music fans. It uses an exploration of archiving conditions as a starting point to examine what counts as valuable in developing a collection. Archiving becomes a means to generate social values from collecting. Using a story of personal cassette collections as a case study, I examine various moments in the collecting

process where senses and skills for valuation are exercised. I use it to draw a narrative of the meaning on what is important and the usefulness of collecting.

Chapter five explores a communal sense of loss and decline, which transforms into an awareness to collect music archives. Memory creates the ground on which the criteria of archives set and a sense of shared history built. The first part of chapter five talks about Nirmana Records, which uses re-issues as a strategy for preserving music material. The second part of the chapter captures efforts to save the historical music archives contained in Lokananta Records. They narrate initiatives to develop music as a form of public archives. Using the vinyl production of Nirmana Records and the current state of Lokananta Records as study cases, I interrogate the challenge to maintain commitment to care.

In the concluding chapter, I go back to sustainability as a lens to interrogate the implementation of vision and plans in managing the music commons. I make sense of the ongoing development of the commons-making process. I reflect on a shared value throughout the various projects which I have examined, and try to define what managing a music commons means.

CHAPTER 1

INFRASTRUCTURE OF ACCESS

The search for new music materials is partly an investment in nurturing a genuine fondness for music and partly a constant desire for refining and broadening one's taste. For Woto Wibowo, better known as Wok the Rock, especially when he was still a new undergraduate student in Jogja between 1994 and 1998, it was part of his Sunday itinerary. Wok the Rock is a musician and a visual artist. He is also a friend, I have known for the last twenty years. This chapter derives from Wok's efforts to obtain music. I examine the types of public facilities, services, and diverse networks of people and media infrastructure that Wok uses to obtain music. In doing so, I make references to some of his works to discuss these issues.

I divide this chapter into three parts. They work together to shed light on the navigation process of the ethics of access to cultural material.

Part one examines different types of markets, shops, and rental places. It also examines the position of the Internet as a strategic platform for gathering the cultural material. They are sites to practice different modes of owning certain things—buying, pirating, borrowing, renting, copying, and downloading. The section follows the progressive technology development as experienced and consumed by Wok. There are numerous cross-overs with my own personal media consumption and experiences of inhabiting the city. This section offers a kaleidoscopic perspective on how the needs for music information and knowledge are fulfilled and characterized by the changing everyday urban infrastructure.

Various kinds of media infrastructure, described in part one, function to fulfill the needs for certain cultural material. Part two compiles stories, which center around Wok's memory of Hai Magazine, TVRI, and what his hometown offered to fulfill his desire for music. The making of Wok as a fan, and later a musician, was informed by the limitations he experienced to access what he wanted to read, listen, and watch during his youth. The limitations were translated into a range of media tactics. In this part, I foreground media memory as an important factor in shaping the sensitivity and appreciation towards different ways of music and art knowledge provision. Part two provides personal insights into the operationalization of the cultural material gathering strategy narrated in part one. In Wok's case, the strategy is not only

useful for fulfilling personal needs; it also paves the way for the development of his artworks.

Part three is about Burn Your Idol, a music-based art project that Wok first developed in 2008. Burn Your Idol was organized in collaboration with a group of invited participants. A special disc collection based on the participants' favorite music created from it. The project drew on the significance of copying and piracy consumption in Wok's personal experience. While evoking illegal copying as an important method for accessing music, it emphasizes copying as a collective experience in music collection. Through the project, Wok tweaks illegality as a useful method for knowledge sharing. The disc collection was exhibited and circulated within visual art galleries in Indonesia and elsewhere. The project circulated from one gallery to another and served as a kind of mobile public library. Art, in this case, was a field through which Wok imagined the making of a sharing platform for music. The development of the project reflects the dynamics of access to cultural material.

PART ONE
Media infrastructure and everyday urban experience
PIRACY SHOPS

In 1994, Wok started as a student at the Visual Communication Design Department of Gadjah Mada University. His Sunday ritual as a new student in the city started with buying some cassettes in local stores like Aquarius and Popeye—then browsing around the Siswa Muda bookshop. Siswa Muda still exists at the same address. But they are no longer selling the *International Herald Tribune anymore*—the newspaper which had drawn Wok to the newsagency in the first place.

Aquarius and Siswa Muda are located on Jalan Malioboro, the city's main shopping street. Popeye is located on Jalan Mataram, the city's main shopping street for pirated goods. Popeye sells original music and film discs. Also popular at Popeye, are the cassette recordings of birdsong. These cassettes are popular with bird keepers– a common hobby amongst Javanese men. In amongst the bird sound cassettes were *keroncong, ketoprak*, and *dagelan Mataram* cassettes. These were genres that are a far cry from the taste of the youth of today. Wok often walked out of Aquarius and Popeye

empty handed; he was satisfied enough to spend some time there window shopping.

In front of Popeye, kiosks selling pirated discs form an orderly line. They are referred to as *kios bajakan* in Indonesian; *kios* means kiosk, and *bajakan* means pirated. The piracy kiosks started to populate the street since the early 2000s. A table on the street, a set of plastic chairs, a CD or DVD player, form a makeshift shop where pirated discs available. These were the kiosks where Wok could spend time as much as he liked. Most likely he would walk out of one of the kiosks with a bag full with CDs or DVDs.

Everything was sold at cheaper price in these piracy kiosks. This was the reason of why people bought many CDs or DVDs in one visit to a kiosk. Even when some discs turned out to be damaged, it was still considered a risk worth taking. The discs contained everything that was available in regular television stations and magazines, or would not be able to purchased so cheaply or easily in their original formats. Piracy is a practice, which does not only create possibilities of obtaining global cultural products. It ensures the availability of alternative cultural products—the kind of cultural products that might not always follow general trends.

These kiosks were a haven for Hollywood and Chinese movies, arthouse films, which were screened or premiered in international film festivals, various kinds of sitcoms, all kinds of documentaries—stories of important artists, music concerts.

To access the films through the Internet was out of reach for many as not everyone had the knowledge required to find and download online files. The kiosks were popular because they served as a shortcut to cultural material access; it was an easy and cheap kind of shortcut.

Larkin's study of media and infrastructure in Nigeria (2008: 240) defines piracy as a 'prerequisite' for the resources availability. It forms a pre-emptive action where the need for knowledge is anticipated. Piracy means access to things that would not have been available otherwise and it is part of an attempt at developing and making a judgement about the future. To consume piracy is to learn about the unexpected probability of getting rare cultural material on discs. Some other cities might have piracy shops with much better disc collections than in Jogja. Wok visited Jakarta quite often for work

projects and other art-related activities since he was a student; on each visit to Jakarta, he would allocate time for DVD shopping at Ambassador Mal or Ratu Plaza where piracy kiosks were plenty.

The art of buying bajakan

Wok, and other regular buyers of the pirated discs would not know the people (and the network) who pirated the discs. In fact, an explanation about the pirates' identities was regarded unnecessary. To buy pirated stuff is a means to access something. The material to contain in the DVDs is more important than knowledge of the pirates' identities.

Potential buyers of pirated discs and the kiosks owners on Jalan Mataram also cared about the material quality of the discs. In his research, Larkin (2008: 218-19) discusses the distorted aesthetics of pirated discs. According to Larkin, the condition on which pirated goods were reproduced as well as the distribution mechanism caused distinct piracy aesthetics. Noises, blurred images, and distorted sound were listed as common types of such aesthetics.

But Wok did not want to buy such distorted discs. According to Wok, a good disc should be evaluated through at least three qualities—packaging, picture, and sound. He might be able to get a DVD with decent quality of packaging, picture, and sound. But it was likely that he would get the disc with incorrect English or Indonesian subtitles. In order to satisfy his curiosity of the disc content, Wok was prepared to compromise on the disc quality production.

In the early 2000s, the period when Wok bought pirated discs the most often, customers of piracy shops were familiar with the existence of 'Hong Kong DVD' or 'Malaysian DVD.' These DVDs were more expensive than others. They were sold at 25,000Rp to 35,000Rp, whereas the others sold at 6,000Rp to 10,000Rp. For comparison, the price of a decent meal consisting of rice, a vegetable dish, and fried egg on top was around 4,000Rp to 5,000Rp.[8] As such, a good quality pirated disc counted as a luxury item for a student.

8 At of the time of writing, one Euro is equal to 17,000Rp. In the early 2000s, the exchange rate for one Euro was around 20,000Rp.

Expensive discs, however, were worth the cost due to their better quality of packaging, picture, and sound. A seller would prepare a DVD player, accompanied with a television so that a customer could test the quality of the DVD. They also provided a set of plastic chairs so that the customers could sit comfortably while choosing which discs to buy.

Sundaram (2010: 112) coins a term 'postcolonial piracy' to describe piracy that "worked more through dense local network of bazaar exchange and face-to-face contact, rather than individual online downloads." Sundaram's reflection of piracy works well for the Indonesian context where unstable Internet connections made it slow and difficult for Wok to download music files and films that he liked. The existence of piracy kiosks helped to mitigate the access process.

Criminalization

Piracy is deemed illegal and criminalized (Yar 2005: 677-696). To follow Yar (2008: 607), piracy criminalization drives anti-piracy campaigns, and are based on the construction of 'moral pedagogy' that operates as part of the production of value, in relation with protections for intellectual property and capital accumulation. In accordance with this view, the Indonesian state conducted a style of piracy moralization. This process include the burning of pirated discs.

The Indonesian Reproduction Foundation (Yayasan Reproduksi Cipta Indonesia or YRCI) was founded in Jakarta in 2009. It has become a local organization working to fight against copyright infringement and it has built a strong connection with international organizations on copyright such as World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), International Federation of Reproduction Rights Organizations (IFRRO) and The Copyright Licensing and Administration Society of Singapore (CLASS). Since 2010, the YRCI has organized seminars and talks in various universities and arts and cultural organizations in Indonesian cities. They have brought guest speakers from legitimate international supra-structure organizations on copyright, aiming at promoting in their words, the importance of copyright.

The police force has been the executor of the formal copyright policy in the public space. They have raided the piracy shops on the streets. In most cases, the police organized the burning ceremony to show the strict

enforcement of copyright infringement. It seemed to be difficult to identify the time for the police raid. The operations of the raids depended on occasional anti-piracy campaigns, whose timing only they were privvy to. Nevertheless, piracy kiosks on Jalan Mataram were resilient against such operations and they continued to serve as unofficial knowledge institutions for Wok.

As with most of the main streets in the city, both sides of Jalan Malioboro and Jalan Mataram are lined with hotels, malls and the offices of state authorities. In front of Siswa Muda is the building of the Yogyakarta House of representatives; the building can be reached by ten minutes' walk from Jalan Mataram.

Piracy is a lucrative business. Those who lived in the kampongs behind Jalan Mataram, such as Gemblakan, Ratmakan, and Ledok Tukangan, tried to profit from piracy activities. Some of them opened food stalls, which also served as pirated disk kiosks on the street. The other people built shelves with pirated discs to sell inside the existing grocery stores. It had a phone booth inside the store too. The original and the fake products shared the same location.

When I started the fieldwork in 2012, Jalan Mataram was no longer the main route to access alternative cultural materials. The importance of the street had dissipated. Wok's frequency of visits to the piracy shops decreased significantly and he rarely visited the kiosks. Instead, he had started to download music and films through the Internet around this time. The development of communications technologies enabled Wok to access the Internet with much stronger bandwidth capacity than he had previously used. In addition, the powerful Internet connection was part of his personal technology ownership. He could work and download whatever he needed to at the same time from his personal computer at home. Otherwise, he could just purchase an original disc, since he now had enough money to do so. But once in a while, Wok would stop by the piracy kiosks on Jalan Mataram, in case there was an interesting CD or DVD on sale.

One day during my fieldwork, I walked along Jalan Mataram and the street was unusually quiet. There were no open piracy kiosks in sight. I asked a becak driver who was waiting in front of Popeye about what was happening. It was rumored that there would be a police raid. In anticipation of the raid, the kiosks owners had decided to close their stalls.

Nonetheless, it had also become common knowledge that the impact of the police was short term. Not long after the raid, the shops usually would be open for business again. The becak driver stated the same thing. He said, "Just come back again here two days later, or next week. I am sure the shops will be open again by then." A week later, however, these kiosks were still closed.

When I walked down Jalan Mataram, slower than usual, I could see wooden racks, benches and plastic chairs stacked up and stored in the front yards of houses and offices located behind the kiosks. It seemed that the house owners and the people that worked in the offices did not mind that their front yards were being used for the temporary storage of piracy kiosks. I could not help taking photos of the racks, benches, and chairs. But suddenly a parking man approached me and told me to stop taking photos. "You are not supposed to take pictures of these kiosks. They are protected by the people from the kampong here," he said. The currency of pirated discs might have started to vanish, but piracy kiosks still existed on Jalan Mataram. Some people still can make a living on piracy business.

SHOPPING CENTER

Wok's Sunday ritual during the 1990s also included visiting a street kiosk which had a good collection of used magazines. It was located at the end of Jalan Pajeksan. Neither Wok nor I can remember its name when we talked about it during my fieldwork. The kiosk has now gone. The ritual ended with Wok roaming throughout a venue known as 'Shopping Center'. Like Popeye and Siswa Muda that he visited every Sunday, Shopping Center too was part of his personal music and popular culture infrastructure. In the 1990s, Shopping Center was just like any other traditional market. Shopping Center was a maze of small, semi-permanent kiosks that predominantly sold various printed materials.

The majority of the shops sold old and new books. What makes Shopping Center an important place for students in particular is the availability of shops selling clippings, papers and theses. Their location was tucked away in alleys situated behind the regular bookshops. The shopkeepers sit in front of their kiosks with high piles of used newspapers. They cut various articles and arrange them according to different subject categories: media bans, illegal logging, human rights, riots and student fights. On each newspaper clipping, they would write the name of the publication and its date. Each kiosk, though,

developed its own system of categorization.

This resource of newspaper clippings was a great time saver for students in their efforts to write their papers. As such, students needed to pay for the labor of the shopkeepers in leafing through old newspapers and magazines, cutting out appropriate articles, and putting them into separate plastic bags according to their categories. On the bookshelves alongside the photocopied English textbooks, one can find papers and undergraduate theses written by students from various universities in Yogyakarta. Every now and then, students would search for a particular paper or thesis, hope to find inspiration, or consider in simply plagiarizing it. The names of the students as well as the university logos are written on the texts' covers. The texts thus arrive in the market after passing through the academic regulations and walls of the education institutions, which have turned out to be very porous.

If a visit to Shopping Center led to interesting findings, and if their price was not too expensive, Wok would go on purchasing books, magazines or articles. Wok went to Shopping Center without a firm thought of what to buy, but anticipation. On the list of his hopes was to find foreign magazines—*Life, Time, New Yorker, Asiaweek, Newsweek, and National Geographic*, rare comics, or anything interesting. Roaming the maze of Shopping Center with hopes for finding interesting matters, he walked with a certain kind of readiness. He was ready to accept them no matter their condition—in their used forms; perhaps some parts of their pages are damaged or torn. It did not matter.

Shopping Center was relocated to its current location in 2005 which was still within walking distance from the old one. The new location was closer to the *Societet Militair* (the performance building owned and organized by Yogyakarta Art Council) and Beringharjo Market, which might be deemed convenient for some. Though it added more traffic in the area—*becak*, motorcycles, and taxis dropping off passengers who would see a performance, exhibition, or go to the market.

Along with the relocation, Senopati and Jogja, two theatres that located in Shopping Center complex, were demolished. On its former location, the city government built a science museum, complete with playgrounds for children. The museum was called "*Taman Pintar*" (Smart Park). The reputation of Shopping Center as a favorite place to gather intellectual materials still

resonates across the newly built museum and is also a tourist site for families from nearby cities. Shopping Center occupied a four-story shopping block, which was located just behind its old location. The place looks more bright and spacious. But its labyrinthine layout regularly confuses its visitors. Nonetheless the newly located Shopping Center still is a popular destination for many people.

RENTAL

The needs for cultural products follow the changing format of the material in circulation. Liang (2005: 37) suggests considering both a 'spatial move' and 'technological move' in understanding changes in media culture. The changing format in media consumption entails actions to adapt to new tools. At the same time it requires an active participation in renewing urban experience.

The local cinemas in the city only rarely showed films that Wok liked to watch.[9] He also did not always have enough money to watch music gigs; and even if he did have enough money to go to one, important or attractive gigs and concerts were quite rare. The last most memorable big music gig that he went to was the Metallica concert in Jakarta in 1993. The concert led to riots outside the Lebak Bulus Stadium, Jakarta, in 1993.[10] The trouble from the concert led to greater difficulties in getting permission to organize a rock concert. Subsequent rock concerts and festivals, Baulch (2002: 219) has asserted, needed to adhere to stricter bureaucratic processes in order to secure the permission.[11]

9 Regent and Empire, two cinemas in Jogja, burnt down in 1999. Regent and Empire were important because they were part of Cinema 21, the largest cinema chain in the country. As part of the chain, and the agreement with major international film distributors, the cinemas owned the rights to screen Hollywood movies and other films that circulated globally. For Wok, these movies were important because they embodied global knowledge that he needed to be aware of. There were other surviving smaller independent cinemas in Jogja, which less appealing. They screened the types of Indonesian films that Wok did not always like—sex and horror-themed Indonesian movies. Occasionally, he would make time to watch movie screenings in certain art and cultural spaces. Kinoki, Rumah Sinema—alternative spaces for film studies, organized regular film screenings. Lembaga Indonesia Prancis, or French Cultural Centre, in Jogja, have had regular film screening programs. They also run mini concerts, which showcased local and international musicians. In 2006, Ambarukmo Plaza started to operate in Jogja. The launch of a new mall marked the operationalization of Ambarukmo XXI—another branch of Cinema 21. It indicates another change in the way Wok consumed cultural material and experienced the city.

10 In 2015, Wok made a work based on his experience attending the Metallica concert in 1993. This work was made in collaboration with a Melbourne-based artist, Lara Thoms. The work focuses on the riot during the concert, and suggested at the trajectory of such riot to the student protests in the Reformasi era. It emerged when the banning toward heavy metal concerts ceased. At the same time, it referred to President Joko Widodo who is also a heavy metal fan. The work was a commission work from 4A Centre for Contemporary Art, Sydney, and Gertrude Contemporary, Melbourne. Details are available via this link: http://woktherock.com/portfolio/jakarta-whiplash-93-re-revisited/

11 Baulch gave examples of two festivals in Jakarta in 1996 featuring Sonic Youth, Beastie Boys, Foo Fighters, and Green Day; they were all named as pop music events.

Wok did not have a habit of watching television. Instead, he tended to work on his computer for long streches of time. The large part of his working environment revolved around his computer and the Internet. On a smaller scale, Wok published the music of local punk bands through Realino Records label—a record label that he managed during his early years in Jogja.[12] He organized small punk gigs and produced various zines under the name of his record company. To Wok, nothing could beat the enjoyment of watching a really good rented or pirated DVD in his computer. In this way, he controlled the quality of what he wanted to listen and watch.

Going to a disc rental shop was an economic option for Wok. In fact, rental shops were found at the foremost prominent place to go for alternative cultural material prior to the era where piracy kiosks proliferated in the city. Customers are able to rent both original and pirated discs.

'Rentals' were useful because they often had a broad selection of software program discs. Wok needed a range of software for his design work. It was cheaper to rent a disc from a rental, rather than purchasing a pirated disc from a kiosk on Jalan Mataram. A rental might have a specific collection that a piracy shop did not have. To his satisfaction, he traveled to Jalan Kaliurang, in the northern part of the city, to Studio One and Wahana—the best rental shops in town. Studio One and Wahana rented CDs of music, film, games, and computer software.

Jalan Kaliurang is located in the center of the sprawling campus of Gadjah Mada University. The area provided affordable housing for students. Every corner of the street was full of shops and vendors that cater for students who live in the neighborhood and beyond. The shops included restaurants and street side food stalls, photocopy shops, laundries, motorcycle workshops, stationery shops, and grocery stores.

Wok used to live around Jalan Kaliurang area when he was admitted to Gadjah Mada University in 1994. A year later, he applied to the Visual Design and Communication Department of the Yogyakarta Indonesian Institute of the Art. He moved to the southern part of the city in the late 1990s. But, even then, he still liked going to Jalan Kaliurang. It was not only because of Studio One and Wahana: on the same street there were outdoor equipment shops, factory outlets, cafes, and other shops that worth visiting.

12 Wok was involved in two punk bands during the period—*Laga Bara and The Incident Report.*

Borrowing a CD from a rental and learning about diverse media formats

Wok needed to organize new trips to the piracy shops and rentals in order to be able to listen to a good CD or watch a good DVD. To stay up to date with new developments, he learnt more about the materiality of the disc—original or pirated one. They were quite different from the cassettes. Wok practiced how to download materials from the Internet, and save them to his computer. One of his first computers was an assemblage of more than two computer brands and electronic hardware, from a local computer shop.

Wok needed to return the borrowed disc to a rental, because technically the disc was not his. But in practice, there is not much difference between purchasing a disc and borrowing one. As soon as the CDs went into the bags, brought to homes, they would be copied on to his computer. Thus they become his personal archives. There is not much difference between the original and the pirated disc from a rental. All of them are digital files, and everything is a copy of a copy. An increase in the number of visits to the rentals would lead to an increase in the size of the archives. They would be ready to be burnt and reproduced on new discs in future.

He learnt to be flexible about the types of technological tools used in the process. The Chinese branded disk players were more favorable due to their flexibility and abilities to correct mistake of the pirated discs. They omit the 'bad disc' problem that he often had when playing the disc from a rental.

In her discussion about the condition of the Original Equipment Manufacturer (OEM) in China, Hu (2008) refers to the Chinese branded player as a pirated player, which can also be referred to as no-name player. For Hu (2008: 32), the production of the low-cost, second-class, and inauthentic technology has to be seen as part of China's 'tactical flexibility' in expanding their techno-globalization power and occupying niche market for piracy. The existence of media piracy depends on the system of the production of other inauthentic matter.

The position of these disc players within China's contemporary cultural policy was not something to regard for the users. These players emerged in many types and brands. Often it was too difficult to memorize a specific brand. Perhaps for practicality reason, they were all referred to as simply 'Chinese Brands." I recall that many people, including myself, called them the same, but in Javanese—"Merek Cino" which means Chinese Brands.

Chinese Brands are distinct from more established brands in local market. They appear as a trope, which emerges from a specific branding system. Some brands indicate the names of certain places in China—Shenzen, Guangzhou, Yangzhou, and Dongguan. There is also Ningbo Charm-Tech, a brand, which alludes to the significance of a place as a site for technology industry. Other brand names suggest another branding pattern referred by Hu as parody. People are familiar with Suny, which reminds one of a famous brand Sony. There is also Elji, which reminds one of LG. Chinese Brands function as a generic term to define the ubiquity and functionality of the players in the increasing disc consumption.

In the early 2000s, it was still common to see personal computers, which were not equipped with disc burner facilities. It took some time for Wok to save enough money in order to buy a disc burner, and a CD player, for his computer. The same applies in the case of a USB stick. He could not afford to buy one, thus needed to borrow one from a friend. A portable hard disc was the most expensive item for his computer and it took longer time for him to save enough money to buy one. He used up the first portable hard disc pretty quickly due to the large amount of digital files he possessed. The hard disc ownership indicates an urgent necessity to manage the abundant material accumulated from the rental. In line with this, he also learnt about what to do when the hard disc crashed.

When I started this research, I thought that the rental business was in decline—along with the rapid development of online channels to download software and audio-visual material. It turned out it was still going strong.

I saw people coming and going to Studio Wahana. I saw some people sitting on a bench and diligently browsing through the catalogues provided. The catalogue was a compilation of disc covers that belonged to a particular category and bound together with a paper clip. In addition to the printed catalogues, there was a computer where the customers could browse the catalogue. The computer program or game disc was rented at 2,000Rp.[13] The audio disc was rented at the same price. The rental price had not changed much since the early 2000s. Only today the same price was equal to the price one needed to pay to park a motorcycle on the city streets.

A shop assistant was sitting behind a cash register and computer. Arranged

13 It is less than 50 Euro cents.

on the wall shelves were catalogues of music, films, games and computer programs. There were also some shelves to display the covers of the discs available for rent. Pasted on some parts of the shelves were information notes from the rental owner to the visitors. The notes were laminated and stated: “get the original film DVD only in Studio One”.

Studio One had expanded their business since the early 2000s. The shop still maintained the old building, but it occupied a space adjacent to it in order to sell various computer, and audio-visual products. The rental business survives because they have adjusted to the development of digital culture. Studio One expanded their services into retailing computer accessories. For example, disc casings, mobile phone casings, earphones, disc clean up tools were placed next to the shelves where music and film discs were neatly arranged. They showed a continuity of digital media consumption between computer and mobile phone.

Wok, however, had long stopped visiting Studio One and other rental shops. The reason was the same as to why he did not go to the piracy kiosk that often. Instead, he used various online platforms to obtain a diverse music and share them through the following mediums—Napster, Myspace, YouTube, Last FM, and SoundCloud. More recently, Wok was satisfied with subscribing to the premium service of Spotify.[14] The service allowed him to stream and download music he liked on his computer and mobile phone. In addition, the premium Spotify allows him to play music without advertisement interference.

WARNET

A *warnet*, during the late 1990s, was an ideal place for Wok to obtain music knowledge. In the early Internet era, when an Internet connection regarded as luxurious, a *warnet*, abbreviated from *warung Internet*, or an Internet shop,

14 YouTube (http://www.youtube.com/) is an online platform to watch and listen audiovisual material. They are all available for free, but there are other material that required payment for viewing. Before YouTube, Wok was a regular user of Napster and Myspace (http://www.myspace.com/). Napster was one of the first online platforms, from which Wok learnt about peer-to-peer mechanism in sharing digital files on the Internet. The interactive character of Myspace operates quite similar to Facebook and was the largest social media platform between 2004-10. It allows one to post writing posts and audiovisual material, and share them with friends. Last.fm (www.last.fm) is a music website to allow one to search for favorite music material. A Last.fm user can build a network of friends. A friend can recommend certain music to the other. In addition, it allows a friend to learn what another friend has been listening to. SoundCloud (http://www.soundcloud.com) is a music website that allows a user to upload, record, promote, and share the music. It has been very popular as a potential site to promote music for many indie musicians in Indonesia. Spotify is a service to allow music and podcast streaming. The popularity of Spotify has risen quickly because it has a wide range of music collection to stream.

was a reliable place to access the Internet. Being in a *warnet*, to access the alternative channel where forbidden materials were easily accessible, thus gave the visitor a certain sense of freedom.[15] There were many things to learn at a warnet— such as using an email account and mining information through a search engine. Sometimes Wok came to a *warnet* with a clear intention of what to search for. At other times, he did not have a plan. He just spent hours on end in a *warnet* surfing or chatting with friends on Yahoo Messenger.

Various scholars have recognized the important role of the Internet in shaping the dynamics of Indonesian society. A *warnet*, according to Lim (2003: 244), is a "free zone". It is "a place that gives the feeling of doing somewhat beyond the state's control." During the New Order era, as argued by Hill and Sen (2005), the Internet was the source where uncensored news and information could be found, and thus it became a fertile medium for developing a broad movement against the New Order government. It was not surprising to learn that in the Jogja context, the campus was an area where the first generation of *warnet*, was established. Various student groups in the campus used the Internet to mobilize their movement against the Suharto-led government.

The needs for going to a *warnet* indicate the growing demands for having access that is not limited to cultural materials. But the demands also focus on acquiring a place, or avenue, which facilitates easier access to cultural materials.

To obtain more profit, some computer rentals were converted into *warnet*s. Over time, the possibilities to access the Internet have increased with the ubiquity of Wi-Fi. According to Wok, it always felt more comfortable to work at home, equipped with the high speed Wi-Fi connection, rather than working in a *warnet*. When he started to earn enough money, subscribing to the Internet services was among the first things he tried to manage.

Throughout my research, *warnets* have often seemed to have their existence threatened with each new technological advance which allows for easier Internet access. Rather than disappearing, however, *warnets* keep on adapting and attracting many customers.

15 A warnet, according to Lim, is a "free zone". It is "a place that gives the feeling of doing somewhat beyond the state's control". Lim, op.cit, 244.

Many warnet were providing faster Internet connections and a new look through a complete renovation, which would provide visitors with a more comfortable environment. The customers of the new generation of warnet came with more diverse purposes—to have a comfortable working space, which allows for pleasurable distractions such as watching music videos from YouTube, using Facebook orTwitter, and to access thousands of data, ranging from film, music, reading materials, available on each computer, while munching on food ordered via the cashier. All of these services were happening in an air-conditioned space, which made them all the more enjoyable.

Some warnet indeed gained their popularity through establishing their position as places to get a copy of something that one might need. In a visit to Net City, a warnet located in Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, for example, the computer that I used displayed data folders, arranged into the following categorization:

> 1) Asian series; 2) TV series; 3) Box office; 4) Anime; 5) Indonesian movie; 6) Asian movie; 7) Bollywood movie; 8) Animation movie; 9) 3D movie; 10) Classic movie; 11) Documenter and education; 12) Video clip; 13) FLAC; 14) Indonesian MP3; 15) MP3; 16) Reading materials; 17) Driver; 18) Freeware; 19) Games PSP; 20) Games console; 21) Games PC HD; 22) Games PC mini; 23) Image n wallpaper.

In the computer I also found a folder called “Skripsi”, derived from a Dutch word, *skriptie*, which means thesis. The folder contained a compilation of thesis and dissertations, written by students of various universities in the city who had used the computers in the *warnet* to write their academic works. An aspect that a warnet has been emphasizing in attempting sustainability is a transformation from a public Internet service into a reliable source for knowledge material. At the same time, the knowledge material was treated as a kind of gimmick to attract more customers.

PART TWO
MEMORY, MEDIA TACTICS, AND THE MAKING OF A MUSIC FAN
TEMU KANGEN MAJALAH HAI

In 2007, Wok was invited to talk and present an essay at an event known as *Temu Kangen Majalah Hai*. The event was organized by Hai magazine—a Indonesian weekly popular culture magazine for teenagers. The content of the magazine is designed to cater for young male readers. But the music, film, and television series reviews, also articles on high school life, have attracted a wide readership that goes beyond a teenage male audience. Baulch (2007: 17-34) discusses Hai as an important reference for musical discourse to inform the making of reggae, punk, and death metal scenes in Bali. Wok liked the magazine because it catered to his needs for information about rock music. Wok liked a broad range of music, but he was always inclined to heavy metal. A large portion of Hai's magazine contents focused on heavy metal.

"*Temu*" means to meet or get together. "*Kangen*" is a word to express a 'longing for meeting' or 'missing' someone or something. Wok's essay referenced a poignant form of longing and hoping for something. "*Temu*" and "*Kangen*" is a combination of two words that seems to be reconciled with "*reuni*", or a reunion. *Temu Kangen* as event was regarded as a reunion meeting, attended by different generations of Hai readers, where various memories, opinions, and meanings of the magazine came to light. *Temu Kangen* was a gathering of the people who shared the similar level of literacy towards Hai magazine.

Wok's essay is important because it talks about the media infrastructure in the New Order era, the period, in which he was born and grew up with. In discussing the media infrastructure in the era, Wok's essay elaborated on the limitation on media access that he experienced, as well as tactics developed to overcome it. The tactics development is founded on the idea to nurture the interests in music and visual culture. In the following section, I describe the family support of what Wok liked to hear, see, and do.

16 The following is the Indonesian version of the paragraph: "Musik bagi remaja khususnya pria adalah sebuah identitas, selain sebagai atribut personal juga menjadi alat bersosialisasi dan ekspresi diri. Yang membedakan dunia musik dengan hobi khas remaja pria yang lain seperti sepakbola, basket, balap motor, dll adalah adanya gaya hidup yang dibawa serta oleh band atau musisi yang menciptakannya. Dunia musik memproduksi budaya nge-band (profesi: memainkan dan menciptakan lagu), fashion (gaya berbusana yang mencitrakan genre musik), pesan (media ekspresi pemikiran dan sikap dan berkaitan erat dengan bidang bahasa dan menulis), komunitas bahkan ekonomi (penjualan rekaman dan merchandise). Singkat kata, musik mengakomodasi banyak hal yang dibutuhkan oleh seorang remaja. Belum lagi adanya stereotype bahwa cewek lebih menggemari cowok yang jago maen gitar daripada juara karate! ;-p"

The first paragraph describes the relationship between music and boys in particular. This is a passage, which tells a story of music and young Wok as well as the stereotype of the boys who play music as cool. Wok writes:[16]

> Music, for youth and boys in particular, is an identity as well as personal attribute; a tool of socialization and self expression. What differentiates music from other typical hobbies for boys such as football, basketball, motor racing etc. is lifestyles brought forward by bands or musicians who created them. Music has produced 'band culture' – profession (playing in a band and creating songs), fashion (certain fashion style, which creates a certain music genre), messages (the media to express thoughts and attitudes, which is closely connected to language and writing area), community and economy (recording and merchandise sale). In sum, music accommodates so many things that teenagers need. Not to mention the stereotype of a girl who fancy a boy who can play guitar rather than a boy who is a karate master! :p

The second paragraph reflects on the existing infrastructure on which he depended for his music access. While the state-owned TVRI aired only local music news back in the New Order period, pirated media broadens the knowledge horizon for consumers. Wok suggests that the precondition for piracy is the limitation caused by the existing media infrastructure. He talks about TVRI as the powerful television station, which apparently deemed insufficient in delivering audiovisual knowledge that a teenager like Wok and his friends needed. But there was no other options available but sticking to watching TVRI. At the time of his writing though, Indonesian television domain had greatly changed.[17] The development had transformed Wok's screen culture, meaning he was able to consume abundant cultural materials from many channels. Heryanto (2014) refers to 'screen culture' as the discourse to center on film. While Wok's story indicates his enthusiasm for films, his story also demonstrates the evolving definition of 'screen.' The screen definition is progressing to follow the material development of a cultural product. In Wok's case, a screen can mean the screen in a cinema. It can also mean the television, computer, laptop, and mobile phone too.

17 To date there are fifteen national television broadcasted in Indonesia—TVRI, RCTI, SCTV, Global TV, MNC TV, iNews, Indosiar, ANTV, TV One, Metro TV, Trans TV, Trans 7, RTV, Kompas TV, and Net. On the regional level, each province manages their local television stations. The number of the stations is varied from one place to another. To learn more about the dynamics of local television, see Hendrawan's work (2015), which investigates what it means to televise locally in post-authoritarian Indonesia.

In an era when television became increasingly diverse and attractive, offering a broader variety of programs, TVRI – as the government station – became increasingly undesireable for viewers. Despite the limitations, in Wok's essay, TVRI was situated as an important point of reference to inform his future media development tactics. TVRI serves as an overture for his appreciation of print materials. The paragraph reads:[18]

> The main aspect to support music culture I described above is record production and information media. Before all recordings were required to be licensed in 1987, the market of music recording in this country was filled with hundreds of pirated cassettes distributors, which produced cassettes from various music genres and did not depend on the world music charts. It means the market had an abundance of music releases stock, which were very easy to get and in affordable price. The following account is about the information media at the time. The only audiovisual medium available at the time was a state-owned TVRI, where 80% of its broadcasting materials were information about local music news. I regard the print media as more precious since they usually have larger sections dedicated for news about music from abroad.

In the next paragraph, Wok dwelled further on the limitedness of TVRI and compared it with the situation that the Indonesian youth faced during the 1970s. Amidst the domination of TVRI, Wok talked about the existence of *Aktuil*, which managed to bring difference on the global knowledge exposure. *Aktuil* was a popular youth magazine which published news and information about art and music. Baulch (2016) writes about the role of *Aktuil* as the archetype of a space, where rock and different legacies of youth in the historical trajectory of Indonesian revolution, cultural commodities, and social mobility meet. Wok did not have memory of *Aktuil*. He was not born yet when the magazine formed, and when he started to nurture his curiosity on music, *Aktuil* was no longer being published. His knowledge of the magazine derives

18 "Hal utama yang menunjang budaya musik ini adalah produksi rekaman dan media informasi. Sebelum diberlakukan rekaman yang berlisensi pada tahun 1987, pasar rekaman musik di negeri ini memiliki puluhan bahkan ratusan distributor kaset bajakan yang menerbitkan berbagai macam jenis musik dan tidak tergantung oleh tangga lagu dunia. Artinya, stok dan koleksi rilisan rekaman sangat terjangkau dan mudah didapatkan. Lain halnya dengan media informasi pada masa itu. Satu-satunya televisi yang ada adalah TVRI yang hampir 80% hanya menampilkan infromasi tentang berita musik lokal. Media cetak lebih mulia karena memiliki porsi berita musik dunia lebih banyak."

from what he read and the memories of other people about it. According to Wok, one of the important functions of the magazine at the time was to organize music performances and bring notable musicians to perform in Jakarta. The paragraph reads:[19]

> How lucky teenagers who lived in the 1970s were! Since they had the Aktuil music magazine that was really actual [up-to-date]! They did not only provide the readers with music reviews and gossip, which were limited to big bands and musicians. Even they published various compilation albums in cassette format and accompanied them with various bonuses, which ranged from sticker, poster, and get Deep Purple to perform in Jakarta! It was not surprising at all that the magazine became the bible for music fans in Indonesia.

Aktuil stopped publishing in 1984—much to the disappointment of many, and here too Wok expressed his grief about it. His writing suggests that *Aktuil* was capable to make the music environment in Indonesia to be more lively and worthy. The last paragraph of his writing saw Hai Magazine as a decent replacement of *Aktuil* in the field of music and popular culture writing. He depicted Hai as a glorious addition in the Indonesian mediascape and contrasted with the stale world of TVRI. In this paragraph, Wok - a Catholic - compared Hai with the Bible. The paragraph reads:[20]

> It is too bad that both the reputation and content of the magazine began to decrease in 1976 and finally ceased publishing in 1986. The only youth magazine to accommodate the needs of the boys is *Hai!* magazine. The magazine serves as a continuation of the

19 "Beruntunglah remaja yang mengenyam era 70-an karena memiliki majalah musik Aktuil yang benar-benar aktuil! Ulasan musik dan info gossipnya pun tidak terbatas pada band atau musisi besar saja. Bahkan mereka juga menerbitkan album kompilasi dalam format kaset dan berbagai macam bonus mulai dari stiker, poster sampai mengundang Deep Purple main di Jakarta! Bukan mustahil majalah ini menjadi kitab suci penggemar musik di Indonesia."

20 "Sayang sekali pamor dan konten majalah ini menurun pada tahun 1976 dan berangsur mati total di tahun 1986. Majalah remaja satu-satunya yang mampu mengakomodasi kebutuhan remaja pria adalah majalah *Hai!* yang merupakan kelanjutan dari majalah Midi yang tutup usia. Majalah *Hai!* mempunyai materi isi yang mewakili remaja pria. Artikel tentang musik tentunya juga memiliki porsi yang cukup banyak meskipun tidak sehebat majalah *Aktuil.* Bagi anak muda kelas menengah kebawah dan yang tinggal di kota kabupaten pada era 80-an, hanya majalah *Hai!* yang bisa memberikan informasi tentang musik dunia. *Musik Hai!, Mini Metal, Buku Suci Heavy Metal, Haiklip* dan wawancara langsung dengan Sepultura, Sonic Youth atau Metallica adalah ayat-ayat suci yang wajib dibaca dan Pesta Pelajar Hai! adalah perayaan ekaristi yang tidak bisa dilewatkan!"

> deceased Midi magazine. The contents of *Hai!* magazine represent the interests of teenage boys. The magazine has a large portion of articles about music. Although I think they are not as great as the articles that written in *Aktuil* magazine. For the youth from the lower middle-class background who lived in a small town in the 1980s, only *Hai!* magazine, which could provide me with information about music from abroad. *Musik Hai!, Mini Metal, Buku Suci Heavy Metal, HaiKlip* and interviews with Sepultura, Sonic Youth or Metallica were the sacred texts that we had to read, and *Pesta Pelajar Hai!* was the celebration of the Eucharist that could not be missed."

Buying Hai magazine formed a vital need for music fans during the 1990s. The magazine is part of Wok's memory of being a music fan. The last paragraph of his essay describes how music things take center stage in the life of a music fan. It reads:[21]

> Rockshot releases, hundreds of cardboard pin-ups, metal bands, super tight jeans, Nuclear Assault words made with oil paint on a t-shirt, mullet style hair, Eagle sneakers, pentagram amulet attached to a necklace, and Mini Metal spreads from Hai, and every Tuesday was a prayer. Such was the life of the headbanger teen during the 80s in a little town.

TRAVEL, *TITIP*, AND OTHER OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACCESSING THINGS

Wok was born and grew up in Madiun, a small city, located around 180 kilometers east from Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta is one of the main destinations for the Indonesian youth to pursue higher education and Wok was one of many students who moved to Yogyakarta in order to study. Later, in an essay that he wrote as part of the requirements for his residency application to the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam, in 2013, Wok would describe his home town of Madiun as a 'transit city.'

21 "Rilisan Rockshot, ratusan poster karton, puluhan gelang logam, jeans super ketat, t-shirt Nuclear Assault berbahan cat minyak, kliwir rambut yang menjuntai mengikuti tulang belakang, sepatu kets Eagle, kalung rantai berliontin pentagram, Mini Metal Hai! dan hari selasa adalah ibadah! Beginilah dunia remaja headbanger era 80-an di kota kabupaten."

COMMONS PEOPLE
MANAGING MUSIC AND CULTURE IN CONTEMPORARY YOGYAKARTA

The Rijksakademie is a leading art academy located in Amsterdam. Part of its reputation is built through developing a prestigious residency platform for studio experiment, research, and production. The location of Rijksakademie in the Netherlands, supported by the international network of curators, museums, and cultural institutions, in the organization of the residency program, has attracted many artists from around the globe to participate in it. The admission process of the residency is tough. Wok is one of many Indonesian artists that had been trying to succeed the competitive selection process.

To be an artist-in-residence in Rijksakademie would be a huge milestone for Wok's artistic career. The residency would mean an increase in social mobility, professional exposure and would also impact on his ways of accessing music. Residencies at such prestigious institutes highlight the relation between travel and access. In early 2013, Wok asked me to give comments on the essay and personal statement written for the residency application in Rijksakademie. It was the second time he applied for the residency – and on both occasions, he wouldn't be successful. His essay narrated how memories provide nuances of how the needs for music knowledge can be fulfilled. It talks about moving to a different city, which promises better life through mobility and new opportunities. It also discusses the role of his father's magazine distributor agency as an early form of media infrastructure to support his needs for music news.

The description of his hometown in the essay shows his observation about inter-city and inter-province mobility, the cultural flows, and how it changes the cultural landscape of the youth who live in Madiun. Wok writes:

> Vehicles from various cities in East Java province go past Madiun to proceed to other cities in the provinces of Central Java and West Java. Likewise, those who reside in Jakarta and cities in the central part of Java go past Madiun to reach other cities in East Java province, Bali, and other islands in the eastern part of Indonesia. The flows of vehicles and people are followed by the flows of cultural products exchange and distribution from major cities in West Java (Bandung, Jakarta), Central Java (Yogyakarta, Solo, Semarang) and East Java (Malang, Surabaya). Madiun, in turn, has become the centre of the modern culture for smaller cities and villages around it. Every Saturday, the youth from these cities and villages visit Madiun for entertainment or [to find] stuff

[to] purchase.

His family's house in Madiun doubly functioned as an office for the magazine and newspaper distribution agency. His house would often smell of the recently delivered new editions of various newspapers and magazines. The magazine and newspaper distribution agency run by his father functioned as a public infrastructure for the people of Madiun. To have a father who was an *agen majalah*, magazine distributor, meant having an opportunity to get the latest information about popular culture faster than other people. In another part of his writing for the Rijksakademie application, he describes how the distribution agency serves as a domestic cultural infrastructure:

> My father's job as a distributor of a wide range of national magazines and newspapers, from youth magazines, music magazine, lifestyle magazine for man and woman, children magazine, news and politic magazine, science and technology magazine, comic books from European countries, local newspaper from Semarang and Surabaya, allowed me to remember the publishing schedule of all of these publications and when they arrived at home. As a distribution agent, my father got free magazines and newspapers. Not only I had the opportunity to collect the magazines, *gratis*, freely, I also read them before they were distributed. This provided me the opportunity to access the newest information and follow the development of popular culture from abroad that later would inform me deeply."

Wok's residency application reveals his memories of the family support for his drawing practices. Drawing was one thing, among other things, which made him special compared to his other friends. This was not only because he drew well, but also the subjects being drawn were different from what others would like to draw. While his friends almost uniformly chose to draw the standard aesthetic of *mooi Indië*—tranquil landscape, mountains, and rice fields (Protschky 2011: 73), Wok confidently drew all sorts of things. Wok chose to copy his favorite images from the magazines he read at home—various kinds of Zombies, robots, and stars such as David Lee Roth. Wok's drawings were accurate reproductions of the images he copied. His ability to copy precisely from magazines drew attention and admiration from his family members and neighbors. His father was especially very proud of him. His father also painted one side of the house walls in black as a free space for

Wok to draw anything he liked. Wok would spend hours drawing on the wall with chalk in a range of colours.

In an other part of the house, the walls of Wok's bedroom were filled with posters of his favorite musicians. Some of the posters include Duran-Duran and Motley Crue. His brother introduced him to them when Wok was eight years old. Wok liked them, and he would beg his brother to lend him the cassettes. Although on many occasions, his brother would not let him borrow the precious cassettes. Wok started to save money to buy a specific cassette, from whatever resources he could get, but mainly from the pocket money his parents would give him. Later, when he was a bit older, Wok told me that he started to learn how to duplicate the cassette. In order to be able to duplicate many cassettes, often he opted to use his savings to buy blank cassettes. Panarec and Sunny brands of blank cassettes were preferable to BASF and TDK, because they were cheaper.

In his Rijksakademie application, Wok wrote of how he often looked at the poster collection in his bedroom, and thought of what elements, what styles, from the outfit of the musicians that he could copy for his own outfit. He sketched something on a paper, a t-shirt or trousers, with unconventional cutting. His mother took him to a tailor, who helped him realizing the artist-kind of outfit he wanted. Wok often dreamed of traveling to other big cities, where newly released of cassettes and magazines could be found easily.

Wok saw Yogyakarta as a city of wonder: for him it was a city which provided a wealth of new things. This was the same experience as the youth from suburban areas and villages who would flock to Madiun every weekend. Other cities, and relatively isolated places, were often the places where the circulation of important cultural products was centered. The importance of magazines as a part of the infrastructure of music culture knowledge is evidenced in Wok's practice of asking his friends to bring back foreign magazines to Indonesia for him. This was part of his attempt to solve the inability to travel to get the magazines.

On two of my overseas trips, Wok asked me to buy him copies of *Colors* magazine. On both occasions I was about to leave the Netherlands for Indonesia: in 2008 when I finished my MA program in Amsterdam and later in 2012 when I finished the first year of the PhD program and was about to embark on fieldwork and maternity leave. On both occasions I did not

succeed in buying him the magazine. I could not find it in 2008, or perhaps I did not try hard enough to find it. I did buy him something when I returned to Yogyakarta from Leiden in 2012. It was not *Colors* though, but another magazine called *Elephant*.

On both occasions, Wok was rather unclear about his request. For example, Wok did not express clearly that he wanted me to buy him the magazines. He did not ask me to bring him *oleh-oleh* either. Typically *oleh-oleh* refers to things one brings back home after one returns from going away. *Oleh-oleh* are to be distributed to selected family members, neighbours, and friends. When receiving an *oleh-oleh*, a sense of gratitude will be expressed. A purchase of an oleh- oleh started with making a list of people to whom the *oleh-oleh* will be dedicated. The list of names indicates those who we remember. Being remembered implies gratitude to the person who does the remembering.

In Wok's case, he used the word *titip*. According to the *Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language* (KBBI), the meaning of *titip* is three-fold. In the first sense, it means 'to put something in a particular place to be taken care of or to deliver it to someone else.' In the second sense, *titip* means 'to trust someone with something or other precious matters.' In the third sense, it means 'to consign something to a particular place in order to be sold.'

The way Wok used the word *titip* Wok with me does not seem to fit with any of the meanings described in the dictionary. Foreign magazines have been positioned as things that are not so accessible in local Indonesian bookshops. What Wok has been doing is creating an infrastructure; in this case, a network of friends that would enable him to access things that are otherwise inaccessible.

Although the realisation of *titip* here is that I purchased the magazine for him, Wok didn't pay me for it. When I handed him the magazine, it was handed to him as a kind of gift. A gift, or *hadiah* in Indonesian, is also a word used to describe *oleh-oleh*. From the recipient side, it might simply mean something that is attained for free, *gratis*. There is no way to ensure that one will get a refund for delivering the things being asked for, unless it is clearly stated by the recipient beforehand. Therefore sometimes *titip* is perceived as a burden. It is a situation where one is made responsible for taking care of something or making something available. I bought him the magazine regardless of whether or not he would pay me back for it.

In my case, it was a situation where I was made responsible for the availability of the magazine to Wok. This kind of responsibility entails trust. He trusted me to buy him a magazine. The magazine became more important than for just its contents; but was a means for testing as to whether or not he could trust. It was also something that is valuable for his work. Such a trust – as implied through *titip* - is perhaps best illustrated in the most famous phrase of one of the founding fathers, Soekarno, *Kutitipkan negeri ini kepadamu* (I trust you with my country). This form of trust entails pride; a sense of accomplishment coming from successfully achieving one's goal.

Being dependent on the network of friends as infrastructure puts Wok in a position where he has to show acceptance to the things made available to him, even though they might not be the things that he initially wanted. When I came not with the magazine that he asked for, he did not protest. I handed the *Elephant* magazine to him, and he received it. I saw *Colors* on the dining table of Kunci's office, also the space that he lived in. When I asked him where the magazine from, he replied that it was a gift from his friend, dikasih teman. Then I asked him whether he liked the magazine that I brought him. He said, "Oh yes I like it. *Elephant* is a good magazine." The magazine I had given him became a minor contribution to his resources.

PART THREE
Burn Your Idol: Documenting the stories of the fans

The name of Burn Your Idol project derives from *Kill Yr Idols*, an EP of American rock band, Sonic Youth, which was released in 1983. It also alludes to 'burning', a common technique used to reproduce certain music material from a disk to another blank disk using a set of copying technologies. The project used the act of copying as a starting point to talk about copying culture among music fans in Indonesia. Burn Your Idol discusses copying, or CD burning, as a method for collecting music resources.

Wok started the project in 2008 and he intended to collect 1000 CD-Rs. When I first researched this project, he had managed to collect some 700 CD-Rs. As a project, Burn Your Idol has been exhibited at various art events. I saw it when first it was exhibited at Jogja Art Fair (which become known as Art|Jog since July 2011). I saw Burn Your Idol again when it was exhibited at

a show called *Personal Project* at Dia-Lo-Gue in Kemang, Jakarta, in 2012.

Wok started Burn Your Idol began when the life of the CD-R technology started to decline in usage. Technologies for data storage, replication, and distribution are always in constant change: for example, in the early 2000s the now obsolete floppy disk was still common. And, the CD-R technology has quickly transformed into the DVD-R technology. Before the USB flash drive started to gain prominence in the early 2000s, the removable hard disk was a common device for storing, replicating, and distributing data. Both mediums are still widely used and undergo changes in form and capacity. The usage of CD-R as part of music listening and collecting practices in the project evokes a sense of technological nostalgia.

The participants of Burn Your Idol were invited to talk about the music albums they liked, and write about what made them their favorites. As an output, Wok would produce a disc, to contain a copy of the album. To emphasize the story of the fans, the front cover of each disc had a picture of the participant, while on the back cover was a personal note written by the participant. The portraits of the participants were contrasted with the original covers of the albums. Over time, the project has transformed into a documentation of people in Wok's and my circles, into wider communities of Indonesian youth. The project has gradually incorporated a wider audience.

On one of the discs, were the reflections of Dina, Wok's girlfriend who is also my colleague at Kunci. This was what Dina wrote in her reflections about the Spice Girls: "My mother is a human rights activist and feminist. When I was 9 years old, back in 1996, she recommended me to listen to the Spice Girls' music. She said that they have 'girl power' character. She thought it is one of the feminist ideas that I need to learn about. And I jumped with joy when listening to their songs."

During the exhibition at Dia-Lo-Gue in 2012, for example, I saw the 'I burned my life' disc folder booklet on top of a wooden table that is placed next to the CD rack. The folder compiles the favorite albums and testimonies of some participants. The statement, 'I burned my life', was written on its front cover. On the back cover I read '25 albums that changed lives'.

I browsed through the booklet. Each page of the booklet contained the participants' accounts of particular albums. I also participated in the project.

The album I chose was The Wedding Album by Duran Duran, and I wrote two lines to describe why. “I bought the album because I found the lyrics of “Ordinary World” interesting. A sentence that I remember the most from it is: ‘Ours is just a little sorrowed talk’

I read Ferdiansyah Thajib’s note on ‘This is my truth, tell me yours’, an album by the Manic Street Preachers. Ferdi is also a colleague at Kunci. Here was what he wrote: “The moment I heard the beat of the first song in this album as I tore up its cover and inserted it into the car tape of my friend’s white Corolla DX in one rainy afternoon in 1998 was the moment which drew me into the vortex of intellect homosexual.” Separately, a testimony about The Runaways from Sandya Finnia, a project participant who died because of a motorcycle accident was written on the window. She wrote, “Nothing could do better to represent my depressed soul like rock n roll. The Runaways save me into peace on my transition from a teenage girl into a woman.” Perhaps, for those who have known her, the CD-R with her picture on its cover had turned into a memento of her life.

COPYING AS A TRANSFERAL, SITUATED, METHOD FOR ACCUMULATING MUSIC RESOURCES

Wok’s project description states that Burn Your Idol was dedicated to exploring the role of copying in Indonesian music and listening culture. Different capacities to access music divide music fans into different groups of taste formation. The access to music varies across fan groups, with each having their own capacity to buying CDs or listening to music. Some groups have numerous ways of obtaining music, and thus possess a lot of music stored digitally on their laptops, or have long rows of CDs on the shelves. Copying is popular, particularly among those who were not always in condition to be able to purchase original CDs. It provides a congenial method for leveling up the music collection disparity among fans. During the cassette period, duplication was a norm to obtain music material. Burn Your Idol was situated in the period where copying performed an easy task to amass digital files.

At the same time, the accompanying text that Wok wrote as a project description reflects an anxiety that stems from reluctance to be perceived as

an activity to promote piracy. After all, illegal copying is part of piracy and piracy is deemed illegal according to the law. To differentiate copying practices among fans from the pirates of music CDs and other formats of cultural material, Wok proposed two basic reasons of copying—the expensive price of the original CD and the copied discs are usually not for sale. Copying is the cheapest and easiest option that weaved into the everyday acts to fulfill the needs for music. In this context, as stated in the text, copying cannot be perceived as piracy. The following is the text of the project description:[22]

> To follow the development of the optical disc drive, coupled with cheap recording devices in the market, the practice of copying original audio CD has become a popular activity among Indonesian music fans. Prior CD and MP3 era, cassette copying has been the norm. Here copying activities should be differentiated from copying practiced by the producer of pirated discs. The fans that copy cassettes or CDs do not attempt to produce the copied cassettes or CDs in a large number. In addition, they usually do not intend to sell them. There are two main reasons to base their copying practices: 1) they cannot afford to buy the original CDs; 2) they copy the original discs to be lent to other people, or to present as a form of gift. The available music material to copy is not limited to the original CD, but extends to other audio digital format such as WAV, MP3, or OGG. A DJ with limited resources could perform well with a collection of CD-Rs, made through converting some MP3 files from an original CD. For an avid music listener, with limited budget, copying serves as a means to facilitate music collecting desires. This means to amass MP3 files in the hard disk (which already filled with thousands of files). Such practice is deemed illegal seen from the law perspective.

The design of the Burn Your Idol installation is modeled on a two-wheeled

22 The Indonesian version of the paragraph reads--"Seiring dengan munculnya optical disc drive dengan alat perekam yang murah di pasaran, praktik merekam audio CD orisinil menjadi aktivitas yang populer di kalangan penggemar musik di Indonesia. Hal ini sudah terjadi juga pada jaman kaset masih sangat berjaya dan ketika CD atau mp3 belumlah populer. Aktivitas ini tentu saja berbeda dengan yang dilakukan oleh produsen pembajak CD. Para penggemar musik ini melakukan praktik tersebut tidak untuk diproduksi dalam jumlah yang banyak dan tidak untuk diperjual-belikan. Ada 2 alasan utama melakukan praktik ini: 1. Karena tidak mampu membeli CD orisinil, 2. Menggandakan CD orisinal untuk dipinjamkan atau diberikan ke orang lain sebagai kado/oleh-oleh. Tidak hanya CD orisinal saja yang direkam, bahkan format digital audio seperti WAV, MP3 atau OGG juga 'dijadikan' CD. Saat ini, seorang DJ dengan penghasilan pas-pas-an pun hanya bermodalkan CD-R hasil encoding dari format MP3 atau audio CD orisinil. Bagi penggemar musik fanatik yang berkantong cekak, hasrat untuk menjadi kolektor CD terfasilitasi dengan praktik ini meskipun di dalam hard disc drive nya sudah tersimpan ribuan lagu-lagu dalam format MP3. Dalam kacamata hukum, hal ini tentu saja merupakan praktik yang ilegal."

cart used by street vendors. During the 1990s, when cassettes were the dominant media for music, it was common to see cassette vendors on the street using this kind of hand-pushed cart. The vendors organized the cassettes on racks built on top of the cart. Often the rack would also serve as a desk to place a tape recorder. The potential buyers could ask the vendor to play certain cassettes on the tape, and evaluate the sound produced by the tape. The vendors usually had a wide selection of secondhand cassettes, apart from new cassettes, thus the sound quality might have become damaged.

The portable character of the handcart enables the cassette vendors, and other types of street vendors, to roam the streets. Street vendors usually move throughout roughly the same location, to follow the organization of certain market place. The portable handcart enables the street vendors with the capacity for mobility in conducting commerce in a more flexible manner. They can easily move to a more promising place, if there were sudden changes in the old commercial spot, which might impact on their sales revenue.

The Burn Your Idol exhibit was complete with a CD player, a pair of headphones and speakers, Four wheels were installed underneath it, so that the rack could be moved around. The set up of the Burn Your Idol cart reflected the usual elements in contemporary listening activities. The discs contained the whole album of a musician or group which had been chosen by the project participants and were arranged on the rack on top of the cart.

Wok explained that he based the design of Burn Your Idol installation on the cart of the cassette vendors. I observed that the pirated discs also were sold on the streets in the same manner as cassettes. The pirated discs sellers on Jalan Mataram described in the previous section arranged the discs on colorful plastic boxes on the table. A small disc player was placed alongside the boxes.

Developments in technology changes the way of producing, distributing, and consuming cultural material, but copying persists in performing an important method for accessing music. In developing Burn Your Idol, Wok alludes to cassettes, CD-R, and pirated discs, as important formats in his personal music experiences. Copying has been playing an important role in increasing the taste mobility of a music fan. It provides opportunities to broaden one's horizon of music knowledge. Copying mobilizes certain imagination of the fan

in developing the collection. It is part of the habit to govern everyday listening culture.

BURN YOUR IDOL AS MUSIC KNOWLEDGE INFRASTRUCTURE

Since 2011, Wok has shared spaces with Kunci Cultural Studies Center, the research organization that I co-founded in 1999 with Antariksa. In different ways, other Kunci staff and myself, witnessed the development of Wok's projects. Kunci's office was the place where Wok organized various meetings about his projects. It was also the place to keep the Burn Your Idol installation when it was not exhibited in a certain gallery.

In presenting Burn Your Idol in the Jogja Art Fair in 2011, Wok created a living room where a table, disc rack, and chair sets were installed. Part of the purpose of this was to highlight that the practice of copying is a common, everyday habit. The living room situation in the exhibition indicates the familiar setting of copying in the realm of fans. The familiarity of the setting is in accord with the informal way of performing copying. According to the introductory text of the project, the point of difference between the fans and the pirates is that fans would not attempt to commercialize the copied products. The later would copy certain cultural material in a large scale in order to sell them at a cheap price.

During the exhibition, the visitors came, observed the installation, sat down, or browsed the disc folder on the table. They could stand up and read the testimonies of the participants on the discs. If visitors were inclined, they could play the disc on the disc player attached to the rack. The atmosphere of the exhibition room felt cozy and intimate. Wok emphasized copying as part of his personal experience. Most of the time, his copying practices took place in a familiar setting—a study of his rented house, or a room in a warnet. They all felt as cozy and intimate as the exhibition setting.

The testimonies of Burn Your Idol participants narrated their feelings about music they liked. But the project installation, and how it was displayed in an exhibition room, provided deeper insights into the operationalization of copying. Copying CDs entailed resourcing other equipment to necessitate in the process. Copying is a practice that is defined within the constraints of the conditions of a particular technology.

When it was not exhibited in a certain gallery, the Burn Your Idol installation was put in Kunci's library room, next to some bookshelves. Sometimes the visitors of the library asked Wok – or someone else from Kunci - what it was. I asked about the position of the rack in the library to Wok one day. He said that the installation could be seen as a kind of library too: Burn Your Idol is a library of other people's favorite music. To display the project installation in a public library setting such as Kunci library is to generate the usefulness of the CD collection. The visitors of the library would have the possibilities to browse the collection of Burn Your Idol and play them. The scope of the project audience was expanded, and went beyond the usual audience of visual art and music.

The Burn Your Idol installation rack was made up of various technological objects; and each object played a different role and function. Larkin (2013) encourages us to see the relational aspect that lies between technological things, in order to see the infrastructural aspect to emerge from it. In Larkin's view, infrastructure refers "objects that create the grounds on which other objects operate, and when they do so they operate as systems" (Larkin 2013: 333). The whole installation emerged as an assemblage of various objects with a new purpose. The disc rack, participant testimonies, audio CDs, taken together, emerged as an infrastructure of collective music knowledge. Burn Your Idol started as a project to demonstrate copying as a useful method for personal music collection. To put the installation inside the library opened up a possibility for seeing the collective aspect of copying practices.

A NOSTALGIC AND BROKEN-DOWN INSTALLATION

The Burn Your Idol exhibit is still being circulated within the art world. Wok was invited to exhibit it as a part of Indonesia in *Song Eun: Mes 56 Keren dan Beken*, an exhibition featuring the latest works of Ruang Mes 56, a Jogja-based collective where Wok is one of the long-standing members, in SongEun ArtSpace, Seoul, in 2016. In this exhibition in Seoul, it was given a new look.

The wheels of the disc rack were gone. The discs were put in an open black suitcase, with a black steel stand to support it. And, the CD player was attached to the lower part of the case. There were two built-in speakers on the upper part of the case. The new look of the Burn Your Idol installation

mixed modern and retro appearances. The portable case used in the installation still maintained the mobility element of the old-fashioned cassette vendors. It was common to find these vendors using different forms of carts to put the cassettes and cassette players on the streets. Often these carts also doubled the functions as suitcases.

The old installation of Burn Your Idol made the last appearance in the *Ordinary Negotiation: Korean-Indonesian Artists Exchange Exhibition* at Lotte Shopping Avenue, Jakarta, in 2013. The participation in the exchange preceded Burn Your Idol's inclusion in the exhibition in Seoul. When the exhibition ended, the organizer returned the installation back to Jogja. It was still wrapped neatly and placed at Kunci's veranda, with the 'fragile' sticker still on its cardboard package. Next to the rack were garbage bin, plastic chairs, and raincoats hanging on a hanger.

Wok told me that the disc player of the old installation was broken. This was one of the reasons as to why he did not bother to unwrap the package at the first place. There were many reasons to explain why it was broken. The installation had been moved so many times, from one gallery to another and from one city to another. Or it was broken simply because it aged—just like other technological devices that overused, worn-out, and have become damaged beyond repair. To keep it neatly wrapped would keep the rack in good condition.

When the disc rack was still functioning well, it served as the realization of Burn Your Idol as a kind of audio library. But when it stopped functioning, the installation turned to be just a broken disc rack, or a closed library without notice of when it would open for public again.

The broken state of the installation represents how the media infrastructure works. It might be broken because there are other new ways for accessing cultural material. Burn Your Idol is at the junction of where technologies for storing and disseminating music material develop at a fast pace. The important role of CD-R in facilitating the sharing of music resources has been replaced by newer audio formats. To observe the display of Burn Your Idol in a gallery room, or in where it stands now, gives rise to a nostalgic feeling about CD-R technology. The Internet offers new platforms for accessing digital music. Bluetooth, installed to the smart phone as technologies also offer new way of data transfer. YouTube grows to be an essential means to watch music, film, and other audio-visual materials.

CONCLUSION

The guidance to navigate the ethics of access is pragmatic. The orientation of cultural access is materialistic. To engage in contemporary music and popular culture is to show a willingness to buy and collect more. The city accommodates the suitable infrastructure to fulfill everyday needs for cultural material. An exploration of Wok's efforts to access culture leads us to piracy shops, cassette and disc shops, secondhand market, disk *rental*, and *warnet*. They were the main places to get cassette, CD, DVD, magazine, newspaper, and the Internet access.

Wok moved easily from a new and original disc, to the pirated one, and to a secondhand object. The choice of format is based on the available resources and Wok learnt about the diversity of media formats in the process of making and exhibiting Burn Your Idol. The translation of the materialistic orientation of the cultural access is the desire for obtaining a large quantity of cultural materials (in digital or physical formats), provided in cheap price, and in relatively good quality. But this only happened when there were possibilities for making it happen. The decision for accessing a particular thing is accompanied with the readiness for calculating on spending a certain amount of money, and comparing the price with the quality of things purchased, or rented.

Piracy shops promised the most up-to-date audiovisual products. A pirated disc is always cheaper than an original one, but it is compromised by its low quality of reproduction. In some cases, it would be more valuable to rent some discs from a rental, or go to a warnet to download music and film. The visit to these places means to share the disc, computer, and Internet connection, with other people. Wok maximized them to mine as much digital files as possible. To buy pirated discs or to copy certain music stuff is a way of maneuvering into the fulfillment of what he would like to own.

I would like to refer back to Larkin's proposal (2013) for seeing the relational aspect that lies between technological things, in order to see the infrastructural aspect to emerge from it. What lies between technological objects are *more* technological objects, places, which provide public technology services, and people, who provide help and support for cultural access.

Wok not only moved easily from one type of media format to another, he also

transitioned from one technological tool or storage to another (from tape recorder, computer, laptop, mobile phone, to disc player, disc burner, CD-R, and USB). In experiencing the transition and 'technological move' (Liang 2005), Wok moved from various shops and *rentals* to the application of different methods of ownership of cultural material (from buying piracy, renting the original disc (to be copied at home), to buy the original disc, and access better sound quality of music from paid services like Spotify). Part of this process involved encounters with piracy kiosk owners, *warnet* and *rental* shopkeepers, and secondhand shop owners.

In the first part of the chapter, the meaning of mobility is manifested in the participation of global culture consumption. The second part of the chapter provided further insights into memory in the youth, which informs the development of media tactics. The second part of the chapter also outlined Wok's residency application to Rijksakademie, indicating his willingness to seek out new opportunities for working in a different cultural context and participating in an international art system. The narrative of his application elaborates on the memories for cultural and information sources in the past and what he used to do in order to nurture his interest in music and visual art (including what other people in his closest environment would do to support this). An art residency is a metaphor for an expression of appreciation toward important elements to inform Wok's art practices.

Through the creation of Burn Your Idol, Wok proposes a set of reasoning for the significance of copying in music consumption. Copying is useful for advancing one's acquirement of cultural knowledge. In the context of the project, Wok used copying as a method for collecting memories of music. The collected memories were realized into a collection of discs and they were put in a disc rack installation, which served as a kind of mobile public library. The project redirected the navigation of the cultural access through extending the value of the useful copying beyond the personal needs. Burn Your Idol imagined the organization of music material conducted in independent and noncommercial manner. To maintain an alternative infrastructure such as the Burn Your Idol library proves to be a difficult task. The disc rack installation is now broken and has stopped working as a library. It is like the course of a particular technology for storing and distribution, which is in constant readiness for being replaced by a newer technological tool. And when it happened, it will be considered old technology, and sooner or later, will run the risk of being broken too.

What does infrastructure mean in accessing a cultural product? What does

access mean in the making of the commons? I consider Sundaram's view (2009: 338) that "there is more to piracy than its illegality or economic potency, destructiveness or radical alternity." To access a cultural product requires a considerable knowledge of the media character. It includes knowledge of regulation types to regulate modes of consumption and distribution. Wok's media infrastructure is embedded in a mixture of official and illegal places, and is inhabited by informal techniques and different people acting as part of technological support system. In this chapter, I have elaborated on how the existence of piracy kiosks have helped to mitigate the access process. My research findings show that the guidance to navigate the ethics of access is pragmatic. In Wok's case, the encounters with various forms of illegality informed his view of cultural material. I have summarized two examples—his art residency and Burn Your Idol—which provide insights into the direction of the access. To participate in an art residency program is to demonstrate the capacity for accessing knowledge of how to get into various cultural institutions. In many cases, a participation in an art residency program aims to strengthen a personal cultural authority position. The creation of Burn Your Idol represents access as a matter hovered between personal needs and public purposes. It leads to a further discussion about the making of commons which partly involves an anxiety about copying and piracy. The broken disc rack installation of Burn Your Idol project does not only represent the broken installation of an art project. It represents the broken of the Burn Your Idol music library that conceived as a commons. The installation was broken even before it served as a commons for a long period of time. It suggests that an ability to care is a precondition for the commons.

CHAPTER 2

LIMITS OF SHARING AND MATERIALIZATION OF SUPPORT

The end of the 2000s saw the emergence of net labels. A net label is an Internet-based platform where musicians are able to share music for free. The development of communication technologies has enabled the production and distribution to be done independently and there is a range of means to stream audio and visual files for free. To participate in a net label practices is a deliberate choice for providing an online music platform to the public. It is also an attempt to break free from the hierarchical nature of music production within a record label environment.

The development of Indonesian Net Label Union (http://indonesiannetlabelunion.net/), founded in 2012 indicates the burgeoning net label and recognition of it as a music distribution platform. The members of the union are net labels from different cities—Yogyakarta (also known as Jogja), Semarang, Purworejo, Surabaya, Bogor and Jakarta. Yes No Wave, founded by Wok the Rock and based in Yogyakarta, was the first net label in Indonesia and has played an important role in managing the union.

A net label is not usually designed with financial planning to enable money generating-schemes through paid advertisements, revenue sharing on digital file sales, or selling pro accounts to the artists. To run a net label is to operate an independent record company with using as little money as possible. The questions that often lingers among net label organizers and the musicians who choose to distribute music for free revolve around what they would do to earn a living. To run a net label leaves room for a reflection about what 'sharing music for free' means for net label practitioners.

Kelty's research (2008) on the cultural significance of the Free Software movement is important in foregrounding the sharing discourse that the union tries to create. To follow Kelty, the Free Software movement would not have emerged without the efforts of the people that he referred to as "geeks" and the proponents of Free Software in paving the way for it. Kelty asserts that Free Software is an instance of a concept that he refers to as a 'recursive public,' that is "a public that is vitally concerned with the material and practical maintenance and modification of the technical, legal, practical, and conceptual means of its own existence as a public; it is a collective independent of other forms of power through the production of actually

existing alternatives" (Kelty 2008: 3). Free Software is concerned with how information systems work and are subject to control. In doing so, the people who develop and use Free Software narrate the stories of "creating a movement, sharing source code, conceptualizing openness or open systems, writing copyright (and copyleft) licenses, and coordinating collaborations" (*ibid*. p. 97). Kelty refers to Creative Commons, an alternative legal platform that many net labels examined adhere to, as another instance of the "recursive public." The creation of copyright licenses in Creative Commons suggests the shared sense of taking an active role in how information and knowledge should be governed.

The meaning of sharing in net label practices indicates an intention to redefine the meaning of control in music as a cultural commodity. Net labels are a means where artists reclaim their power to choose what platforms and what ways work best for their music. To share music for free is to make music available gratis. To obtain music for free has become a part of the norm of daily music consumption. Therefore to provide music without charge is an increasingly familiar act. Net labels do not provide musicians with a direct revenue stream, but provide opportunities for making their music more easily known. Throughout my research, the musicians I spoke with were largely unsure about how to become financially stable.

The adherence to sharing prompts direct questions as to how artists become sustainable. To share is regarded as a valuable principle to organize the net label union, and as the chapter shows, the union activists work hard to emphasize the importance of sharing. There is no specific requirement as to what type of online platform on which a net label should operate. Net label practitioners are active users of the Internet and the members of the union are mainly using blogs to manage net labels. Each net label is different, with regard to the management of the digital files of the music released. This signifies different levels of technological knowledge. Some net labels have websites, with a more professional appearance, while others are improvised and indicate only a basic knowledge of website design and functions. 'Net label' becomes something that defines what the members of the union are, and a currency, which allows them to talk to each other as a group of likeminded people.

In this chapter, I use the Indonesian Net Label Union and the stories of the people attached to the free music movement as case studies to observe how

sharing is imagined, reframed, and used to materialize support. I interrogate the embodiment (and the disembodiment) of sharing as well as the meaning of sustainability. In doing so, I examine the interlinking of sharing with piracy, materialization of support from the fans' loyalties and friendship, which forms the alternative infrastructure of the net label organization.

SOCIALIZATION AND THE WIDENING CIRCLE OF REFORM

To distribute free music indicates the decision to move away from the commodity realm, at least where the production and consumption of music is at stake. The meaning of music commodity can be deterred, especially because music is increasingly distributed through an intangible digital format. To promote sharing means to propose the reform of the distribution and consumption platform.

One of the means through which the Union promotes itself is through the Indonesian Net Audio Festival. During my field work, the union organized two festivals—in 2012 and 2014 respectively, and I managed to attend both. According to Anitha Silvia, or Tinta, a member of the organizing committee, the organization of the festival was intended to be a *kopi darat* event—an Indonesian neologism used to refer to the various meetings that happen offline. One of the aims of the festival was to further socialize and promote sharing culture, through different activities that ranged from providing an offline file sharing booth (where visitors could download music released by the net labels for free), radio workshops, film screenings, and the selling of merchandise. The Net Label Union activists facilitated a public learning process about sharing and related technologies.

A *kopi darat* functions as an occasion where net label practitioners, musicians, fans, gather and talk. It attempts to establish the position of the union as part of a wider sharing and open source movement. The public nature of the festival indicates its intention to expand the "circle of reform" (Hayden 1981, 134-181). To make socialization a regular agenda of the union suggests a systematic formulation process and 'an engineered culture' which inculcates good attitudes and habits (Strassler 2010: 16-8).

ON INDIE AND ALTERNATIVE

The music of a net label is the product of a selection process, which reflects

the personal taste and intuition of the net label owner and it is "very subjective" (Dominguez 2012). Such subjectivity highlights the criticism emerging from the net label community—that the kind of music to release from it is hovers between 'bedroom artists' and 'MP3 file dumping sites' (Thee 2011). In the digital environment, cultural products are flowing in through countless channels. The subjectivity of the net label is a key aspect in selecting and guiding the public taste to navigate the abundant music.

Music on a net label is often referred to as indie music. To define the meaning of indie, Luvaas' research (2012) reveals that it involves redefining locality and the remaking process of identity, place, and aesthetics. The definition of 'local' does not derive from the designated relation between tradition and the nation-state, but rather involves an active process of reinvention and reimagining. According to Luvaas, indie refers to "a local reinvented and reimagined by contemporary Indonesian youth, a 'local' dissociated from the classificatory schema of nation-state and colony, and built instead from the tropes and typologies of transnational popular culture" (Luvaas, 2012, 129). The aesthetics of indie music is a 'carefully selected assemblage' (Luvaas, *ibid*., 131), which indicates how the history of the musicians is formed and reformed.

The music style and the lyrics writing provide the domains where the assemblage processes commonly take place. At the same time they display the external appearances of the assemblage. The lyrics of the music used by indie labels are written in Indonesian, English, or regional languages from Indonesia. Likewise, the names of the net labels are often a combination of Indonesian and English words.[23] This might indicate the aspirations to be part of a global culture and it might also show their familiarity and daily consumption with Englishness as the lingua franca of popular culture.

The members of the union have their own music preferences to promote. The focus of the union was not on the textual and aesthetic realm of music. The inclination towards a certain music style was not the reason to unite under the banner of the same organization. But, rather the main reason to join the union was to practice sharing as an alternative way of doing (making and distributing) music. But what does it mean to implement sharing as a key

23 There were 21 net labels registered as the members of the union. Their names are a combination of Indonesian, English, and Javanese words. They were Brajangkolo Records, Death Tiwikrama, Ear Alert Records, Experia, Flynt Records, Hujan! Records, Inmyroom Records, Kanal 30 Netlabel, Kosmik, Lemari Kota Records, Mindblasting Netlabel, Nerve Records, Pati Rasa Records, Sailboat Records, SBAWS, Stone Age Records, SUB/SIDE, SUSU ULTRAROCK RECORDS, Tsefuela/Tsefuelha Records, Valetna Records, Yes No Wave Records.

principle in creative practices? Further, what does sharing mean in the context where sharing and duplicating files have been the norms of living and working in a 'networked information economy' (Benkler 2006)?

I argue that the participation in the union is an attempt to redefine the meaning of indie music. I take the establishment of the union as an example of the institutionalized collectivism and the institutionalization of cultural production. The development of the Indonesian Net Label Union serves as a self-organizing act to show the rise of a new kind of indie music generation. The union activists are musicians, indie band managers, music writers, and producers. They are cultural producers with visions and plans, who use sharing as a way of working that goes beyond mere music distribution. Sharing is used as a uniting concept and envisioned to be a collective project to achieve a collective sustainability. To work together as a union indicates the desire for living together as a community.

CULTURAL ACTIVISM

Having a band, playing in a band or being an *anak band* (a member of a band, or having a connection with a band), is a popular leisure activity of urban youth. It is associated with being cool and is a common lineage amongst net label activists. Other activists have a shared background in creating spaces for new ideas in art and cultural production. Before establishing net labels, the people whose stories are explored in this section had an experience in managing gallery, performance space, library and discussion place. These activists play a role in shaping the cultural landscape of the city. They produce what Ginsburg calls 'cultural activism' (2002: 9). To follow Ginsburg, they "talk back" to state cultural institutions through producing alternative ways and infrastructure of doing culture. Their involvement in the union emphasizes different initiatives and roles in managing their relations with music.

Jogja is labeled as a *kota pelajar*, a student city and is considered a good place to send children for their studies.[24] It has also earned a reputation as the measuring stick for Indonesian contemporary art as Jogja is home to many important artists, galleries, studios, and cultural centers.[25] Artistic and intellectual exchanges in the form of residencies have established the

dynamic of cultural mobility which connects Jogja to other domestic and international cities.A variety of traditional art forms and activities related to Javanese traditions still hold a strong currency in maintaining the flow of domestic and foreign tourists in Jogja.

Within this context, net label activities provide the ingredients for the formation of an alternative map of art and culture. To illustrate this, in this section I describe the pliability of the net label format through narrating the stories of key union activists. As this chapter shows, many of the key activists of the union are male and thus reflects the patriarchy of the local art and cultural scenes.

Wok, the initiator of Burn Your Idol project described in the previous chapter, has played an important role in managing Yes No Wave (http://yesnowave.com/). He is the most respected person in the union and is highly regarded as a leader though he often refused to be formally acknowledged as such. Before founding the label, he had been actively involved in Ruang Mes 56, an artist initiative and alternative space for contemporary photography and visual culture. While engaged in Mess Boys' activities (the activists of Ruang Mes 56 are often referred to as 'Mess Boys'—because they are comprised of male members), he maintained his activities outside of the group—publishing music of fellow punk bands through Realino Records label, organizing music gigs, and producing various zines. The exhibitions organized by Ruang Mes 56 have always been known for their accompanying music performances. Gigs and DJ acts were regular parts of the exhibition openings. This turned Ruang Mes 56 into a testing ground for new music. An exhibition program organized by them was something to look forward to for Jogja art community. These two forms of alternativeness, art space and music stage, became the vessel through which Wok learned the skills needed to run a net label.

Anitha Silvia, or Tinta, is an avid music listener and keen fan and is the only female key activist in the union. The last part of this chapter reveals her gendered relational position in the organization. It provides insights into solidarity as an important element to operationalize sharing.

24 There are around 130 universities and higher education institutions in the city. The list of the top universities in Yogyakarta are : Gadjah Mada University, State University of Yogyakarta, Atma Jaya University, Sanata Dharma University, Islamic University of Indonesia, and Indonesian Institute of the Arts.

25 The most important galleries include Cemeti Art House, Kedai Kebun Forum, and Ruang Mes 56. The names of the prominent artists who live and work here among others are Agus Suwage-Titarubi, Mella Jaarsma-Nindityo Adipurnomo, Agung Kurniawan, Eko Nugroho, Agan Harahap, Restu Ratnaningtyas, and Anti-Tank Project. Jogja is a fertile ground for artist initiatives and alternative spaces to grow – these include Lifepatch, Ace House Collective, and Lir Space.

Tinta's involvement in the union is the result of enthusiasm for finding people with similar music references. Before finding Yes No Wave as an important music source, she used to depend on MySpace to find the music that she liked and to connect with those of similar music preferences. Tinta is also an active member of C2O, a Surabaya-based library and cultural space (http://c2o-library.net/). In performing her day job as an event organizer for a company in Surabaya, she used her work experience at C2O and moved into various cultural activities for the broader public. C2O has actively engaged in capturing the multifaceted aspects of the city through history, people, and culture. The organization broadened its activities to make a net label to release music of Surabaya-based musicians and record the social and cultural life of the city. Sharing music is a way to contribute thoughts and voices the city.

The distribution function of Jogja Berdikari (http://jogjaberdikari.blogspot.com/), founded by Adya Mahardhika in 2008, stemmed from documentation process. Adya was a member of a punk band, *Jiwalangkaji. Berdikari* is an Indonesian neologism for being independent and is an abbreviation for *berdiri di atas kaki sendiri*, which means to stand on one's feet.[26] Adya established the label to promote and document the works of indie musicians from Jogja. Likewise, Mindblasting (http://mindblasting.wordpress.com/), founded by Taufiq Aribowo, or Arie, in 2009, was created in order to be a part of the infrastructure of Indonesian music archiving practices. Arie was a post-graduate student of Hospital Management System at Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah University and he holds a bachelor degree in Law from Jember University. Apart from his fondness of music, which serves as a foundation of his networking with Jogja cultural scene, his closeness to the city is enabled by regular travel to Jogja for his study. Since 2010, Mindblasting has been transformed into an audio library.

26 Within the context of Indonesian politics, berdikari was part of Sukarno's economy policy during Guided Democracy period commenced in 1959. Al Rahab (2014) investigates the coinage of the term back in 1957 by Sukarno, and examines its inclusion in Sukarno's Trisakti—the threefold national principle. The principle comprises of the following statements—1) berdaulat di dalam politik, to gain a political autonomy; 2) berdikari dalam bidang ekonomi, to stand on one's own feet in the economy field; 3) berkepribadian dalam kebudayaan, to retain [strong] personality in the cultural field. The application of berdikari, Al Rabah asserts, was part of the nation's attempt to create a strong national economy foundation during the early period of the independent Indonesia. The strength of the foundation lies not only in the potentials of Indonesian natural resources, but also in the willingness to focus on the social welfare of the people, and not to be dictated by the foreign economy power. In the popular discourse, berdikari becomes a usual expression of gaining autonomy in a wider sense. During Guided Democracy era, Sukarno proposed the formation of Gotong Royong Cabinet. See also my elaboration of gotong royong as the context of collaboration practiced in net label practices in another part of the chapter. Gotong royong is perceived as an emblematic of the state personality, which proposed by Sukarno as a uniting principle among different political visions and parties to exist in the Guided Democracy period (Bowen 1986). During New Order era, according to Bowen, gotong royong was reworked to mobilize the people labor to work on a state-led project under the guise of swadaya masyarakat, or people's initiatives.

For Arie, curating is a process that needs to be omitted in net label operationalization (Arie 2016: 114). The politics of taste as an essential element in the process often makes curation a rigid mechanism, and might transform a net label into another 'gated community'. Net label activists publish music that would otherwise go unpublished. Again for Arie, the real value of a net label lies less in its function as an online platform, to distribute music that often cannot find a home in more established channels, but more in its capacity to document music. A net label is perceived to be a tool of documentation. To employ documentation as a principle in a net label means to use it as a tool of inclusion. Music is seen as artifact and historical proof (*bukti sejarah*) that needs to be collected and archived.

It is useful to connect the meaning of documentation proposed by Arie with the notion of 'culture of documentation' as observed by Strassler (2010) when researching about photography in Java in the end of 1990s. Amidst the popularity of photography technology and photographs that were deemed valuable as well as the growing initiatives to build independent photo archives, she heard of perpetual laments for 'there was not yet a culture of documentation' (Strassler 2010: 16-18).

Within the music context, the usual distribution route for musicians was to produce demo tapes, resulting from many hours of recording sessions in studios, and then send them to radio stations or recording companies. The slow selection system often led to these demos being piled up and going unnoticed in storage rooms of recording companies. The tapes would easily become damaged while in storage due to their vulnerable character. Documentation, as Arie propagated through Mindblasting, means an attempt to rescue music from potential damage. In another conversation, Adya added that attention to documentation is important so as to prevent "the musical energy dissolving into nothingness". Documentation is important as it is the historical proof of a musician's career.

YOUTH, MEDIA CULTURE, AND ILLICIT SHARING

How users access the Internet is part of the process of building a set of strategies in controlling and managing the Internet. The Internet has proved to be a field, using the words of Lim, "full of holes" where the control of the state is continuously being contested (Lim, 2003: 242). Elsewhere, Lim (2013, 6) states that the coming of social media transformed the Internet into, a "convivial medium" where the youth exercise their participation in an

"act of consumption as well as the production and distribution of ideas, knowledge, and culture."

As the Internet's transformation shows, it becomes a site where the exercise to take part in what Jenkins coined as "participatory culture" is carried out (Jenkins 2006). Making personal websites has become increasingly accessible with the emergence of Wordpress and other kinds of adaptable software. Platforms for communication in the Internet have progressed to be dynamic mediums, which open up the users' productive capacities.

Using technical terms, Lessig said that compared to the platforms' static "Read/Only" state, such development enables the users to have "Read/Write" access, a possibility to express their thoughts (Lessig, 2008: 51-84). Benkler (2006) examines the emergence of new social practices where such participatory culture is translated and operationalized to form self-organized peer production works. According to Benkler, these works aim to redefine the existing hierarchy in the 'networked information economy' and present a 'non-market' approach to challenge the dominant 'proprietary business models.'

As downloading has become one of the main activities in *warnet*, many *warnet* owners store music, film, e-book, articles, and catalogue them according to their genre in the computers. A *warnet* with a strong audiovisual and text material collection becomes more attractive for a broader variety of customers. To have a part-time job in a *warnet* attracts many youth since it enables them to surf the Internet for unlimited hours – and to be paid for doing so.

Some musicians quickly recognized the importance of *warnet* as a site to get valuable material, and turn it into the fastest route of music distribution. Before founding Mindblasting, Arie used to work in a *warnet* called Waroenk Net in Jember. It was a *warnet* with the fastest Internet connection in Jember, a town in East Java, where he spent his college years. Many of his friends requested him to put the files of their music in the 'music folder' in the computers. He would play one or two of their songs during his work shift. As a result, some *warnet* users would approach him and ask about the songs.

Bottlesmoker, a Bandung-based band, shows another case of the relationship between indie bands and *warnet*. In the early years, Angkuy put the files of Bottlesmoker to the "International Music" folder in the computers in *warnet*,

available in large numbers around Padjadjaran University where he studied. The intention to put the music files in the "International Music" folder was to make it more interesting and entice many people to click and download the songs.

Angkuy went to many *warnet* to do the same thing. Depending on whether or not they had money to do so, the band would burn the music material onto CD-R discs and send them as promotional tools to radio stations or fans in other cities. Their *warnet* strategy seemed to work well, because users of the Internet shops started talking about them. They started to receive invitations to perform in small gigs in Bandung. Clothing *distros* in the city started to endorse them through providing various outfits for everyday use and performance. Over time, Bottlesmoker have received many invitations to perform in important music festivals abroad. Free distribution is a stepping-stone to win acclaim and gain different forms of advantages.

Blogging culture is another important complement to the development of net label. Blogging is an accessible platform for posting texts or pictures, uploading, downloading and streaming new sound experiments. Sharing thoughts in blogs, mostly created using free web hosting services, and making zines are two things considered important to develop writing skills. Such skills are important, for example, to write liner notes or a review for a particular album. Blog and zine hold a strong currency in the production of knowledge within the alternative music scene. Hilman Fathoni, the founder of Ear Alert Records (http://earalertrecords.blogspot.com/), for example, was also an activist at *Mahkamah*, a student press department of the Law Faculty of Gadjah Mada University. He was also a prolific zine maker. Hilman made zines called Jogja Noise and Ear Alert—which would later become Ear Alert Records. He made a collective zine called *Utek Jancuk*, a Javanese title means 'a bastard mind', with his fellow musicians—Wednes and Akbar. Hilman was also an active blogger in *Alphabeta*—a blog about youth culture, art, and literature (http://alphabetajournal.com/).

Wednes is one of Hilman's closest friends and Ear Alert Records is a takeover of Wednes' old net label—Pati Rasa Records that existed since 2011. Wednes is well-known as a lead vocalist and guitarist for duo known as Rabu. The Jogja music community also know Wednes through his involvement in other bands such as Asangata, Kultivasi, and Bangkai Angsa. The particular ways of music distribution that he uses shows his knowledge of online, digital media. For example, Asangata's music is hosted in

Blogspot, Kultivasi's music is found on Tumblr and Bangkai Angsa's music is on Bandcamp. Apart from managing these platforms, Wednes posted his sound experiments in SoundCloud. His music is freely available across various online platforms.

Wednes would routinely self-release his music through one of these online platforms. Some albums of his bands were also released by a net label or record label. For example, Asangata's *Rise of the Black Sheep* album was released through Mindblasting and Sonic Funeral Records in 2011. Some tracks of Kultivasi were released in a split album, which includes some tracks from an Italian artist, Uman Zuki, by three net labels – Ear Alert Records, Mindblasting, and Stone Age Records. Ear Alert Records released three demo tapes of Rabu. But Yes No Wave released Rabu's album. The free movement of the music is an important element in Wednes' ways of working. When he no longer had a use for Pati Rasa Records, he offered the label to Hilman.

The establishment of Ear Alert Records shows the close connection between blogging culture and illicit sharing practices. Before operating Ear Alert Records, Hilman made a blog where he put music files that he liked and allowed people to access it. He named it "Empetrinan Indonesia", a play on the Indonesian word for MP3. The slogan of the blog is "Sharing is *embuh*". *Embuh* is a Javanese word, which means 'whatever'. The goal was, as he said, "mem-public domain-*kan* semua", to put his music collection in the public domain area. In practice it meant to download audio material he liked, and uploaded them again in a website that he created for them. While Hilman acknowledged the practice to regard as piracy and *jahat*, evil, within formal regulation, to him the website served as *ruang romantis*, a personal romantic space, to cater for his own nostalgia.

He garners music from a variety of sources on the Internet. Many "holes" in the Internet provide free and abundant music resources from which Hilman uses to create his collection. "I depend on these illegal blogs to enrich my musical horizons," he says. Some parts of the collection were derived from his most favorite CDs. He ripped them, made picture to accompany the postings, wrote 2-3 lines to promote the music, and then uploaded them onto the blog. To store all the files, he uses a hosting service called Megaupload (http://www.megaupload.com/). Following the shutting down of Megaupload by the United States Department of Justice in 2012, his blog's music playing capabilities were compromised. The blog still exists, but the links to the

songs are inactive. The character of MP3 and the openness of the Internet engender a format which can be filled with a variety of music gleaned from range of sources. Blogs are effervescent in nature – with their links and streaming of music. But they can abruptly stop moving or be forced to stop under the power of enforcement authorities which regulate the legal meaning of piracy.

NET LABEL, PIRACY, AND CREATIVE COMMONS

MP3 is the most common format of files that are circulated within net label. The reproducible character of the format accelerates the notion of sharing that is promoted by net labels. It sustains cross-copying activities and the wider interaction between music fans. The intangibility of MP3 propelled the attachment of 'technology of piracy' label (Hu 2005). In Sterne's study of the history of the MP3 format, he asserts that piracy is "a central catalyst in the MP3's rise to pre-eminence and the growing value of MP3 patents" (2012: 208). Such a label attached to MP3, combined with file download as the main mechanism employed to distribute music releases, are factors that keep net label on the alert for being accused as supporting piracy. Pirated CDs (containing MP3 digital files) are usually sold at cheap prices in shops on the streets and malls of Indonesian cities. Yet, the free aspect of sharing practiced in net label suggests that the same music can be obtained without payment. It alludes to the *gratisan*, 'free things' collected through pirating mechanism.

The usefulness of pirating techniques within the local music consumption and listening culture is regularly debated within the everyday conversation in both the formal and informal sectors. To say piracy is openly useful, however, remains problematic. The introduction section of the union website is a case in point. It starts by stating that the level of music piracy in Indonesia is high, without any further discussion. Instead the following account details the examples of musicians who successfully distribute their music in digital format and sell the physical albums at the same time.

My assumption is that this is the avenue through which the union settles their views of free download and piracy. Among the union activists, free download does not always invoke a negative connotation of mechanism to the musicians' disadvantages. In net label practices, free download is not the

same as the free download in piracy, because consuming digital files does not necessarily reduce the desire for purchasing the 'actual' albums.

As MP3 is becoming an increasingly ubiquitous format, many fear it would bring more financial loss to physical releases distribution. For the same reason, while expressing support of the rise of net label, some musicians that I talked with during my fieldwork were reluctant to release their music through the new platform. But their fear is less in regards to rampant piracy and how it might bring a direct cut-down income, but more on them being afraid that MP3 would make their music *tidak ada bentuknya*, formless, intangible.

This does not mean that to distribute music digitally is not preferable. The MP3 format is nonetheless the most popular music format among listeners worldwide. To produce an album, which the digital files are dispersed, copied countless (in licit or illicit ways), played and stored in phones, laptops, and other gadgets, is an indication of a popular musician. Some musicians think that the digital format is preferable only if it is complemented with albums in physical formats, where the possibility to profit from it remains open.

A net label does not sell their MP3s as a product, yet the possibility to do so is open. To sell albums in physical formats enables the musicians (and the net labels too) to be rewarded for their creative works. Some net labels extend their production beyond digital format. Yes No Wave and Mindblasting are two members of the union, which produce CDs or records of their MP3s products.

While copying, along with downloading, duplicating, and storing, has been part of the common techniques for collecting, distributing, and storing digital materials, the discourse on the performance of copying often revolves around the illegal-criminalized practices (Yar 2005). The organization of anti-piracy campaign resulted in the shrinkage of fair use and public domain (Sundaram 2010). Litman (2000), in Sundaram, argued that as a digital term, 'copying' is conflated with pirating practices, which in turn has resulted in it being brought into the discussion about piracy.

In this context, the application of the Creative Commons license, herewith abbreviated as CC, as a mechanism to regulate the licensing system of music in the net label distribution demonstrates a gesture of critical voices towards mainstream copyright regime. In Indonesia, the application of Creative Commons emerged in a rather scattered manner. There is an articulation

layer of reasons behind the regulation use. Active support came from a group of designers and small publishers, who advocated new ways for consuming, producing, distributing, and regulating cultural products. There is little reference to inform about the first adoption of CC in Indonesia. It is difficult to pinpoint the year when CC became popular. It might have taken place around the early 2000s. Kunci started to apply CC in regulating the content of the website in 2001, and that was when the CC symbol started to look familiar on many websites. Under the control of the copyright regime, the encouragement of CC to reproduce creative spaces is appealing. It encouraged many people to copy and paste all symbols from the CC website to their own websites.

The net label union activists sought to make a clear statement about this gesture through co-ordinating a talk about Creative Commons at the festival. This talk brought together speakers from a range of fields who were involved in matters relating to Creative Commons in Indonesia. Net labels and other platforms which provide free music distribution sometimes apply 'CC' to their music. Some labels use non-CC licensing systems, but many still use the standard CC license. However, net label activists understand 'CC' in different ways.

CC encourages their users to recognize the creation of territory where the authorship of cultural products is regulated differently, through applying different licensing mechanism. The meaning of free sharing and creative appropriation encouraged by CC is premised on respect for authorship. The vision of CC is built on the realization of the Internet as an arena for developing public digital knowledge. The design of the licenses and tools created by CC aims to encourage the rise of responsible media users as well as respect for cultural producers. To serve as an infrastructure to build commons in the digital age, they are "legally solid, globally applicable, and responsive to our users' needs" (http://creativecommons.org/).[27]

The discussion about CC at the festival involved an explanation of the workings of all the CC symbols. One of the questions to arise out of the discussion was whether or not the aim of the talk was to expand the circle of CC users in the country. Participants also questioned whether it serves as the logic of expanding public domain music, which in turn help materializing music as commons. The establishment of Creative Commons Indonesia (https://creativecommons.or.id/), herewith abbreviated as CCID, managed to capture the attempt at bringing the new concept of licensing system in the

Indonesian context through the translation of CC licensing system into Indonesian.[28] The enthusiasm of those who engaged in the union as well as those at the festival indicates the entwinement of copying culture in everyday music practices. But this did not stimulate the CC talk to be a moment to dwell on the diverging views on sharing and authorship in depth and unlearn the dominant views on piracy.

The possibilities to monetize cultural products are wide and this encourages creative ways to survive. At the same time it conflicts with the ideas of decommodifying music. During a question and answer session of the CC talk in the second Indonesian Net Audio Festival in Bandung, there was a conversation between Ivan Lanin of CCID, Hilman, and Robin Malau of Musikator, which revealed the layered dimensions of commercial and noncommercial prospects which are part of the application of Creative Commons.

> Ivan Lanin: Do you get any profits from operating Ear Alert Records?
>
> Hilman Fathoni: None.
>
> Ivan: (Laughing)
>
> Hilman: (Smiling). I have been getting a sense of romantic feeling from operating Ear Alert Records. It is a kind of great feeling which comes from distributing wonderful music. And that it has been enabled by mutual trust from musicians and friends that distributed their music on my label. Many have asked me about the possibilities of producing compilation of music on my label, and then sell them. But I think it would clash with the vision that these musicians are trying to build.
>
> Ivan: I think it is just a matter of how you can communicate the royalties with the musicians whom you have worked with through Ear Alert Records. No-one would refuse to get profit from what they are doing.
>
> Robin Malau: No-one would have refused such things! I confirm this through my experience in Musikator. Bottlesmoker distributed their music through it, and their manager has been so keen in asking about the royalties.

27 Creative Commons provides different copyright licenses and tools, which enable sharing, using, and building on other creative works that existed. Creative Commons explore four areas of licensing: Attribution (CC BY), ShareAlike (CC BY-SA), NonCommercial (CC BY-NC), and No-Derivation (CC BY-ND).

28 Creative Commons Indonesia (CCID) is an affiliate of Creative Commons International, operated in Jakarta, Indonesia since 2012. The organization works to introduce Creative Commons licensing system to an Indonesian audience. In addition to translating the licensing system into Indonesia, CCID organizes workshops on the application of Creative Commons in the field of scientific research, education in general, and art and culture. It facilitates specific workshops targeted to train local facilitators of Creative Commons. The CCID's website also serves as a site where its staff blog about copyright matters in everyday media culture.

> Hilman: But all music in my label is non-commercial. So if I would transform it into a CD or anything, and monetize them, it has to be in agreement with the musicians.
>
> Ivan: My suggestion is to try to profit from what you are doing., just try to sell (*Cobain jualan*). I think it is a shame if you do not get anything from it.
>
> Hilman: I do not know. I know what you mean. But I believe that the musicians who distribute music on net label have different views of money and market. They have different goals.

THE ECONOMY OF THINGS

The intangible quality of MP3 and their free distribution has triggered a series of thoughts to balance it with means that provide a source of revenue for musicians. Bands and musicians have become interested in exploring the physical presentation of musical products. For example, Zoo, an experimental rock band, released an album (Prasasti, 2013) in the form of a two layered-stone. In between the stones was a CD. To Die, a noise band, released an album – *Grind Your Lunch*, 2013, in the form of a lunch box containing two cassettes. Frau, a solo performer, released an album – *Happy Coda*, 2013, in the form of a music sheet book so that her fans could play her songs on their guitars or pianos. The files of Frau's songs could be downloaded for free from Yes No Wave's website. These albums indicate the reluctance of musicians to give up on the materiality of their music's presentation. They emphasize their point of difference that would otherwise be flattened through digitalization.

Through the making of the unconventional forms of albums, music is materialized and transformed into collectable objects. It underlines an intention to maximize the desires for collecting musical artifacts among fans.

The cheap value of the digital files indicates the abundance of MP3 files. They are easily reproduced and are stored in such great quantities that individual tracks or recordings seem almost valueless. Another aspect which suggests the abundant character of today's music, in relation to the development of audio storage technology, is a condition that Sterne (2009: 57) referred to as "small moments of willful forgetting." This does not derive from simple carelessness, but from the confidence in the ongoing existence of things. Users of MP3 files do not always recognize the vulnerability of the

files. This is an aspect, which encourages some net label activists to regard their activism as part of a much needed documentation project. In accordance with this view, my observation shows that many fans use documentation as a reason to justify their acts of purchasing merchandise and physical albums. Documentation becomes a cause and a means pronounced clearly in the economy of musical stuff.

Many musicians who distribute music for free through a net label make merchandise—t-shirt, tote bags, pins, and posters. Artists often make the merchandise themselves and act as sellers. The rationale justifies money circulation, and at once complicates the notion of commodities and sharing. The practice of buying merchandise does not point to the practice of engaging in usual commerce, but goes beyond that. From the perspective of the artists, financial resources derive from merchandise selling mean promises to underwrite future art production. From the perspective of those who buy the merchandise, buying is perhaps the most convenient way and the shortest route to support the 'production department' of the artists that they like. It provides a way to contribute to the sustainability of independent production and indicates respect and goodwill towards the artists.

Different forms of merchandise are sold through various channels. Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram become important distribution channels. Yes No Wave opened Yes No Shop, a shop dedicated to merchandise and physical releases in 2013. Some performance venues own shops, which serve as distribution outlets. Another distribution route is through shops managed by artist-made spaces or alternative spaces. These things circulate within their "indie cosmology" (Fonarow, 2006: 28) and are a product of a careful consideration process from the artists. The physicality of the spaces often translates into conversations and environment, which help shaping the distinct qualities an artist hopes to maintain.

The physicality of MP3 also emerges into moments of social interaction between net label activists, musicians, and their fans. The organization of the festival, with meet-and-greet opportunities, developed by Indonesian Net Label Union is a case in point. For example, offline sharing booths were intended to facilitate an interaction between a net label and music fans. Mukti (2016) elaborates on the rise of physical releases, merchandise, and other things that manifest in the growing of *lapak*, a non-permanent booth as a trade mechanism. Growing out of his personal experience as a manager of Yes No Shop, the official merchandise department of Yes No Wave, he

describes a potential role of a shop manager on the front line of indie music discourse (Mukti, 2016: 87-101). His research show how the development of *lapak* has moved beyond its business function, become a supplement to the gigs, and provides many avenues of information or gossip exchanges among indie music scene community.

The phrase "support local products" has been popularly used to encourage people to support the "creative products" of production that arise from outside the mainstream mode of production. The use of the phrase is considered in the context of encouraging the people to respect the works of the 'children of the nation' (i.e. Indonesians; a translation of the term 'anak bangsa'), and to realize it in the act of *buying*. In many distribution places, music merchandise and unconventional formats of albums are often mixed with other elaborate-creative objects produced by indie musicians, artists and designers. It reflects taste and aesthetic preferences of the people who run the shops and the type of products they seek to promote. These things are all for sale. And, in this case supporting local products means buying them. It relates to the capitalization of the value of indie production, and, money plays is circulated.

The audience still constitutes a cohort from which revenue is derived and financial returns are made. Profit and fans are two elements which stimulate the dynamics of relations between merchandise sales, the life of the band, and the scenes where distribution activities and music-based social interactions take place.

DONATIONS

On Yes No Wave's website there is an invitation to support the net label through donation and merchandise purchase. It reads: "You can donate at any amounts you want using PayPal. Your donation can keep us still alive and kicking. You can also purchase our merchandise as your donation." Yes No Wave uses the concept 'gift economy' to explain the rationale of their sharing practices. Gift economy was in English—as if it would be too difficult to find its equivalence in Indonesian. When I first read 'gift economy' on their website, it directed me to think about 'gift economy' coined by Mauss (1974). But none of the net label activists had read Mauss's work before. Their knowledge of gift economy came from other sources about it on other (usually) overseas net labels' websites, which later informed the way they identified themselves.

I perceive it as part of their intellectual engagement to approach sharing as concept and practice. It leads me to think whether Yes No Wave people associate gift giving with social solidarity, as stated by Mauss. It also makes me wonder about what kind of solidarity emerges from this process.

Donating – money or goods - is an activity usually associated with philanthropy. There is a set of ethical principles, often intersecting with religious or spiritual values, that underlies donation practice. Voluntarily contributing something for a good cause is noble. It contributes to the broader community well-being and to economic welfare. This principle is what underpins its appropriation for harnessing people's participation in contributing their resources to various art and cultural activities.

In the view of 'gift economy' which informs Yes No Wave's practice, the *gift* is conflated with another term in the giving category—donation. These two terms refer to the same thing. They are perceived to be the essential factor in participation and it includes an ethical dimension to the work production process. In conceiving the particular capacity and resources as a *donation* (in-kind value), one may be aware of it as a special quality. Unless it has this standing, it cannot be meaningfully donated or given away. The involvement with a cultural project, with a good cause, becomes a new trope, and today signifies an enlightened attitude among fans. It suggests consumption with conscience about the meaning of particular work in the social environment and what one can do to support the work. Likewise, in these circumstances these recipients of the donation also perceive it as significant.

I find it useful to contextualize donation with other new ways for funding art projects have been practiced widely in Indonesia and beyond. *Gotong royong* is a set of norms that regulate the relationship between people among the population, and the relationship between the state and the population. *Gotong royong* describes the state's normal means of mobilising people's participation in various development projects. It constitutes a political imagination, to be activated as the foundation of a cultural project. When an activity is done in the spirit of *gotong royong*, labour is valued as fleeting, abundant, and free. According to Bowen, such labor is 'to be donated and not purchased' because it is assumed that those living in a community "are willing to work in *gotong royong* fashion, that is without pay" (1986: 545-561). The success of *gotong royong* is constructed from its installment as part of traditional rural society. Collective work is acknowledged as a common work method. This is all conducted on the basis of reciprocal relation.

Crowdfunding, a collective financial scheme, is one of the new mechanisms that have been increasingly applied among indie music community. Underpinning the organization of the scheme is the Internet culture and public participation enabled by it. Brabham describes it as "a funding model whereby individuals use the Internet to contribute relatively small amounts of money to support the creation of a specific product or the investment in a specific business idea" (Brabham, 2013: 37).

In *gotong royong* and other public participation schemes initiated to sponsor development projects, the voluntary aspect disappear because it emerges as a form of request coming from above. The voluntary aspect, in crowdfunding schemes, is veneered by an invitation to support ideas of a cultural project, and emphasized to strengthen solidarity. According to Brabham, the success of crowdfunding within various social contexts especially where public funding for arts has decreased, adds to its popularity among artists and cultural initiators.[29] The loyalty of fans is fundamental to crowdfunding initiatives. Crowdfunding provides scope to rethink the notion of independency, or *berdikari*, capabilities to stand on one's own feet, layered with the desire for maintaining a sense of personality, in producing culture.

YK Booking is a case in point. It is an initiative run by indie music community (music event organizers, merchandise shop owners, and musicians) which provides different equipment (guitar, drum set, carpet, motor helmets) to support the needs of bands which tour Jogja. For many bands, money obtained from ticket sales does not cover the expenses for renting the venue and equipment for the show. The difficulty in making money from being a performing musician contrasts with the lively music scene in the city. YK Booking uses gig as a means to collect money through their 'crowdfunding' schemes. Crowds at gigs are likely to be supportive of their work and sympathetic to their cause. In many gigs and other strategic occasions that I attended during my fieldwork, I often saw YK Booking's donation box placed on tables. Compared to the Internet-based crowdfunding, YK Booking chose a more face-to-face method.

The tone of the donation request posted on Yes No Wave's website does not carry any sense of urgency. It is proffered as if it is always in readiness for nothing. Somehow it reminds me of a donation box, an *infaq* box in a mosque; it sits passively and patiently for someone to voluntarily donate money. Wok doesn't seem to care whether his proposal would generate

donors or not. Since he created the call for donation on Yes No Wave's website in 2009, there have only been two donors to his label. As further indication of his indifference to their donations, he was not even able to remember their names. These donors gave $10USD and $5USD respectively – not enough even to cover costs (rent; webhosting; electricity etc) for one month. Independent crowdfunding initiatives rely on spontaneity. The public invitation to donate only receives lukewarm responses. This suggests that it might take some time for Jogja people to get used to the idea of contributing money through the Internet.

FRIENDSHIP AS INFRASTRUCTURE

Friendships are a form of resource, readily transformed into labor association or partnership when opportunities arise. By referring to friendship as resources that are readily available, I continued conceptualizing it as a form of proprietary access to an open network of feelings and services between individuals. It is open since initially it is never intentionally aimed at achieving particular goals. The process of formulating these goals run parallel with the deepening of understanding on the potential capacity that lies within every individual constituting the circle of friendship. Friendship thus is a kind of asset that can be transformed into parts of support system or infrastructure for the arts.

One meaning of friendship, to follow Agamben, is a state that would 'open up a privileged point of access' (2009: 26). The logic of the support system practiced here derives from the classic notion that *relasi* (relation) and *koneksi* (connection) are infused with a productive character.[30] Among the

29 For example, Pandai Besi, a music project in the form of a new band created by a prominent group Efek Rumah Kaca launched their crowdfunding project in early 2013. The objective of their crowdfunding project is to fund their recording process in a legendary recording company Lokananta in Solo. In committing its recorded music to production by the financially vulnerable and precarious Lokananta, Efek Rumah Kaca has brought public interest into play commensurate with the ethos of the crowdfunding mechanism. Efek Rumah Kaca/Pandai Besi's crowdfunding initiative needs to be considered in the context of Save Lokananta—a campaign to raise social awareness of Lokananta. Efek Rumah Kaca was among other musicians—White Shoes and the Couples Company and Shaggy Dog—that proposed doing a live recording in Lokananta partly to make the campaign successful. The crowdfunding initiative is both a way of funding a new music project and a way of covering ongoing costs. Depending on the financial value of the support, each contributor is given a different product acknowledgement (For 60,000Rp pledge, a Pandai Besi cassette with a picture will be given. For 150,000Rp pledge, a CD and a t-shirt completed with signatures of Pandai Besi members will be given. For 350,000Rp pledge, one would get a cassette, CD, t-shirt, and 7 inch vinyl. For 700,000Rp pledge, one would get a cassette, CD, t-shirt, tote bag, photo album, and 12 inch vinyl. For 10,000,000Rp, one would get a cassette, CD, t-shirt, tote bag and private acoustic session). To attract more people to contribute to the crowdfunding quest, the products are made in a limited number.

artists who are a part of my research, the most productive form of koneksi is termed as *kolaborasi* (collaboration), which is celebrated as a new method of production in the art scene. The range of art collaboration is wide—from artistic ideas of collaboration amongst a group of artists, the realization of an artistic idea of an artist by a local artisan, to the mutual fulfillment of resources between different individuals or collectives in the creative arts.

The labour based on friendship practices, to follow Hardt, can be referred to as 'affective labor' (1999: 89-100). Although as Benkler asserts, affective labour is susceptible to commodification, it is still available to facilitate social exchange (2006: 96). In this section, I portray Wok's attempts at fostering friendships, building them up over time, and benefiting from them – just as Wok's friends (me included) benefit from his trust and friendship. Following Hardt, the affective labour features a certain immateriality, from which anti-capitalist projects often find their ground. The immaterial labour, however, , does not necessarily mean that it is located outside of capitalist production (Hardt, 1999: 89-100).

While emphasizing the notion of friendship as the basis to support the well-being of a net label, my intention is to point to the diverse economy not only as an arena to demonstrate strengthening of support, but also to reveal conflict and friction potentials, all sorts of incompatibility, awkwardness, and anxieties.

A productive *koneksi* indicates its infrastructural capacities, or the possibility of people to transform it into infrastructure as argued by Simoné (2004). The idea of 'people as infrastructure' proposed by Simoné, derives from the extension of the idea of 'infrastructure' to 'people's activities.' Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's 'representations of space,' which describes the close interrelation between *places, people, actions, and things*, Simoné's 'people as infrastructure' defines adeptness at generating 'maximal outcomes' from the tentative and precarious processes of remaking the city and urban environment, which in turn shapes how one lives, makes things, and collaborates with other people (2004: 407-411).

The network system that the people in Indonesian Net Label Union depend on

30 Koneksi also refers to an access to individuals or a group of people of high social standing. To have such access means to have the opportunity to secure certain advantages and bypass formal bureaucracies at once. To have connection is associated with corruption, collusion, and nepotism. The popularity of 'KKN', an abbreviation for Korupsi, Kolusi, dan Nepotisme indicates that corruption is rampant. During New Order era, 'KKN' was emblematic of the Soeharto regime. 'Stop KKN' was part of the chanting slogans of the protesters to support the end of the New Order era.

is founded on a context where another model of 'people as infrastructure', locally known as *gotong royong*, operates. If being in a friendship is to possess readily available wealth, or rather labor, how can the wealth that emerges from friendship be defined? My assumption is that it has been taken for granted that the available labor in a network of friends is abundant. They are regarded as abundant because they can be obtained relatively easy.

Friendship also refers to the 'friendly' way of talking about money in Javanese culture. What is often emphasised in everyday labour negotiations is the intangibility of money. Under the flags of trust and friendship, people do not deliver their services and put them in exact monetary terms. Various terms such as *gampang* (easy), *santai* (relax), and *nanti saja* (later) are regular expressions to defer money's tangibility.

In maintaining Yes No Wave, Wok depends on the support of others in his immediate environment—Jogja's music and arts communities. He received help from a friend who was in a web developing business to cover the web hosting. He also received different forms of help to advertise the merchandise produced by Yes No Wave—taking photographs, modeling, and styling for the advertisements.

Since 2011, Wok has been sharing a space with Kunci Cultural Studies Center, where I have worked since 1999. Kunci and Wok have been partners in many projects. For example, Wok developed Kunci's website and has been taking care of other things related to it. He was involved in our media and technology research project as a research coordinator of Megamix Militia, a component of the project to focus on audiovisual remix exploration.

We shared the rent fee as well as the electricity and Internet bills. There was no regulation of the usage of the rooms in our rented space. Kunci contributed more money to pay the rent fee, thus in principle had the right to use more rooms. In practice, both of us had equal rights to access them. In fact the space have become a co-working space where different people from our circle of friends and networks shared the space to work. Between Kunci and Wok, there was a vague regulation of how the monthly expenses should be paid. Whoever had money first (*punya uang lebih dulu*) would pay the bills first. The vagueness of the agreement entailed another vagueness in the payback mechanism among us. The progressive aspect of time in the phrase suggested a situation where one shows advances in the economic life as well

as its precariousness. In the context of money possession, *punya uang lebih dulu* can mean a situation when someone 'happened' to have more money within a given temporality. There were months where Kunci paid all the bills. And, on some occasions, Wok did the same (although rarely).

Wok's reputation as an artist earned him popularity and trust in his work. His personal and professional reputation is an essential factor in making his personal earnings, and the possibilities that connect him with potential colleagues, which can help in advancing his career. The clients of his personal website design jobs were mostly from the circles of artists, musicians, and art cultural organizations in Jogja and Jakarta. To apply for a residency program abroad, he would receive assistance, ranging from suggestions for filling out the application form, providing recommendation letters, and different useful information from curators, gallery owners, artists, and other people, with whom he regularly worked with. I wrote two reference letters for Wok's residency applications, in which one of them was successful.

The organization of the Indonesian Net Audio Festival, for example, was relatively easy. Partly because some aspects needed for the festival could be attained freely. Friendship and infrastructure overlap. The organizer did not need to pay the fee for renting the venue for the festival. They used Kedai Kebun Forum facilities, a restaurant-cum-art space run by artist-activist couple Agung Kurniawan and Yustina Neni, to organize the symposium for free. A friend lent her car for making transportation arrangement during the event easier. Some of the presenters as well as the performing bands in the festival were the people that he already knew for long. I was invited to present a paper about piracy and copying in the symposium during the first festival. While acknowledging those deemed competent in the discourse of sharing, it points to sharing as an exchange that relies on the generosity of a network and takes place in a convivial environment.

Two years later, I was given an opportunity to help designing the symposium and the book discussion of the second festival. I did not receive money for what I did for the festival. But I was being offered transportation fee to Bandung, which I refused because I have a budget for that in my fieldwork fund. I was also being offered to stay in a house rented specifically for this occasion (and stayed there with other people from the organizing committee and the invited artists), which I also refused because I tended to stay alone in

a hotel. During my three nights stay in Bandung, Angkuy of Bottlesmoker and his girlfriend took me from the festival venue to the hotel every night with a car. The organizer had arranged all this for me.

I was willing to contribute to the festival because I knew that the event served as an avenue for collecting research material and valuable information for my research. Sharing is an opportunistic act. I felt like I had to do it because of the thought that if I did that then I would have a place in a certain support system. I was happy to do it because it meant there was appreciation for my research. The request for contribution still falls under the scope of my capacity. The workings of sharing depend on the recognition of things to share. It engenders a set of questions about what aspects that cannot be shared, or condition in which the affect of a network puts in question. I reflect on that aspect of the network in the following sections.

THE AFFECT OF A NETWORK

On one occasion during my stay in Jogja for doing the second phase of fieldwork, Wok and I were in a joint meeting with Eliza Roberts from Asialink, and two Sydney-based artists who were in the city as part of the Asialink's Art Residency Program. Kunci and Wok's Yes No Klub hosted both artists during their residency period. Dina of Kunci and a member of Yes No Klub were also attending the meeting.

Eliza asked Dina and me to give an overview of what Kunci is. I told Eliza about the newsletter, library, mailing list, and website as important platforms during Kunci's early years. We continued talking about our projects and how the number of our websites had been growing. I said that Wok has been helping us with designing the websites. Dina said that Wok was also involved in some of Kunci activities. Wok laughed and said that he did that in his spare time, and if he had time to do it at all. He said, "Because Kunci have money, and I need it." I tried to perceive it as a joke and began to laugh.

To build a partnership, which is based on friendship is to bear in mind that a series of feelings and gestures are accurate measurement tools to value it. At the same time they are tools, which can complicate the expectation on a partnership. In the case of Wok and me (or Kunci on a wider scale), even

though a series of our partnership was working well, but what was hinted at what Wok said at the joint meeting I described earlier that to him our partnership was considered just the usual business co-operation first and the intertwinement of friendship and partnership second struck an uncomfortable feeling to me. Though in many cases friendship is an assured thing to rely on, it perpetually forces to stay in conflict. It forces to construct a friendship, which leads to another reconstruction episode on different friendship composition. While this asks to acknowledge the unstableness of friendship, at the same time it asks to see it as an aspect where the strength of friendship is built upon. Both its certainty and success seem to be constantly unfixed; as though they are always on their way to somewhere.

ON BEING THE MOTHER OF THE UNION

After the Indonesian Net Audio Festival #2 in Bandung, I met Tinta again in Jogja. She told me a lot about what she thought of the festival. It seemed that many net label practitioners participated in the event perceived net label another online platform for music distribution. She was disappointed in the way the festival was organized.

She felt that there has been a lack of support from within the members of the union. During the preparation period, there was a lack of understanding about the immense amount of work she had to perform in order to make things happen: traveling to Bandung every month, doing all sorts of coordination with the festival partners. It required money to cover accommodation and meals while staying in Bandung. There were times when she was not in a position to be able to use her personal money for it, and she had to find a way to manage that using the recently formed network. When she tried to get down to the nitty-gritty of the festival, brought them up on email conversation with other members of the union, she didn't receive a reply. She said that it was as if the union failed in the attempt to educate the music community about sharing. The colleagues in the union could not be the shoulders on which she could share her burden and emotion in the way she imagined.

At this point, we might ask whether an intention to join the union was accompanied with a certain expectation. The Union did not promise anything, except perhaps that the participation in it would validate the inclination of the

members towards sharing practices. The structural design of the union—no leaders at the top of the hierarchy—indicates the collapsing hierarchy of the organization. It suggests equal position among the members. Would it necessarily lead to the changes in the habit of taking initiatives in organization?

In the previous section I have described kindness as resources to be expected from a network. Kindness is also a cultural investment to be treated in kind. A situation, which does not seem to lead to productivity, but rather unkindness, would be taken as dry, unwillingness, and not very useful (Swaragita 2016, 119-120). The kind of kindness that Tinta had expected to come from her union fellows was concrete appreciation. Emails that received no replies did not count. Money contribution perhaps would be much appreciated, though this was left unsaid.

The silence of the other union members regarding Tinta's emails shows that horizontal organization brings forward new challenges around authority and work coordination. It might take more effort to extend a sharing-based organization into a material support system. Not everyone is equally willing to share free labor.

Being the only female among other core members of the union, once Tinta told me, several years ago, she often felt as the 'mother of the union'. Such a definition, however, leads to another set of questions whether it would not underline an already male-dominated sphere of the art scene and preserve the stereotypical portrayal of a woman. But it suggests the importance of sacrifice and caring in maintaining collaboration.

In order to work together, one must be ready to make sacrifices. If the meaning of sacrifice to be extended, it would cover the preparedness to attend unexpected needs in order to achieve a shared goal. Suddenly, I thought of how the expectation for readiness to make sacrifices uncomfortably fits with Tinta's designated role, perhaps something that go along with her caring instinct, as the mother of Indonesian Net Label Union.

As we walked back from Kedai Kebun Forum to Kunci, she said that in general she felt that everything was okay. All these did not make her want to withdraw from the union. "At least I can add this [the experience of leading the organization of the festival] as a valuable activity to my CV," she said. This comes across as a negative response, but it might be an expectation one has when participating in a collaborative work.

CONCLUSION

To share creative works is an open possibility, so long as there is a prospect of profit. Sharing necessitates the creation of condition when the expectation from it is clear. The kind of expectation to emerge from sharing, to concur with attempts at de-commodifying music, is directed to move away from a mere financial gain. But how can this be used to reason out the sustainability of future works and economic autonomy? The implementation of donation and merchandise sale to materialize support from fans demonstrates that the materiality of money and format persists.

Is sale an improper act in the making of a commons? I suggest that to think about what one can do with the sale might be a more productive perspective. At this stage, I perceive donation and merchandise sales as a way of establishing support in terms of financial and moral—especially from fans. In the context of the music industry, the selling of musical products is an area where musicians are rarely given opportunities to state their opinions. This chapter narrates 'selling' as an area to be reclaimed by the musicians. My research shows the artists' engagement with selling in ways that might not be accommodated in the music industry.

Various forms of sharing and illicit-sharing advantages, with the ambivalence attached, feel too sticky to explain in black-and-white manner. Enthusiasm for pirating techniques occupies ambiguous spaces in everyday conversation. Through a series of discussions and talks during the festival, the union had tried to build intellectual moments to facilitate dialogues about it. It failed. The union activists needed to explain how sharing mechanisms are employed differently from a sense of sharing in piracy. It seems that to develop an alternative distribution system requires an effort to recognize the boundaries with the other distribution system. It goes back to the personal trajectory of access. To identify the boundaries is not sufficient. It needs to be complemented with critical thinking regarding how a certain copyright policy would affect areas of creative expression and cultural access.

To work together as a union indicates the desire for living together as a community. I go back to Kelty (2008) with his 'recursive public' concept to think about the union activists. To follow Kelty, I imagine the activists to be the people who have a shared sense of taking an active role in how making music should be governed. But how long would such shared sense last? This

chapter has narrated the organization of the union as well as the net label that is preconditioned by the construction of alternative infrastructure, founded on the bases of cooperation, collaboration, friendship, which combined with piggybacking. The last parts of the chapter explored the discrepancies between sharing and working together. To share is to hope for something. But until hope becomes real, sharing feels taxing. Sharing is whatever—as reminded by the slogan of Hilman's old blog. It is still too early to speculate on the direction of sharing discourses initiated by the union. The union faces concrete challenges whether it can transform into a more reliable support and caring network.

CHAPTER 3

STUDYING PARTICIPATION THROUGH *WALK THE FOLK*

I walked up a narrow steep road in front of Mira's house with a group of friends. Mira and her family live in Kaliurang area, at the foot of Mount Merapi. Undulating terrain, hilly roads, lots of trees, and villas, were things that one could expect while doing an excursion into the area. Kaliurang is a popular local tourist destination. People come to the area to seek calmness and enjoy its beautiful scenery, away from the hustle and bustle of Jogja. We walked, chatted, looked around, scanned anything that caught our attention, and found reasons to open conversation with each other again—particularly with Mira and her husband, Dito, the hosts of the trip and the gig.

I was not entirely familiar with all people at the event. The fact that we were all here for the same event was the only bond between us. As we walked, I tried to find a personal mode of contribution to the conversation within the group.

We were attending an event called *Walk the Folk: a participatory secret gig*. Mira's house served as the meeting point of the people who came for the show. I had never been to her house before, but I felt somewhat familiar with it as the house appeared regularly in Mira's social media accounts, along with snippets of her daily life and work routine.

To start off, Sandi, one of the organisers of the event, and also a close friend of Mira's, gave some opening remarks. We stood on the veranda of the house and listened to him. Sandi talked about Folk Afternoon, a precursor of Walk the Folk. Folk Afternoon was a regular live music acoustic gig that he helped establish with Mira. In accordance with the name, Walk the Folk is an event based around folk music. The idea of the event was founded on the memories that Sandi collected from collective playing guitar activities while hanging out and chatting with his friends and neighbors in his *kampung*. Playing the guitar and singing on the side of the street is a common practice for establishing and maintaining social contacts with one's neighbours. Mira and Sandi often cited these relaxed guitar-playing activities as the context from which Folk Afternoon, and later Walk the Folk, took its inspiration.

Folk Afternoon was usually held in Lir Space (http://www.lirspace.net/)—an alternative space comprised of an art gallery, shop, restaurant, and reading

room. In Folk Afternoon, the musicians and the audience would sit in a room, playing and enjoying music. Walk the Folk is designed to take place in a different kind of music venue; it is not in a room, or a terrace, of a building, but in an open, outdoor space. This chapter examines Walk the Folk, and its relation to Kaliurang where it took place.

On Mira's personal website (http://www.miraasriningtyas.com/), she describes herself as an independent curator and writer. My knowledge of her has been largely informed by her curatorial activities in Lir Space where she serves as the founder and in-house curator as well as her blogging and reviews about visual art, design, and travelogues in magazines like *Truly Jogja, Things, Dewi,* and *Elle Décor Indonesia*.

Even before I conducted this research, there had been many moments where the paths of my activities crossed with that of Mira's—at exhibition openings, discussions, seminars, and so forth. Mira was familiar with my activities in Kunci and participated in some of Kunci's activities.

My presence at the event at Kaliurang can be explained through looking at how my activities intersected with those of Mira's. A few weeks earlier, I had met Mira at the opening of Aditya Novali's exhibition at Cemeti Art House. She told me briefly about Walk the Folk, which she referred to as "a secret participatory gig" and invited me to attend it. She knew I was researching music culture and thought that I might be interested in the event. The name suggested that Walk the Folk was an event about walking which become a part of the way of doing music. According to Mira, in Walk the Folk, we would walk together to explore Kaliurang's secret places and enjoy music. I was immediately interested by her short description about Walk the Folk and said yes. Though I have to admit that a factor that also made it attractive to me was the line-up of the musicians that would participate – inclusive of Gardika Gigih, Layur, Frau and Banda Neira. These were musicians who were well-known in the Jogja Indie scene.

WALK THE FOLK AND PARTICIPATION TURN

Mira explained that Walk the Folk was basically an open stage for numerous musicians. But the implications of her concept of "a secret participatory gig" were unclear. Participation seemed to be a key part of the event. What did it mean and what would they do to achieve it? To connect it with the walking

element of the event, would participation also imply a capability to walk, and to take action? At once the event sounds a bit oxymoronic as 'secretive' does not seem to comply with the openness that the participation contains.

Within the context of art theory, the theoretical elaboration of participation discourse has also been developing. As participatory art becomes an important category and is circulated within the global art system (Bourriaud 1998, Bishop 2012), participation emerges as a subject of study. It is something to learn and discuss. Bishop's book in particular, *Artificial Hell: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, was the main reference on which the people who were eager to take part in the participatory art discourse keen on reading. As the enthusiasm for engaging in the discourse of participatory art grew, the tendency to attach 'participatory art' or 'socially engaged art' labels to certain art practices followed.

During the research period, there were numerous discussions about participation and participatory art. Kunci Cultural Studies Center, the cultural organization and research collective of which I am a part, held a series of reading group on Bishop's book in early 2013. This reading group was one of numerous efforts within the Yogyakartan art scene where practitioners, researchers and artists sought to come to terms with 'participation'. The scope of the group was small and only lasted for three months. The participants of the reading group were artists, art managers, curators, writers and researchers, who had employed the notion of participation in their works. Mira was one of them.

The interest in discussing the matter of participation, establishing a political position, morality stance, and conveying thoughts on the issue seemed to grow during this time. What was the impetus to such eagerness? What does the interest in the participatory art signify? The organization of Walk the Folk, while highlighting the attention to participation, prompted further questions about what changes to expect from creating a music event called 'a participatory gig.' Indeed, what does it mean to be interested in 'participatory art' where the meaning of 'participation' in a local context has been continuously redefined?

To follow Bishop, and to historicize the trajectory of the participation discourse that the people behind the participatory art activities' formation undertook, participatory art reflects attempts to interchange the conventional relationship between the artists, their works, and the audience. The format of

what is referred to as artworks is loosened and artworks become "open-ended, post-studio, research-based, social process, extending over time and mutable in form" (Bishop, 2012: 120). It provides greater room for difference, variation and exploration. Any aspect of the work is subject to changes and adjustments. How would the changes in defining the production of work in art equip an artist with sensibilities towards one's context?

Using Walk the Folk as the focus, in this chapter, I study the dynamic course and social life of participation as a concept and practice in Yogyakarta. The notion of having a participatory quality in Walk the Folk sprang from an intention to make it an open stage for performers and audience alike. I use it as a cue to perceive the organization of the event as a means to redefine the established notions of authority, artist, and audience, through reorganizing the stage. How would the reorganization of the stage, making it mobile and more open, inform the new meaning of participation culture?

In order to answer the question, I divide the chapter into three parts. In the first part, I give an overview of Lir Space as a cultural environment to shape the creation of Walk the Folk as well as the people who were part of it. Lir Space is a part of the rise of alternative spaces that emerged after 1998. Lir Space and its activists are a space and the people that were born, grew up, and inhabit the cultural production climate, characterized by participation culture. The management of Lir Space is a space-making act, a crucial element of the cultural movement post-1998. I elaborate on how Walk the Folk functions as an environmentally driven performance space. In doing so, I contextualize Walk the Folk within the rise of gigs that take place in a scenic (or pleasant) environment. I examine the factors which are taken into account in setting up a small, limited, and participatory gig such as Walk the Folk.

In my attempt to understand the meaning of participation in Walk the Folk, in the second part, I look back to historical references, which point to social engagement practices, coupled with the desires for capturing the environment better. To illustrate this, I use the case of the leftist Institute of People's Culture (or *Lekra*, an abbreviation of *Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat*) and the urgency to produce seni kerakyatan, or art for the people, as the aesthetics and political standard for evaluating art in the 1950s and the 1960s. In the context of contemporary Jogja where artists are asked to rethink the ethical dimensions of their works, it is worth revisiting Lekra's practices. It demonstrates that the people, ('rakyat' in Indonesian) have been

the source of inspiration and ideology formation for artists. In this part, I also try to situate Walk the Folk in the context of *Kuliah Kerja Nyata*, which roughly translates as 'practical university studies'. *Kuliah Kerja Nyata*, or usually referred to and abbreviated as KKN, is a student community service, and an established mechanism, designed for delivering a concrete contribution organized by the university. KKN was as part of the immediate social contribution trajectory for the people who organized Walk the Folk and participated in it as Kaliurang has been an important KKN site for the universities in Jogja. Many students were sent to live and work in the villages around the Kaliurang area. In the final section of the second part, I provide an overview of The Kaliurang Project, initiated in 2013—a year before Walk the Folk started. The Kaliurang Project is one of Mira's earlier projects where she developed her earlier thoughts about research and cultural projects, which involve social engagement of wider participants.

In the third part, I analyse the stage and walking as practiced in Walk the Folk. I explain the attempt to redefine the concept of stage through the creation of mobile and multiple stages. Such a conception of the stage has the potential to blur the boundaries between the performers and the audience. Through an exploration of walking as the main mode used in organizing Walk the Folk, I question whether the reorganization of the stage leads to a conversation between the participants of the event and the Kaliurang residents. My observation is that the shared sense of experiencing a space when walking together during the gig does not translate into conversation or collaboration among the participants, but finds moments of sharing on social media platform instead.

PART ONE
Lir Space

The idea of participation, or, participatory art, as employed at Walk the Folk, relates to ideas of participation as evident and exercised at Lir Space.

Mira, Dito, Sandi, and their friends who were involved in organizing Walk the Folk and Folk Afternoon were still in high school in 1998 – the year in which President Suharto stepped down and when the reformasi era started. When they started college, some of the pioneering, alternative spaces had already

closed. They heard about the stories and documentation of these spaces from other people, or through articles in various mass media. Some other alternative spaces have become established cultural centers, and on the other hand, new alternative spaces have been growing. Many students had chosen these spaces, as they provide more contextual and appealing programs for extra-curricular activities, than through subscribing to extra-curricular activities schemes available within the university environment.

Before founding Lir Space in 2012, Mira and Dito were both seeking to participate in promising activities organized by various cultural spaces in Indonesia or abroad. For example, Mira was one of the selected curators to participate in the Young Curator Forum organized by Cemeti Art House (Yogyakarta). She also undertook a residency and research at 98B COLLABoratory in Manila, and Japan Foundation in Jakarta selected her to be part of their Young Curators Workshop. 4A, Sydney, selected her to take part in their intensive curatorial workshop.

During her college years, Mira was involved in an environmental NGO, helped initiate an environmental friendly school for children, and opened a public library. As an institution, Lir Space is a product of Mira's participation in various cultural spaces, which existed in post-Reformasi Indonesia and the cultural mobility she enjoyed. It was also the outcome of the dedicated time for reading and digesting any possible knowledge materials that she had access to.

As a space, Lir consists of a shop, restaurant, gallery, and library. Like other alternative spaces, it runs on an independent and flexible financial structure. It does not have stable support from any founding agencies. The shop and the restaurant are the main support system of the space. In practice it uses the personal resources of Mira and Dito. To support the running of its activities, it mainly relies on the generous networks of friends and their willingness to contribute their free labor to the operation of the space.

There is a solid geographical-cultural imaginary axis, which lives in the minds of the Jogja residents. It divides the city into two parts—the northern part and the southern one. This division marks the boundaries between the two parts based on the existence of Mount Merapi and the Southern sea in the northern and the southern parts of the city respectively. Standing at the center of the axis is the Sultan's Palace.

Drawing on the existing axis logic, Mira and Dito reinterpreted the northern part of the city as the intellectual bearing of the city. It was the area where non-art universities are located. While, the southern part of the city was reinterpreted as the cultural bearing of the city. It is the main domain where artists, alternative spaces, artists run spaces, and galleries can be found.

Geographically Lir Space is located at the center of the city. Based on this, Lir Space preferred to see them as the gate bridging the inhabitants of the northern part of the city (too much intellectual pressure, not enough exposed to art environment), and the inhabitants of the southern part of the city (too much art, and perhaps intellectually inadequate). Lir Space is the domain for those who want to study or wish to learn more about making art. The exhibition and workshop being held at Lir Space are intended to be a training site.

Most of the artists who exhibit at Lir Space are regarded as emerging artists, in comparison to many of the local and international artists who circulate in the art spaces in the southern part of Yogyakarta. Ex-Lab was a program, which depicted the goal of the space best. It was a 'laboratory for the making of solo exhibition'. The participants of the program were selected through an application process and they took part in a three-months workshop. During the workshop, artists, cultural practitioners, and researchers in small classes mentored the participants. The topic for each class was different in accordance with the common ground shared with the participants. Mira invited me to be a mentor for Ex-Lab in 2014 and she asked me to talk about artists who use historical materials in their works.

Mira and Sandi were the organisers of Folk Afternoon and Walk the Folk, but the way the events were organized were often linked to what serves as the backdrop for them: what they did on a daily basis, who they hung around with, where they spent their time and what they did when they were together, and so forth. Initially, I intended to make Mira the center of this chapter, but I kept finding myself changing focus to Sandi, Dito, and other people who were a part of her circle of friends. It is relevant at this point to list her circle of friends and to locate them in particular cultural places.

Sandi was a professional yoga instructor and teaches yoga at Balance Mind Body Soul studio. Mira was one of his students there. Though having a formal education background in engineering, Sandi nurtured fondness for design and photography. He exhibited his photography work in an exhibition called

"Strangely Beautiful: Traveling through the Eyes of a Solitary Walker" at Lir Space in 2012. Since then Mira and Sandi's shared ideas and interests have transformed into various forms of activities.

Dito, Mira's husband, is a visual artist who is also a member of Ruang Mes 56. Together with his sister, they were actively involved in publishing Truly Jogja, a Jogja-based magazine on art and the city. In the magazine there were numerous articles about Walk the Folk, Folk Afternoon, and other activities conducted in Lir Space. I knew Dito from his work at *Truly Jogja*. When he started to pursue his photography works through involvement in Ruang Mes 56, I felt like I had already known him for long time. This is also because Kunci and Ruang Mes 56 have always been within close geographical proximity.

Moki is a visual artist and musician. He has founded and been a part of numerous music projects: Sik' Sri, Airport Radio, Sweet Mistake, The Wonosari, Black Ribbon, Shopping List, and Punkasila—a collaborative project between Jogja-based artists and Danius Kesminas—a Melbourne-based artist. Moki and Sandi formed a band called Gemati. Moki, together with Malcolm Smith, an Australian artist, and Rudy Hermawan, he founded Krack!—a printmaking studio and gallery in the southern part of Jogja.

Sandi, Dito and Moki play varying roles as collaborators in Mira's projects. They also regularly appear in Mira's postings on social media platforms—showing their friendship-based activities—lunch, picnic, and other things. From social media, I saw that Moki was a regular attendee at Folk Afternoon gigs. He and Sandi also played regularly at Folk Afternoon gigs. Moki would sit quietly and enjoy other music, but would readily take up the guitar and play when needed. On the Folk Afternoon gig to celebrate its first anniversary, Moki opened a small booth to provide free silk-screen for the audience. I brought a dress to the event and had a Folk Afternoon logo printed on the back of my dress.

The reconceptualization of the Folk Afternoon gigs took place as they were doing it. As a project, it was always put in 'in progress' mode. The Walk the Folk that I attended was the first edition of the event. In follow-up, they evaluated it and discussed different mechanisms to make it better. In the second edition of Walk the Folk, some aspects were evolved conceptually. This will be discussed further in this chapter.

WALK THE FOLK AS AN ENVIRONMENTALLY DRIVEN PERFORMANCE SPACE

Amidst the vibrant and dynamic life of art and the cultural scene of Jogja, a general comment or lament that was often encountered during research was that the city was still experiencing a lack of adequate places for music performances. The definition of adequacy might vary, but many would refer to a performance space with spacious design and good quality of acoustics. A description of the performance spaces in the city provides insights into the current condition of art and cultural spaces. The performance spaces in Jogja can be divided into two main categories. The first category is a performance space that is attached to a gallery or art institution. It can be an established performance space or other multi-purpose space[31] (e.g. auditorium) that is readily mutated into a performance space. Second, the performance spaces that can also be categorized as public spaces, such as parks, university buildings, or stadium.[32] Some cafes are also growing to be potential performance spaces. [33]

When Walk the Folk took place, there had been other gigs—big and small—in other cities, which were also held in amongst beautiful natural scenery. Rrrec Fest in the Valley—an annual music festival organized by Ruang Rupa is an example. Taking place in Tanakita Camping Ground in Sukabumi, West Java, with an emerging and prominent musicians line-up, Rrrec Fest quickly attracts many people and musicians to participate. The event is usually sold out weeks in advance. In Bandung, similar events called Lazy Music Festival and Lazy Hiking Club have also emerged. Both events are organized regularly to perform music and explore the beautiful scenery of Bandung at the same time.[34]

31 To mention the examples of such spaces, they are Kedai Kebun Forum, Societet Militair, Tembi Rumah Budaya, Bentara Budaya, Langgeng Gallery, Indonesia Contemporary Art Network, Jogja Expo Centre, and the Yogyakarta branch of Institute Francais d'Indonesie. In recent development, many musicians have performed in the auditorium of Pusat Kebudayaan Kusnadi Harjasumantri, the Kusnadi Harjasumantri Cultural Center, of Gadjah Mada University.

32 The most recent edition of Festival Kesenian Yogyakarta, or Yogyakarta Art Festival, transformed a food court in Condong Catur area in north Jogja as the main stage for various forms of performances. Still in the category of public space as performance space was the stadium, most notably the Kridosono and Maguwoharjo stadiums, Taman Sari water castle (the former royal garden of the sultanate of Yogyakarta), and both the northern and the southern squares of the royal palace of the sultan of Jogja.

33 Oxen Free and Kedai Koppi Bell provide an example of bar and café, which opens the space for music experiments. Yes No Klub, a live music event initiated by Yes No Wave, regularly organized music events in Oxen Free.

The locations that are remote from city centers or the usual tourist destinations seems to make comment on the lack of a proper place for music performance. At the same time, these performances also indicate there is an inclination to organize gigs in café, houses, or certain buildings, which aim to create a more intimate and personal ambience.

Though organised by Mira and Sandi, part of the impetus to establish the first Walk the Folk came from Gardika Gigih, a singer and piano player. Gigih proposed the idea of having himself and other musicians playing the piano at Mira's house in Kaliurang. In attempting to remove music from the realm of commodities, these intimacy-driven gigs have the potential to be more private and exclusive.

Compared to the usual performance where anyone who can afford to pay for tickets can be in the audience, within the framework of the newly designed gigs, having money does not necessarily provide one with the possibility for watching certain gigs. As the description about the profile of the participants would make clear, it was rather *koneksi*, connection with the event-organizer and abilities to present cultural capital prove to be more important factors.

SMALL, LIMITED, PARTICIPATORY

Both Mira and Sandi reflected that Folk Afternoon had become 'a too ordinary music concert'. Folk Afternoon was initially designed to capture the ordinariness and informality of music and depict music as part of the everyday. Based on my impressions gathered from attending the events, Folk Afternoon is a subdued and relaxed music event. To follow what Sandi said in his speech, it was a low-key event, and aimed to be as low-key as the common sight of seeing a group of people playing guitars together in a kampong at night.

At some point, however, Sandi and others considered that it had become 'too famous'. Folk Afternoon had become a popular music event to see the performance of popular and good musicians. But to be able to create an interesting gig, which attracted a large audience was not necessarily what

34 Ruang Rupa organized Rrrec Fest. The organization of Lazy Music Festival and Lazy Hiking Club indicates the close relation between the musicians who live and work in Bandung. During research, I observed the names of the musicians who appeared to be part of the regular organizer—Bottlesmoker, Tetangga Pak Gesang, Nada Fiksi, and Teman Sebangku.

Sandi and Mira were aiming for. For example, Mira used the word *gengges* to describe the large audience at one of the gigs. This term of Indonesian slang pejoratively described the crowd as 'disturbing' the event. Each time there were performances by famous indie musicians, the gigs were always well-attended. One such infamous case was when Folk Afternoon invited Elda from Stars and Rabbit, Eggy from Answer Sheet, and Tetangga Pak Gesang. Folk Afternoon was becoming *too* popular.

Mira, Sandi, and Dito, started to envisage a new music event: Walk the Folk. It was different from Folk Afternoon as it incorporated walking and several different locations for performances. They wanted it to be smaller in scale, but conceptually strong, so that it could still be used as a site for a wider discourse on art. The new event was imagined to be a space where one could be 'gigging' and 'meet like-minded people at shows' (Fonarow 2006: 97). The number of the audience members has to be kept small so that it would make it easier to control. Mira wanted to avoid any form of *gengges* (disturbance). To ensure this, the organization of Walk the Folk would not be accompanied with any form of advertisement.

The decision to limit the audience numbers might be considered to contradict the idea of wider participation. Perhaps to compensate for this tension, the organizers also sought for a group of small audience, who could participate in Walk the Folk through contributing their skills or knowledge. The event was both an opening up of the concept of 'stage', while also placing limits and expectations upon the audience. What kind of participation could emerge from this event? A prospective audience might be someone, whose capacity the organisers (Mira, Sandi and Dito) were already familiar with. The artists who performed in Walk the Folk and the organizers worked as a team to select a group of a suitable audience.

There were four musicians, or guest stars, in the first edition of Walk the Folk that I attended: Gigih, Layur, Lani or Frau, and the duo Bandaneira (Ananda and Rara). Lani invited Nadya, a musician and a member of Individual Life. There was a song in Frau's first album that was co-written by Lani and Nadya. Mira invited me because she knew that I was doing research about music. There was Titah Asmaning, a crew member at Lir Space, who is also a journalist at Warning Magazine. Titah showed her interests in writing about Walk the Folk in mass media. It turned out that her essay on it appeared in

Cobra magazine titled Walk the Folk: Piknik, Musik, Kisah, dan Jalan Kaki (*Walk the Folk: Picnic, Music, Stories, and Walking*). All photos, which appeared with her writing were created by Dito and used to illustrate this chapter. Titah and other crew from Lir Space spent the whole night transforming the garage in Mira and Dito's house into a stage. Dito and Mira invited Moki, a close friend, and also Sandi's band mate in Gemati.

When I arrived at Mira's house, I saw someone holding a piece of paper with the guest list in his hands. Later I found out he was also a crew of Lir Space. Each time there was a guest coming into the house, he would tick off a name. It started to make me feel privileged, because I was there at the special invitation from the organizer to enjoy good music from good musicians.

PART TWO
Lekra and Turba

Before 'participatory art' became one of the keywords to stimulate the art and cultural discourse, the idea of 'research-driven art' or 'the artist researcher' informed the development of visual art discourse in Indonesia. In accordance with the growing interest in participation, Hal Foster's exploration of 'the artist as ethnographer' has become another important reading material and deepened the discussion about 'the artist as researcher' (Foster, 1996: 171-203) among cultural activists and theorists in Jogja. Foster captured the turn to research in contemporary art practices with 'new ethnographic envy' (*ibid*. 182). Research gained a new currency as an important element in art production. In the early 2000s, I observed that curatorial workshops organized by alternative spaces in Jogja and Jakarta included a class about doing research in art practices. The inclination for doing research is in line with an increasing mobility to characterize art practices. Many artists seek out for having opportunities for living, working, and researching, in various cultural contexts. Traveling and art residencies are the activities to which the Lir Space activists aspire. The Walk the Folk event was an invitation to artists to take an excursion into the surrounding environment and engage with it.

Part of learning from the surrounding environment involves learning from the people. The Institute of People's Culture (LEKRA, or Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat) and its *Satu Lima Satu* (One Five One, 1-5-1) principle was an example of an art association which was able to formulate a method

for articulating art works which not only had high artistic value but was also emblematic of Indonesian identity and the people's culture. The 1-5-1 principle reads:

> Adhering to the principle of politics as the guardian, we conduct the combination of five propositions — egalitarian and eminent, high level discourse on ideology and high artistic value, combining the good practices of traditions and revolutionary contemporary values, combining the creativity of the individuals and the wisdom of the masses, and combining socialist realism and revolutionary romanticism through the Turun ke Bawah method, or 'get down to the grassroots'.[35]

The close relation between LEKRA and the Indonesian Communist Party has been the source of discussion for other scholars (see also see Foulcher 2001, Antariksa 2005, Bodden 2012, Yuliantri 2012). Antariksa's research drew on transcripts of interviews with artists who lived and worked within the *sanggar*, and who associated themselves with LEKRA from 1950 to 1965. Within the realm of the art world in the 1950s and the 1960s, the empathy for the people served as the key factor in art production. This leads to another point in Antariksa's research that *Turun ke Bawah*, usually abbreviated as *Turba*, was a concept that was not entirely novel for those involved in the art world during that period. He depicted LEKRA as an art organization to show that to engage in art means to engage with the politics and the people. Politics and people are the valid arenas for artists.

To follow the political turmoil in 1965, those who were associated with Indonesian Communist Party—including writers, artists, and cultural activists that organized under LEKRA, were exiled (Setiawan 2004, Hill 2012, 2014, Isa and Makki 2011, Sipayung 2011).

While the artists who employed Turba as a work method attempted to embody it in their works, the research process itself was often invisible. Only through memoirs and various writings produced by the artists who lived in the period is the research process evident. Basuki Resobowo (2005), a

35 The Indonesian version of the Prinsip 1-5-1 of LEKRA reads: Dengan berlandaskan azas politik sebagai panglima, menjalankan 5 kombinasi, yaitu meluas dan meninggi, tinggi mutu ideologi dan tinggi mutu artistik, memadukan tradisi yang baik dan kekinian yang revolusioner, memadukan kreativitet individual dan kearifan massa, dan memadukan realisme sosialis dan romantik revolusioner, melalui cara kerja turun ke bawah.

prominent painter and activist in LEKRA, wrote his memoir in exile in the Netherlands, observed that capturing suffering is the main task of art. A similar belief underpinned the works of Amrus Natalsya and the development of Sanggar Bumi Tarung in 1961 (Thamrin 2008).[36] Suffering was shared, and supplied energy to the artists' acts of participation in their environment.

In her memoir, a prominent artist Mia Bustam wrote of a similar basic principle of doing painting emphasized by her husband, Sudjojono, to his students: "*gunakan baik-baik matamu*", use your eyes properly, and learn from the surroundings (Bustam 2006: 34). In an evocative manner Nashar (2002: 100-101) recalled the learning from the environment ritual performed while living and studying at Gabungan Pelukis Indonesia, GPI, or the Association of Indonesian Painters, in Jakarta. Part of the basic activities during the process included walking and observing the environment—they also are important elements which make up Walk the Folk activities. Below is Nashar's account of the learning practice:

> We roamed the streets at night. With sketchbooks in our hands, we explored the streets of Jakarta. Regularly we ended up in the ever-chaotic Senen area. In many cases we walked and chatted along the way to Jatinegara. The distance between Senen and Jatinegara was approximately 7 km. What were the points of attractions from Senen and Jatinegara to us at that time? What did we get from such experience? There must have been something interesting and powerful which drew us to these areas.

To go to a certain place is to explore and conduct a deep observation. In the case of LEKRA, to go to a certain place, and to conduct *Turba* is also to show political engagement with the people. It indicates the intention of Turba practitioners to switch the roles with those who lived in the Turba locations, or those who were conceptually positioned below the Turba practitioners. The conceptualization of Turba occurred at different historical moment. I provide Turba case as a historical evidence of the idealization of art, how art is mobilized, to serve a specific task and relevance to the society. Walk the Folk does not identify itself with Turba. But the participation concept attached to

36 A *sanggar* is perhaps the best-known word referring to an art and cultural space. It derives from Kawi, an ancient Javanese language. It means a small room used for worshipping god. It can also mean an association that has been established for multiple purposes. Sanggar, in the context of art, is a space in which a group of people learns to make art under the auspices of a mentor. During the early development of modern Indonesian art, establishing an art association played an important role not only in defining the relation between art and politics, but also defining the meaning of doing art when Indonesia was still in the early stage of developing national consciousness.

the organization of the event suggests the legacy of social engagement in practicing art. Walk the Folk is inclined to do an outward music voyage. It implies that it is about music, but it should not be limited to just that. It begs for further examination of what the scenery might function in the Walk the Folk repertoire.

KULIAH KERJA NYATA

Although *Kuliah Kerja Nyata*, hereafter referred to as KKN, operates outside the art field, it is a familiar activity to the participants of Walk the Folk. The people that I talked to during the event came from different university backgrounds. They told me how KKN was part of their early experience in making a contribution to their society. The implementation of KKN is a part of the students' assignment process during the final year in the university. In the KKN scheme, the participation of students in the 'real world' was part of the top-down requirement to get the degree from the university (Gellert, 2014: 383).[37] The existence of KKN demonstrates an effort of established education institutions to experiment on a certain mode of contribution to the broader public.

In KKN, students are obliged to live in a designated village, *desa*, to design and do various kinds of *kerja nyata*, or 'practical work' for the people of the village. To participate in the society is to provide useful contribution. In order to make a contribution, the students ought to dwell in a new and unfamiliar environment. To live in a village, as necessitated in KKN practices, suggests a willingness to let go some parts of the privilege of being a student. The students are also expected to learn from the values of the people who still live in a village and have not had access to university education. This is important in order to be able to feel what it is like to be outside the comfort zone of home and university building. Before Mira started to explore Kaliurang as a new field in her art practices, Kaliurang has been known as a destination to conduct KKN. It is useful to situate Walk the Folk within the KKN context due to the familiarity of Kaliurang to the KKN practices in Jogja-based universities.

Gadjah Mada University was one of the first universities in Indonesia to

37 Gellert's article focuses on Anis Baswedan's *Indonesia Mengajar*, or Indonesia Teaching. Derived its inspiration from PTM, KKN, and also the US-based "Teach", *Indonesia Mengajar* calls for young Indonesian university graduates to become teachers in remote areas for one year.

implement the kind of voluntary work that would later become KKN (Hardjasoemantri 1983). Within the Gadjah Mada University context, the embryo of KKN can be traced back to the history of *Pengerahan Tenaga Mahasiswa* (Student Workforce Deployment), abbreviated as PTM, in 1951. Within the PTM scheme, Gadjah Mada University sent out their students to conduct *Pengerahan Tenaga Mahasiswa* in schools outside Java.[38]

To facilitate more engagement with the local people, the students usually live in the house of one of the local administrative authorities. In his work on KKN, Guiness writes, ' "typically students spend two months in the host community, devising and then implementing a development initiative with their hosts. They may build a pathway or a fence, simplify administrative procedures, establish an aquaculture system, stock a library, run classes or sports programmes for neighbourhood children, or commence an economic initiative for their hosts to develop" (Guiness 2012: 334).

Since the financial crisis of 1998 and the ensuing *reformasi* era, the scheme of KKN in the university has been undergoing changes and attempts to re-contextualize it. For example, the KKN program at Gadjah Mada University has been renamed KKN-PPM (Kuliah Kerja Nyata – Program Pemberdayaan Masyarakat) referring to Student Community Service and Community Empowerment. It is based on five principles: co-creation, co-financing, flexibility, sustainability, and research based community services. Such dynamics echo the critical reflection that have been posed towards KKN.

When Walk the Folk took place, there had been many changes in the organization of KKN. Many universities in Jogja had developed new methods for contributing to the society. While, some other universities, decided to discontinue their KKN programs. Regardless, KKN had long been instilled in the memory of many as a long-standing contribution model within the university system.

I go back to an intention of the artists who practiced Turba to switch the position with the people who lived in the imagined under. In the context of KKN, the social status of the students is regarded superior to the people who live in the KKN locations. The students come to an unfamiliar location, with an

38 The goals of the present-day KKN are stated on Gadjah Mada University's website as follows: to produce students who 1) have ability to analyze problems and shifts in society; 2) have empathy and interests in various forms of problems in society; 3) have the capacity for applying science and technology in using an interdisciplinary approach through teamwork; 4) are able to plant the following personality values (nationalism and Pancasila mentality, hard-working ethos, responsible, independent, leadership, entrepreneurship and researcher mentalities) (http://ugm.ac.id/id/p2m/3620-direktorat.pengabdian.kepada.masyarakat).

intention to teach something, to fix a building, or to provide some kind of assistance. They are positioned as a giver, and also a teacher, because they are educated. I began to make sense of why the universities use the word 'deployment' to refer to the students' departure to a KKN location. An Indonesian translation of 'deployment' is *diterjunkan*. *Terjun* means to dive, or to plunge downwards into something. In this case, it seems that the students are regarded as presents, or a troupe of givers, that fall from the sky.

THE KALIURANG PROJECT

To make research an essential aspect in art production involves allowing more access to the field of art production. Art production has grown to be an inclusive site for anyone who would like to use art in engaging the environment. In this context, it is important to refer to Mira's educational background and how she has emerged and is considered as a curator in the contemporary art field. She has a degree in Communication Studies from Atma Jaya University – one of the best universities in Jogja. Much of her knowledge of art, however, has been obtained either through self-learning or attending various residency and workshop schemes provided by non-university-based institutions. This non-linear route to become a player in the art scene, as evident in Mira's trajectory, is not uncommon. I would argue that this is partly facilitated by the open nature of production in contemporary art practices, by taking into account various non-artistic elements.

Walk the Folk was centered in Kaliurang – the same area where Mira grew up and still lives. The Kaliurang Project, hereafter shortened as TKP, highlights research as an important element and played a role in informing Walk the Folk. TKP comprised two main activities—live-in (also referred to as short-term residency) and documentation of the findings. The invited participants were cultural researchers, writers, and multi-disciplinary artists. The participants were encouraged to create collaborative works to draw on local stories and oral histories of the community.

TKP was initiated in 2013, a year before Walk the Folk created. TKP is a project in which Mira exercised her early thoughts about a site-specific art project, which included social engagement elements from various artists. In TKP, Kaliurang is considered as a site for live-in, and conducting fieldwork. Kaliurang, as such, is both Mira's home and her field. In organizing TKP, Kaliurang is extended to be the possible place for fieldwork of other arts

practitioners. TKP was the precursor of Walk the Folk in that it helped Mira to gain expertise in Kaliurang—what is around the area, what places to go, how to get to certain places and who were the best persons to meet.

In order to provide context for the participants of TKP, Mira included writings about her childhood in Kaliurang in the project description. The following is an extract from her writing (the original writing is in English):

> "I grew up amazed by day stories of fishes that blinks, man who got lost in the forest by the enchanting spells of forest fairies, and the white tiger that gives climber warning when the path they're going through is dangerous. At night I would shiver on stories of will-o-wisp that used to chase my mom and her little friends when she points out the torchlight to the treetops or banshee that enjoys kidnapping people and children who still playing outside when the sun is setting down. It's easier for me and my sister to believe in Enid Blyton's stories and all the fairytales mother told us, because we know that somewhere deep inside the forest behind our home, magic creeps secretly under the spell of the mighty kingdom of Mt. Merapi—our nurturing Gramps."

The project description also states that the initial ideas were to include Kaliurang residents as the cultural guides of the participants and to present the findings in the form of book publication and art presentation. Based on the conversation with Mira and some participants of the project, TKP was unsuccessful. One participant who participated in the live-in process failed to develop a discussion about what kind of alternative histories could be expected from the project. While other participants left the live-in period ahead of schedule. The fact that Walk the Folk was centered in the same area, however, indicates an attempt to justify Kaliurang as the convincing ground for participation.

PART THREE
Walk the Folk and the idea of collapsing the stage

Instead of creating a gig with a conventional spatial arrangement—one stage fixed at the center of the venue—Walk the Folk is an event with many stages. In order to get to each stage, just like its name suggests, the crowd had to walk to them. Another interpretation of the name could be referred to as an

act to travel and explore aspects of 'folk music'.

The first destination was, it turned out to be, a quiet tennis court. The area where there were rows of benches for the audience transformed into a stage, before it moved to the center of the court. The sun was shining brightly and there was little shade. The second destination and the second stage, was a space created from the shade of the big tree. There was an abandoned old house next to the tree.

Ananda of Bandaneira asked Mira about the age of the house. Mira's reply was the house must have been very old, since it used beautiful tiles produced by the legendary Jogja-based tile factory, which has the same name as the organization that I worked for—Kunci. The third stage was an empty and disused pool. We walked down the narrow steep path to get there. It was built to function as water storage should Mount Merapi erupt. During quiet moments like this, the pool seemed idle and abandoned. Murals and graffiti were written all over the walls of the empty pool.

The fourth stage was the backyard of a villa that was located not far from Mira's house. The family who owns the property lives in Jakarta and they only visit the villa twice a year—usually to celebrate the end of Ramadhan and New Year's Eve with other family members. There was a small house at the corner of the yard. Pak Dasirin and his family lived there. Pak Dasirin was trusted to be the caretaker of the villa and he also works as an itinerant photographer in the Kaliurang area – working mainly around the 'Goa Jepang' (Japanese caves). The fifth stage was Mira's house. There are two areas in the house that were used as the stages for the event. The first one is the foyer where the piano is located, while the second area was the garage.

The choice of stage locations indicates the insider and intimate knowledge of its initiator, particularly Mira who was born and grew up in the area. In other words, the stages were all hidden places: familiar only to locals and long-term residents. It is the quality, which gives the word 'secret' in the event's name more sense. In order to access these spaces, one needs to rely on other people to show the way, or otherwise to depend on serendipity.

For Mira, the dissolution of the stage is one of the key elements of the Walk the Folk event. In regular music gigs, a stage is the most basic requirement. In Folk Afternoon and Walk the Folk, the stage—as it might have appeared in the regular gigs—is made intangible. There are no clear lines demarcating the

stage area and the audience. The stage is commonly defined as an "exclusive space for performers. The audience is denied access to it" (Fonarow, 2006: 81). For Walk the Folk, their temporal determination of the stage is key to creating an intimate ambience of the venue.

In Walk the Folk the stages were not at the geometric center of the space. In contrast to regular gigs where the position of the stage is affixed to the focus of the space, the stage moved from one place to another. As the stage is physically moving, in Walk the Folk the convention of the stage is reconfigured. The stage is not the same physical object—it is something they opportunistically declare as a 'stage'. Events are premised on the temporality of their stages. There is an attempt to soften the authoritarian and conventional boundary of the stage with a less defined audience. This is a concept that is embedded in the agreement with the invited musicians. The musicians who performed were informed of the participation ideas of the organizer. The musicians were there with readiness to perform, and the same readiness to accept that they might not be the only performers on the stage.

Fonarow (2006) offers an insightful hypothesis of participation in the music event. In building a theory of participation in a music gig, Fonarow dissects the structures of zones at a gig venue, based on her observation of the London Forum. Using the lens of the spatial organization of a venue, Fonarow observes the politics of social interaction that is created between the musicians and the audience as well as among the audience. In Fonarow's model (see Figure 1), zone one is populated with diehard fans. Most of them are young people. They translate their intense feeling towards the music and the musician into a demonstration of a more physical interaction with the musician and the other audience members. Zone two is populated with people who want to focus more on music, and less on the demonstrative physical activities arising in zone one. Thus, it provides a space for a more contemplative audience. Zone three is populated with people who engage in the music industry and the media. In most of the time of a gig, they commonly show little interest in music being performed; notwithstanding they are people who are key to music events happening. Zone three is for those who are there for networking, business meetings, or socialization (Fonarow, 2006: 79-152).

A venue described by Fonarow in her study appears as a space which enables social interaction. The movement of an individual, or a fan there, reflects changes that have happened in their relation with music and other

crucial aspects in their lives. But the meaning of a stage, the center of the live movement on site, does not seem to move beyond its function as the site of the musician's performances.

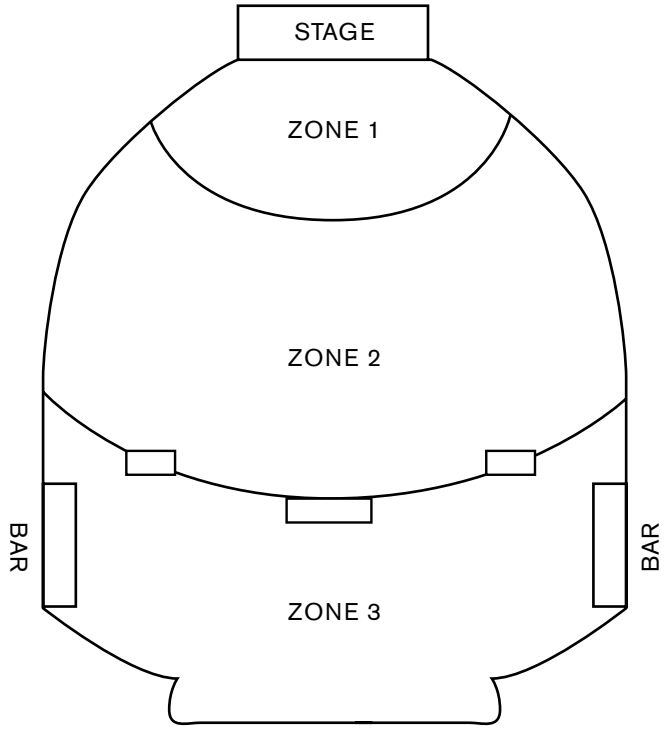


Figure 1. Wendy Fonarow's zones of participation "Model of zones based on the London Forum" (2013: 83).

To draw on Fonarow's conceptualization of the audience zone as an active zone, I examine the intention of the initiator of Walk the Folk to collapse the conventional concept of the stage. For the purposes of analysis, I describe the spatial organization of the venue (see figure 2). The figure also represents the movement of the stage. By breaking the exclusivity of the stage, the audience zone transforms into an active zone. It is the zone

where the audience is usually located. At once it is a zone where any parts of the zone can potentially be adopted as additional stages (see figure 3). The stage becomes an ephemeral, temporal artifact rather than a traditional fixed platform.

The people who came to attend the event are positioned to be ready for something to be performed. They were not there just as a spectator, but ready to be actively engaged in the event. They were potentially the performers, and so too the 'invited real performers' could anticipate enjoyment as the audience. However, though the stages in Walk the Folk illustrated above are intended to create new active zones for all the participants (meaning the artists and the audience), it failed. It did not automatically make the psychological distance between the artists or performers and the audience disappear. A stage in Walk the Folk, or a spot, which have just transformed into a stage is still psychologically the center of our attention. To travel from one stage to another, and to roam some parts of the Kaliurang area did not lead to the participations of other people in the event.

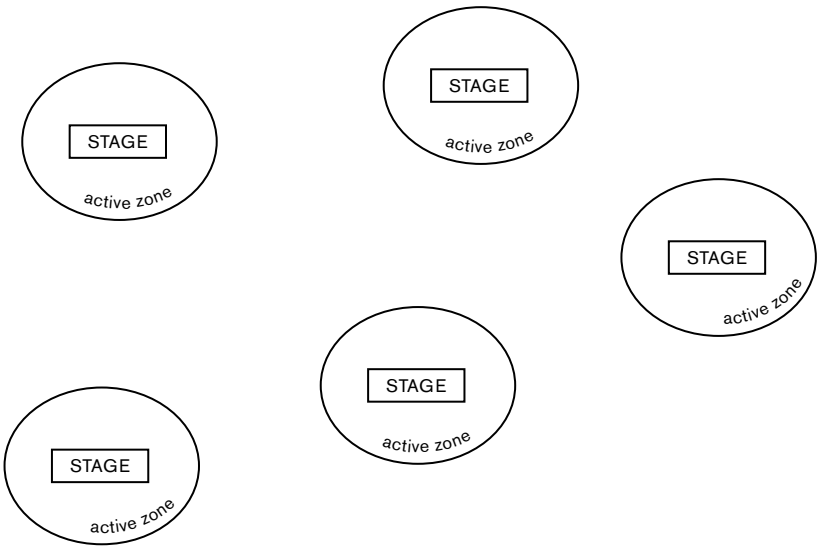


Figure 2. Spatial organization of Folk Afternoon and Walk the Folk

The new stages, or new active zones, to emerge from Walk the Folk, were unable to be activated as spaces where interaction between the participants of the music event and the Kaliurang residents could occur. During Walk the Folk, there were no other people than those exclusively selected participants who attended the show or were engaged in the music activities performed.

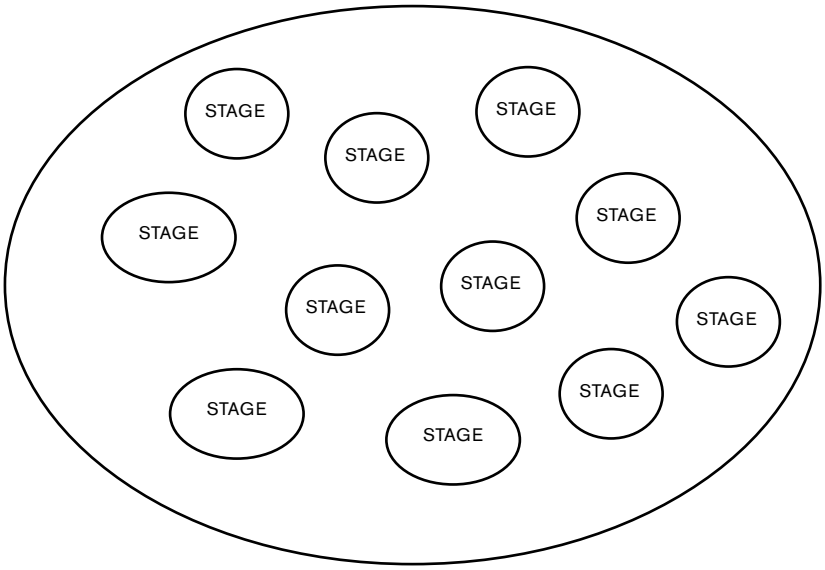


Figure 3. Participatory stage

TO WALK INTO THE SPACE OF PARTICIPATION

Titah, a Yogyakartan-based arts writer, (2014) connects walking in Walk the Folk with the idea of 'to occupy' (2014). Elsewhere, Mitchell (2013) asserts that to occupy a space means to make visible the oppressed power. As I read Titah's essay, and took the word occupy seriously, and tried to recall what had happened that day with Walk the Folk, it is difficult to recognize any intention to collapse the different levels of authority. The idea of occupy implies there is an intention to stay for as long as the participants could keep

the endurance level strong. What we did was we walked, stopped for a while for some music session and conversation, and walked again. We never stopped for long, or found reasons to stay.

Mitchell (2013: 109-110) characterizes the spaces to be occupied as empty spaces, which functions as 'clearing' in the midst of a dense and contested city. The spaces have the potentiality to allow people to gather and co-ordinate collective works. The emptiness of these spaces, as Mitchell further suggests, might not be *empty* at all as it might also mean 'a sign of defeat', thus they are 'emptied' and 'cleared' (2013: 212). The emptiness is the sign of being defeated. They are pregnant with the stories of being defeated, but are left unsaid or silenced for reasons. To occupy a space means to make visible the oppressed power; it is to fill up the space literally and to make the authorities squirm.

Can walking then serve as a method for deepening the understanding of the environment and shaping the imagination of participation? In analyzing walking practices, Pink (2008) talked about walking as a potential medium to share a sense of 'sensoriality' (*ibid*. 184-185). What Pink means by sensoriality is a series of practices that take place within walking as well as being emplaced and attuned to the walking participants and environment surrounds. Pink provides examples, which range from "walking, eating, imagining, drinking, photographing, and audio-and-video recording" (*ibid*.176). Levebfre's analysis of 'rhythmanalysis' (2004) is instructive to complicate and deepen the perspective about sensoriality. While Pink emphasizes the entanglement process among walking participants in the place-making formation, Levebfre (2004: 1-18), suggests moving beyond senses, repetition, and movement, to indicate rhythm. His proposal is to use rhythm more as a tool to critically view the presence of the everyday life, the complexity of time, and the social space where it is located.

I try to connect the notion of emptiness that Mitchell proposed with the actual empty feeling that I felt during my time in Kaliurang. I saw many abandoned houses, empty villas, defunct hotels and motels, a restaurant, which stopped function as a restaurant, old buildings. Some of them were still in good condition; others were already dilapidated. I did not see many local tourists in the area.

My notes, however, were filled with stories. They recorded what I saw and experienced while walking together with the others as well as on the

surrounding environment. They are the products of various moments to narrate other events. But these notes stay in my notebook and are not shared. The organizers of Walk the Folk did not create any mechanism to share what everyone was thinking about when walking together around Kaliurang. Each of us might see the same things, think about different things, and process that in our minds, but we kept on walking. My notes read:

1. We passed a *pos ronda*, a night watchman post, across from the tennis court. Dito: "So this is a *pos ronda*". Lani: "Please tell me something about it. I would like to hear such stories." Dito: "OK. This is the place where people gather to in order to guard the kampong." Me: "How many people that usually gather here for ronda?" Lani: "*Nah*…ten?" Dito: "Nah…That I don't know. Because I never go here for my *ronda* shift." (He laughed.) Me: "Is it still a norm here to ask or pay someone when you don't think you can meet your ronda obligation?" Dito: "It is still happening here. But here *ronda* has always been connected to an activity for also actively taking part should Mount Merapi grow to be alarming for people who live here, so…".[39]

2. When we left Mira's house and walked towards the tennis court, on our left was a modest hotel with a big yard owned by Mira's parents. She did not tell if the hotel belonged to her family. But everyone in the group knew it. Instead she started to talk about 'The Kaliurang Project'—a project of Lir Space that was organized a year before (discussed above). "The Kaliurang Project is a project of Kaliurang's alternative history," she said. There were seven artists invited to take part in it—including Dito. I asked about what works that the participants of the project did. But everyone around me was busy talking to each other. And Mira was quickly drawn into the conversation started by others in the group. There the topic of the Kaliurang Project disappeared into the air.

3. We passed Wisma Kaliurang, a now defunct hotel which was closed following a raid by the Front Pembela Islam, the Islamic Defender Front on a drag queen show organized by a number of LGBT rights organizations in 2005. Mira mentioned it in passing. Some people in

39 See Kusno (2006) to learn more about the potentiality of ronda as a means to preserve urban memories in Java.

the groups said “Oh” in response. I waited to see whether the conversation would continue, but it did not. Then we started walking again. We passed the building where *Perjanjian Kaliurang*, Kaliurang Negotiation, as part of *Perundingan Tiga Negara*, the Three Countries Treaty took place in 1946. We passed a gallery and an art shop owned by the prominent artist Sapto Hudoyo, which seemed to be no longer in use. It is a non-functioning art and cultural institution. As we walked, I seemed to lose count of the number of hotels and motels, all which seemed to be idle for I do not know how long. Do people still go and stay there for their holidays? There was so much idleness and emptiness in the area.

4. We were approaching the fourth stage at that time. We passed the abandoned warung kopi, more abandoned houses, and a kind of monument with the Atma Jaya University emblem painted on it. Atma Jaya University is the alma mater of Mira and Dito. According to Dito, who walked next to me at that time, it was there to mark the accomplishment of KKN of the Atma Jaya students. Moki commented upon the monument: “I think the monument is useless. It is just standing there and doing nothing. How come the students of your alma mater create such a useless activity like that!” Dito said in reply, “Ah but when I was at the final year there, *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* was abolished. I did not have to do it anymore.”

There was something bubbling beneath that seemed to be empty and ordinary. A now defunct Wisma Kaliurang is evidence of an ongoing battle of sexual minority groups against Islam radical groups. Hetero-normative Islamic activistis had once been a persecutor in the area. Many more defunct hotels and homestays indicate the former economic value of Kaliurang as a tourism site which has since declined over recent years. There were other forms of tourism infrastructure that have dwindled too. I saw a woman with a bamboo basket full of *salak* fruit, an important fruit commodity of the area, who quietly approached us while we gathered in a tennis court. She must have thought that we were tourists who visited Kaliurang (but neither one bought the salak from her, nor made conversation with her). One reason is because going to the scenic beauty of Mount Merapi and its surrounding is no longer the favorite leisure option. Kaliurang has long stopped to be an area, which promises job opportunities. In every corner of the city now there are new boutique hotels which offer extra comfort and luxury for customers. What is attractive for local tourists has changed.

But throughout the gig, there was no space to talk about this and other things that such emptiness evokes. We just passed them, except when they were used as the stages to perform music and other activities in the event. Later that day I realized that when Walk the Folk was nearly finished, the unfamiliarity with the other participants of the event remained. Perhaps I was not the only one who felt that way. I perceived this as the usual feeling which occurrs after watching a music performance somewhere; there is no need to know the people who are at the audience so long as we are content with the performance. I had enjoyed the music performed on that day and probably others did too.

When Walk the Folk had finished, and later checked Instagram, I saw that Mira, myself and other participants had posted similar scenes and images to Instagram. Our social media postings were the only thing to make visible or record our shared presence in Walk the Folk. To share certain moments from Walk the Folk through social media platforms felt normal for me, and probably for everyone who participated in it. To create our digital visibility is part of the contemporary urge to create personalized accounts of everyday amidst the fast-flowing information. I consider Abidin's argument (2016) when researching about selfie practices that taking selfie should not be dismissed as being frivolous and marginal, but needs to be taken into account as a potential site to craft and pursue a sense of self-productivity and self-actualization in a wider sense. In relation to the social media postings of Walk the Folk, how should this social media visibility be perceived? To post everything online is part of our digital participation habit. Though I am not sure whether this is deemed fit into the participation scheme that the Walk the Folk organizer imagined.

In the process of writing this chapter, Mira sent me a series of updates on the second Wolk the Folk. There was an increase in the number of participants and also an increased contribution from the participants. There was a craft group who gave a free workshop. We Need More Stage, a photographer collective who dedicate themselves to making and documenting music performances, attended Walk the Folk not just for the purpose of documenting it. They also brought fresh fruits to enjoy in the picnic and music listening activities. There was also a spontaneous band created by two other participants. In the second Walk the Folk, the organizer created various themes ('abandoned house walk,' 'popular tourism sites,' 'secret garden,' 'photo walk: finding the most photographic site in Kaliurang') on which the participants could imagine their contributions.

From my office in Leiden, I saw more photos of this event on Instagram. The second edition of Walk the Folk indicated further experiments on redefining contribution concept better. To frame Walk the Folk as an art project allows for improvements and adjustments. As I looked at the photos, I wondered whether Kaliurang serves more as a photo backdrop rather than a social context to dwell. Every picture posted on a social media platform appears as a kind of souvenir. It is a souvenir of Kaliurang, playing music, and other activities facilitated Walk the Folk. Walk the Folk emerged as an avenue for music playing activity, and enjoying tranquil surroundings, without losing the connection with the ever-bustling flow in the digital age.

CONCLUSION

In an attempt to understand the meaning of participation in Walk the Folk, I have taken a circuitous route and gone through different contexts, finding historical references and impetuses. Walk the Folk is a work where 'participation' and 'participatory' (along with other concepts such as 'research-based art practices', 'artist-researcher', and other concepts to embody a call for a more socially-engaged art practices) are learned, theoretically consumed, translated, and appropriated. The organization of Walk the Folk opened up an opportunity to become a tool for defining and question the existing participatory-based art practices. It emerges as an avenue for questioning the meaning of contribution in the environment.

Using the axis of stage, audience, participant, and mode of interaction between musician and audience, Walk the Folk attempts to re-imagine the meaning of participation and contribution. On a limited scale, the organization of Walk the Folk becomes a site to experiment on a series of strategies to organize a participatory art project. In the introduction chapter, I have introduced commons as a sensibility to recognize what one does to contribute to the environment in an ethical manner. To practice commons requires a participation habit. Walk the Folk contributes to the nurture of moments to produce the participation climate within art production.

In the context of Walk the Folk, participation becomes a concept to gather people on the stage and perform their skills and personal capacities. It centers on the idea to widen the space for doing music. To some extent, Walk the Folk becomes an alternative music event in the city, and a space where collaboration might take place. The second edition of Walk the Folk indicates

this. Walk the Folk ceases to become a transactional relation between a musician and a fan. Music brings many people together. The concept of Walk the Folk (reconceptualization of the stage, walking to interesting spots in order to play and listen to some music) is regarded as being interesting. Kaliurang serves as a backdrop from which the participants felt inspired by and used it for their works. Walk the Folk brings an opportunity to deepen knowledge of a local touristic place. It is a place, which might be an unfamiliar context for many. The question remains, is what the participants have learnt from Kaliurang. The participation concept in Walk the Folk inevitably entails questions regarding the contribution to Kaliurang.

My observation is that the questions about the people and the surroundings keep fleeting away; they did not seem to find a right moment to be addressed and studied. Such observation is not intended to reduce the pleasure element of playing music and other activities related to music in an environment like Kaliurang. Participation is hard to grip. To label an art project a 'participatory art project' is to affix certain expectation of what value that the project might bring. My notes described above assert my personal views of Kaliurang as a place too loaded to be treated as a performance place. It suggests my personal modes of being attuned to the area, which might be different from others. Any kind of art project has different stakeholders, who might have different kind of expectation.

As a location where commoning takes place, Kaliurang emerged as a site where participation feels difficult to translate into a mode of contribution. Walking is a tool for collective learning. My notes reflect my own expectation of Walk the Folk as a project with the potential to be a site for learning about participation culture. In the previous section, I have elaborated on how my notes were bubbling and filled with stories. They are the stories which are not shared and discussed together among the participants. My notes cannot remember the discussion of a protocol for walking together in a new environment. My notes derive from another expectation of Walk the Folk being a long-term project, or a project with a clear timeline (just like Turba or KKN practices). To see Walk the Folk as part of a learning process is to open a possibility for seeing it as a project, which does not have a clear point of beginning and ending. It can happen anytime, anywhere. It leads to a new possibility to see Walk the Folk as an option of visiting mode—among other options. It is an option to be developed as a way for living and working with the others.

At the same time, I value the idea of labeling Walk the Folk as a participatory art project to be a recognition of 'participation' as a certain mannerism in doing art. While Walk the Folk has the potentials to strive as an important music performance and attract people, the challenge is to see how such mannerism would evolve into something else. At the moment, Walk the Folk indicates 'participation' as a concept in an art project mobilized to return to art/music.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHIVING CONDITION

When digital files become the norm of how music circulates and operates, it does not mean the start of the intangible to prevail over the tangible. Instead, it might be more productive to read it as the start of another level of tangibility. The emergence of collectors who collect a range of analogue and digital technologies demonstrates the growing appeal for tangible things. Bijsterveld and van Dijk use terms like 'obsolete', 'nostalgia', and 'technostalgia' to frame the revival of old sound technology—notably vinyl and cassettes (2009: 123-169). But these terms—obsolete, nostalgia, and technostalgia—do not feel entirely proper to capture the spirit of a new generation of vinyl and cassettes collectors in Indonesia.

Throughout my interactions with collectors that I talked with during my research, listening to and playing vinyl or cassettes was part of their new and current musical experiences. It was not necessarily a part of the music consumption of their families or peer environment from the past. This was the case for the collectors who were brought up with listening to MP3 files on their laptops. Encounters with vinyl and cassettes exposed them to a newly discovered corporeal experience that I will explain below.

For some collectors, cassettes or vinyl were neither old nor new technologies. They have always been an important part of their listening culture. For them, cassettes and vinyl generates listening experience that is incomparable with streaming MP3 on their computers or mobile phones. To elucidate how vinyl reigns, Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) state that vinyl is regarded as the 'king format'.[40] Tactility serves as an important element to contribute to the growing currency of vinyl as an iconic format. Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) explain the making of vinyl as a cultural icon through immersion and entanglement processes. Vinyl is often connected with its related material ecologies. It invites further engagements, and constructs the interpretation of the users through how they feel about the vinyl. In this chapter, I use some of the perception expressed in the rise of vinyl studied by Bartmanski and Woodward to understand the popularity of cassette and vinyl in the local music scene. To listen to an outdated music technology is enjoyable because

40 Two chapters in the book, "Medium: Handling and Hearing" and "Thing: Qualities and Entanglements" are dedicated to exploring the many facets of imminent tactility and sound quality of vinyl (Bartmanski and Woodward, 2015: 35-99).

it provides “a whole range of tactile, haptic, visual, even olfactory experience” (Bartmanski and Woodward 2016: 6).

In Bartmanski and Woodward (2015), the iconic value of vinyl derives from the valuation process carried out by the prominent figures in music circulated in global scale—musicians, DJs, owners of respectful record labels. The collectors in my research are not usually regarded as the representation of music in national level. The scale of their music collection is small and limited. They are the ordinary music people. Being a music collector is a deliberate choice driven by an intention to fulfill the need for certain audio materials. It is the need which fulfills the curiosity of local music history. This is a factor which differentiates the collectors in this research from those in Bartmanski and Woodward’s research.

An increase in the number of vinyl and cassette collectors worldwide was accompanied with the localization of Cassette Store Day and Record Store Day—a global ritual and celebration to symbolize the revival of ‘the king’ of music technologies. Record Store Day celebration in Indonesia marks the period where collecting is not a practice merely attached to certain fondness for records and cassettes, but is part of new music culture. The proponents of the campaign were mainly young people who had their own cassette and records shops, or mobile shops (*lapak*) for music related material. The owner of the shops might have an interest in participating in the Cassette Store Day or Record Store Day so that they can sell as many as cassettes and records possible. During the celebration day, there would be many locally owned vendors and independent retailers offering records and cassettes for sale.

Collectors often wait for Record Store Day in anticipation of obtaining a rare item. Record Store Day and Cassette Store Day provide the best opportunities for finding cassettes and records that are difficult to find, or they are days which can be utilized for assessing what is available. Many musicians have used the days to release their self-produced music in record or cassette form. To follow Harvey (2015), Record Store Day has been successful in branding music consumption as ‘an ethical decision.’ It becomes the most important day when musicians, fans, independent producers and music retailers, gather in one place. To purchase a cassette or vinyl during Record Store Day and Cassette Store Day is to make a contribution towards the production of indie music. In this case, the materiality of music takes a prominent position. Record Store Day and Cassette Store Day amplify materiality through collecting and buying

practices.

On Record Store Day in 2015 it felt like I followed the celebration in three different contexts at once.[41] It was Saturday when Record Store Day was celebrated—which happened to be the market day in Leiden. As I walked down Nieuwe Rijn, the street where the market activity is located in the city, with my family for our weekly shopping ritual, I saw a huge "Record Store Day" banner hung outside Velvet Music shop. A band played inside the shop. The shop was busier than usual. Many bands were scheduled to play in the shop to celebrate Record Store Day. We passed Plato, another music shop, located in a small alley nearby Francobolli Café. A band was also playing there. My phone kept vibrating—as all my social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) were busy notifying me of photos and news posted by friends or record shops owners, who celebrated Record Store Day in Jakarta or Jogja.

STRATIFIED PRECARITY

According to Kaur (2015), while information goes digital and the ubiquitous use of paper is questioned, historians encounter a major problem of how to preserve the digital trails of the contemporary present. More precisely, such a problem lies in how historians "separate time or rather delineate the past in an age of acceleration" (Kaur 2015: 242-253).

The resources from where knowledge can be generated appear to be abundant, and sometimes appear in the form of excess, so we perceive them as something unfortunate, like a *banjir*, a flood. Thus there is the popular term, *banjir informasi*, a flood of information. Kaur's essay also talks about

41 The initiator of Record Store Day 2015 in Jogja was Jogja Record Store Club - a music and merchandise collective. Two key persons of Jogja Record Store Club are Indra Menus of YK Booking (an initiative to provide support system for local and international band, which tours Jogja) and Arie Mindblasting of Mindblasting net label. I examined the practices of YK Booking and Mindblasting in chapter 2. The organizer of Record Store Day or Cassette Store Day may be different each year. I notice that both events in Jogja is organized by the same collective—Jogja Record Store Club—at least since 2015 until 2018. The location of the events would be different in each city, depending on the venue availability and the networking of the organizer with the venue owner. I had been to Cassette Store Day organized by DoggyHouse Records, an in-house record company owned by the famous band, Shaggy Dog. The event was located in the front yard of the band's home base, in the vicinity of the southern square of the Sultan Palace. Since 2015, Record Store Day was located in Bentara Budaya Yogyakarta building. In 2018, the location was changed to Loop Station, a multipurpose building (market place, co-working space, performance space) owned by *Telkomsel* (an Indonesian telecommunication company) office branch in Jogja. In a different city, I had been to Cassette Store Day 2014 in Malang, which was located in Museum Musik Indonesia building. The location of Record Store Day or Cassette Store Day can also depend on the dynamics of the creative outlets in a city. The center of Record Store Day 2015 in Jakarta was on the third floor of Pasar Santa—part of a traditional market that was fully renovated and populated with start-ups—small shops, workshops, and restaurants.

the meaning of 'information overload' as 'more a signal of being overwhelmed' (2015: 244). At the same time however, an abundance of everything in the digital platforms, is always on a par with the possibilities of losing it (followed with other possibilities of recollecting and storing it again).

Elsewhere, Sterne (2009) states that the portable history of recordings and technology for storing sound, including their bigger capacities to save and store, are always followed by a "pattern of ephemera". Collecting and preserving things in the digital age is a deceptively easy task. When sound is stored in a technological apparatus, the hope is it would live forever, yet the fact is the durability of audio storage technology is fragile.

Each technology development comes with its own specific preservation problems. Old formats of technology are often regarded as being outdated. The sound and metadata contained in it would be forgotten soon. They would be lost without trace and sometimes without those who collect them would even realize their existence or remember how they were collected in the first place. This is what Sterne refers to as the "preservation paradox", a state that is situated in between 'permanence and ephemerality' (2009: 55-65). The fragile durability of audio storage technology is often accompanied by the lack of willful caring. What we have been experiencing is rather, "small moments of willful forgetting" (Sterne 2009: 57).

In his essay, Boon (2013) talks about the absence of a will to care when he accidentally deleted most of his music collection in his iTunes library. On reflection, he said it was largely caused by his 'casual indifference' – an attitude that has informed his digital collection practices (Boon 2013: 11). It does not derive from simple carelessness. On the contrary, it emerges from the confidence in the ongoing existence of all things digital. Since they appear and come in abundance, they are rarely treated as if they are vulnerable.

Each technological shift requires, equal transformation in the way new forms of archives are being treated (Kaur 2015). In practice, however, this is the field that many people are still grappling with. The question around vulnerability also applies to the context of non-digital formats. Within the context of archival institutions in Indonesia, cassettes and records commonly cannot make their way to the collection of major archival institutions though they can be regarded as archives based on their certain historical meanings. Even when they were still in circulation, records and cassettes were not

adequately stored and cared for. Each technological shift is characterized by precarity.

Memories for lost cassettes and record or the ways to obtain them narrate the demise of certain bodily practices which signify the existence of a certain cassette or record. These include going to other cities to copy cassettes from a friend, spending hours in a friend's house who had a dual cassette recorder to copy cassettes, saving money for months to order certain albums via mail order are now extinct in lieu of browsing and downloading music materials from the Internet connected to personal computers at a study or bedroom. Downloading doesn't require any physical effort: just some clicks are enough to get things done. The search for cassette and record collection indicates the sharpening instinct for sensing scarcity that intertwines with a poignant sense of care. It broadens the horizons of calculating the meaning of obsolescence in the process.

Derrida (1995: 17) argues, "the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future." Derrida's statement indicates freedom in conceptualizing about the future. Further Derrida (1995: 18) asserts that an archive is like a 'pledge' which functions "like every pledge [gage], a token of the future." In my attempt to grasp how the technical structure of the archives informs the structure of what is being archived, I think about the people in this research who search the relevant music material from digital abundance and outdated technologies. This might be a point, which determines the meaning of a collector (who also thinks about commons at the same time). My research shows that one of the criteria for music common lies in the historical value contains in a certain music material.

From my conversations with collectors in Jogja, they suggested that their collecting practices are structured by at least two main considerations. First, collecting is motivated by the willingness to document the history of Indonesian music. The definition of Indonesian music here is quite simple; it covers the music oeuvre created by Indonesian musicians. While attempting to collect the musical past, collectors simultaneously try to conceptualize the future, and imagine what it would be like, when particular things are not included in a collection. This leads to the second aspect which structure collecting practices and what forms an essential matter I discuss in this chapter. In an attempt at conceptualizing the future, many collectors that I

spoke with, talked about their ideas of creating initiatives to host various music archives. But in many cases too, I met the collectors who did not have certain themes in collecting music. They would collect everything that deemed important – however, that 'importance' was framed.

Collecting practices in the changing digital environment seem to deal with different precarious points in the life of a thing. Forgetting and neglecting are parts of digital collecting practices. Precariousness informs the significant nature of the collection and indicates a sense of anxiety about losing something major. As Steedman points out, "an absence is not nothing, but is rather the space left by what has gone: how the emptiness indicates how once it was filled and animated" (2001: 11).

In this chapter, I aim to capture this sense of void, the undercurrents, and personal unrest, covered in the blanket of collecting and saving practices—all seem heading to the act of remembering. In Chapter 2, I described how the sense of precariousness around the lives of the digital matters leads to a sense of vulnerabilities among the musicians, which in turn serves as one of the impetuses to the development of net labels. Anxieties about 'culture of documentation' observed by Strassler (2010) in the context of visual and photography culture in Java is relevant to explain this. In the context of Mindblasting net label (see Chapter 2), this is translated into a working principle. The stories narrated in this chapter show the dwelling on the 'culture of documentation' that lies in the act of collecting. How would the idea of precariousness provide insights into the nature of collecting and the significance of emptiness? What kind of criteria is set to decide on whether something is considered important or unimportant, and thus is kept or neglected?

Cassettes takes a central stage in this chapter because it is the most common format found in the flea markets. Flea markets, and other places to sell secondhand goods, provide the important sites to search for collection material. This chapter provides insights into the life cycle of a cassette in the realm of collecting. This chapter uses the stories of cassette collectors and the infrastructure of collecting practices—secondhand cassette sellers and flea markets—to understand how valuation works in collecting practices. I focus on Yoyok, a visual artist and an avid cassette collector. In narrating Yoyok's collecting practices, I describe the flea markets environment where the cassettes circulated and I examine various attempts at extending the life of a cassette through repair practices. The last part of the chapter is about a

collector and the efforts to negotiate the collection in the everyday life.

Yoyok's story narrates an expectation of building a useful collection for the familial environment.

TO COLLECT IS TO ERECT A BUILDING

Cassettes, records, and other things collected, are often referred in Indonesian as *dokumen*, a document. Collectors talk about collecting practices, especially their Indonesian music collection, as *pengarsipan*, *archiving*. My impression is that the word 'archive' and 'document' are largely used interchangeably in this context. To say that collection materials are archives means to equate collecting works with archiving works. Collecting is archiving.

To categorize cassettes and records as archival materials emphasizes their historical meaning. There a relatively few archival institutions in Indonesia, let alone those that focus on music archives. The existing archival institutions are usually made up of paper-based collections – such as the HB Jassin library in Jakarta, and Jogja Library Center in Jogja. In the field of art, some alternative spaces in Jogja are also developing their own libraries. The library of the Indonesian Visual Art Archive is one such example. These libraries are varied in scale and size of the collection. But none of them take physical objects like cassettes, records, or ephemera as the collection focus.

I argue that to define a cassette or a record as an archive, as usually clearly stated by the collectors I met during my research, is to run against the mainstream imagination of paper as the dominant form of archives. It forms the basis of the problems faced by contemporary historians as discussed in Kaur's writing (2015). The archives feature an arbitrary historical meaning and they are not produced and authorized by the official institutions. Their importance is established through an act of purchase, which build ties to many factors and their value emerges in an indefinite manner. For the moment, I hold on to the view that these cassettes are significant because they are in scattered state and thus need to be collected. Otherwise they would be gone and their archival importance, would be lost.

The condition where things are scattered or perceived to be scattered might be a thought that motivates a collector; their dispersal is something to be resolved through an act of compiling, in order to make them a coherent

whole. Many collectors tried to describe their collecting practices as *membangun koleksi*, developing or building a collection. The collectors are working to build something, a building called collection. To collect is to erect a building constructed from previously scattered material.

To refer to the creation of a collection as the development of a building takes us back to Benjamin (2007). In his noted essay, "Unpacking My Library", Benjamin (2007) describes the work of a book collector as the development of a dwelling. A book collection, and a dwelling at once, in Benjamin's sense, represents the history of acquisition. It is the acquisition of books; but it also serves as an encounter with chances of finding significant matters. The collecting projects discussed in Benjamin focus on the books that have become classics; they are the grandeur of arts and literature. In this chapter, I want to reflect on the secondhand cassette sellers and flea markets beyond their functions as spaces to obtain collection materials. Secondhand cassette sellers and flea markets provide rich imaginations to draw on. They serve as measurement tools used for measuring what is important in music. My research findings show that a collection is a result of a negotiation process between collectors with the closest people surround.

In the context of this research, it seems more apt to consider Mrazek's 'engineer' in seeing the works of the collectors. Like the engineers, who work to realize their dreams and plans in the conceptually designed buildings or infrastructure, the collectors also try to perform their vision in their collections. There is more to see beneath used-old-cassettes or records scattered in a flea market. In thinking about the kind of building that a collector is trying to build, I am also thinking about the other buildings in everyday landscape that stand out, not because of their careful design, but of their eclectic style. It is the eclecticism that derives from the practice of partial repair, *tambal sulam*, mend-and-sew.

Stolers's research into the archival attitude of the colonial governance in Dutch East Indies illustrates how paper offers a condition where a 'system of written accountability' governs the relation between the state and the people (2009: 29). Further in Stoler, such a system calls for elaborate infrastructure. The more elaborate the infrastructure that is entailed, the more it would be accountable to the public. Infrastructure conveys the official quality of an archive.

To collect is to establish a sense of ownership over a certain genre or kind of documents, and thus making them archives. Collecting embodies the 'making meaning process', as Pearce said (1998: 1-21), and stages the continuation of the lives of the collectors as well as the things being collected. It means to scale down the extent of bureaucracies, the elaborate infrastructure that entailed the 'system of written accountability' as Stoler said, and to set different criteria to decide on whether something an archive.

The main task of the engineering works in collecting is concerned with how things are ordered and reordered. According to Stewart, time in a collection is "not something to be restored to an origin; rather, all time is made simultaneous or synchronous within the collection's world" (2007: 151). The process of ordering and re-ordering changes the linear logic of time. Along with this, history is replaced with classification (Stewart 2007). A collection is at once a historical project, albeit as Stewart reminds, a 'self-enclosed' one. A collector is an engineer who orders and re-orders time. Collecting is a site to practice an independent historical project.

OFFLINE AND ONLINE CIRCULATION

At first glance, the main loci of the music collectors is a non-digital orbit; an area that strikes contrast to the digital orbit. The musical objects sought circulated in different secondhand places. Collecting indicates attempts at extending the life cycle of storage technologies and music contained in them. Used or secondhand, the main character of collection material, suggest the career of the outdated apparatus, superseded by more recent technological development that keep on changing.

Archiving presents a practice and a goal that needs tremendous effort to achieve. Its locality is an environment, which brings various natural elements to impact on the state of the things collected. A tropical climate is susceptible to humidity, dust, dirt, termites, fungi, and other predicted natural beings and condition. All are threats to the integrity of the collected materials. Certain skills and techniques are needed in order to survive the natural challenge. Digitization has been perceived as the most powerful answer to it. It has also been perceived as a solution to resolve space problem—a classic issue ever hampered archiving process.

For example, Irama Nusantara is a website dedicated to creating digital

archives of Indonesian music from the early independence era (http://iramanusantara.org/). The founder, David Tarigan, is an artist, a producer, and a music culture aficionado. Before founding Irama Nusantara, he was best known for his activities in Aksara Records—a Jakarta-based prominent recording company for indie music. The seed for Irama Nusantara had already been planted with an initiative to develop the short-lived Indonesia Jumawa—an archival attempt of Indonesian music—back in 1998. During research, I also visited Museum Musik Indonesia in Malang, East Java. Museum Musik Nusantara (http://museummusikindonesia.org/) is embedded in Malang in terms that the museum attempts to provide contribution to the local music festivals in addition to the museum's collecting activities. While Irama Nusantara emphasizes the website as the center of archiving activities, Museum Musik Indonesia seems to emphasize the physicality of their existence. The documentation activities of the museum appears in the forms of an office, vinyl, cassettes, CDs, arranged in the shelves, music festival posters on the walls, and a photocopy machine that is available to provide copy service of the old music magazine collection. Digitization performs the main mode of archiving.

In the context of Museum Musik Indonesia, digitization is envisaged to be the main documentation tool. Their archives are vinyl and cassettes collected from different resources. The website is designed to be the main window from which the public is allowed to access the digitized material. It serves as an important website for those who want to listen to the past sound of Indonesian music. Many arts and culture organizations with archiving focuses that have been growing in the first decade of 2000s perceive digitization as the pinnacle of the archiving efforts. It is a backup, which provides a secure feeling.

To follow the activities of Irama Nusantara and Museum Musik Indonesia might spark an inspiration of what to collect. But to possess a real thing is more important for a music collector. Among other places that the collectors like to visit is a flea market. Going to secondhand places is considered a journey, an adventurous one, which possibly leads to a discovery. A certain thing found during the visit is precious and might lead a collector to become well-respected among other collectors. Collectors who keep information about the places secret are not unusual. The more hidden the place is the better as it might mean precious gems are hidden there. The collectors usually describe the process as 'hunting', or *berburu* in Indonesian. It is also often expressed in English, as if to emphasize the familiarity and unfamiliarity felt in the joy of

finding something in the hunting grounds.

But wandering through hidden places does not necessarily remain a hidden fact in the digital age. The advent of social media has made everyday life a new source of performatives. Sweat and effort during the travel to secondhand places, any findings from unexpected sources, are things to show the world. What follows from the previously unknown places is their increasing visibility in different online mediums. Posting photos of hunting activities in certain markets, some obscure places in a city is the new rituals of many collectors.

The accumulation of the archives, combined with archive hunting activities and postings, has made the Internet an ever-evolving reliable knowledge source. It brings people with different intentions and needs to flock around different archive-based platforms and forums to access them. In a short time, platforms for knowledge exchange transform into platforms for business.

Social media is used to promote the selling of things. Shops occupy a dual online and offline presence through which they sell their secondhand goods. The majority of small record shops at Pasar Santa for example have various online platforms in which they conduct business daily, often 24/7. Negotiations between the seller and the buyers may commence virtually, then continued with real transaction offline in the shops. The circulation of cassettes, records, and other vintage matters, to follow Novak (2015: 220), do not remain offline, but are "fed back into digital circulation", and may return to offline circulation again.

COLLECTORS' MAP

Collectors' homes are at once museums where their collection is stored and displayed. Their collection maps not only the ways to obtain them, but also the willingness to allocate time and effort to undertake the search. It maps the logic of collecting; further it shows attempts to make archives. A map of labor, which record physical and non-physical labor exerted.

If a museum is an institution that is bounded by the politics of definition, to refer a home a museum is to engage in the debate on the politics of museum. Compared to the museums built by the state to serve the multipurpose agendas, a home-museum might be considered an informal kind of museum. Personal matters control the chronicles displayed in a home museum as

opposed to the strict administrative procedures.

Amidst the constant hot and humid weather in the city, it always felt cool and quiet in Yoyok's house. The area in which he lives is also calm and green. He himself has a couple of rose bushes growing in his front yard. There were two big cupboards in the living room—all were full with his cassettes collection. Secondhand books and magazines, comic books, and other small things found in a secondhand market, were arranged side by side with the cassettes in the cupboards.

Yoyok is a visual artist, who is affiliated with Taring Padi, an artist collective that works towards empowerment and social justice through art. In this chapter, I do not explore in detail the relation between Yoyok's engagement with Taring Padi with his collecting practices. His collecting practices have also informed his artistic practices.

I saw some boxes containing cassettes piled on top of one of the cupboards. Sunlight entered through the windows and the door that were kept open during the day. The room looked neat, although it allowed in unexpected elements. As we had our conversation, it often involved him pulling out boxes of cassettes and plastic folders where he stored cassette sleeves. These boxes were stored throughout his house – in shelves or under his bed and in various rooms. He took them out in order to further enrich his stories. The objects themselves would also shape the direction of the conversation.

Yoyok's collection consists mainly of cassettes. He has also collected a wide range of cassette sleeves. Yoyok does not collect records - not because they are too difficult to find. But because he does not have a turntable and has never owned one. As such, records have never been a part of his listening experience.

Thompson (1979) writes that things which are found in secondhand shops, often fall under the category of 'rubbish' or are perceived as such. The category has "zero expected life-span and zero value" (1979: 36). Thompson, however, does not equate 'rubbish' with something being valueless. First, the collapsing of the value applied to secondhand things turns out to be not a static condition. Value can fall, but can also be recreated. Second, the displacement in category assignment depends on the value gradient. Contributive to the value gradient, still following Thompson, is a hierarchical

logic which governs an arrangement (1979: 116-117). The collectors imagine the lives of things in the past and their future with their interference, while witnessing their present state before their eyes. In purchasing secondhand things, they intervene in their course of lives, and take part in creating new life episodes. Collectors are expert buyers; they can see what others cannot see in things.

Secondhand markets are commonly referred to as *klithikan* in Javanese. *Klithikan* derives from the word *klithik*, which can mean small, to point out to the small size of a plethora of things available for sale. It might also describe the insignificance of things. A morpheme, 'an', added at the end of *klithik* emphasizes the availability of small things in a large number.

Klithik relates closely to the word *kletih*. *Kletih* refers to a practice of searching something precious that required a set of sensibilities to find it. In a sense, it is related to foraging. Since the scope of the searching field where such a practice takes place is wide.

Being in a secondhand market evokes a sense of being overwhelmed feeling. Each *kletih* practice commences with a deliberate conscious feeling that everything has to be looked at with great anticipation. It is closely connected to rummaging because it is not always conducted in a systematic or orderly way. Although one feels certain about what to look for while rummaging, there is a state of readiness that there might be other things that could be get in the process. Roaming over the sea of *klithikan* in a *klithikan* market might bring about the feeling of being lost. But it might also lead to a good find. When in a flea market, it is important to always be ready or to anticipate the finding of something special.

Becoming a collector is a process that is informed by numerous factors. A collector may search the collection material high and low and acquire a different collection-making map in the process. The corporeality of collecting practices is emphasized. Different manners in developing a collection contribute to the distinctness of a map. It defines how a collector's map is imagined.

Yoyok's collection-making map represents his knowledge of two types of secondhand markets. The first group typifies *pasar bekas,* or secondhand market, in the regular market organization. The most famous in this group in Yogyakarta are Pasar Klithikan Pakuncen and Pasar Senthir. Pasar Senthir is

a gathering of temporary stalls selling all kinds of used stuff in a large car park situated between Pasar Beringharjo, the main market in the city, and Fort Vredeburg Museum. During the day, the market is a regular car park, and it transforms into Pasar Senthir at night. Pasar Pakuncen is a four-storey building especially made for a market. It houses small permanent booths selling used things. The majority of vendors in the market were relocated from their previous location—the sidewalks of Jalan Mangkubumi—in 2008.[42]

The second group of markets in Yoyok's map typifies a more traditional form of market called '*pasar pasaran*'. The regularity of these markets is established by the Javanese market cycle or pasaran—Legi, Pahing, Pon, Wage, and Kliwon. The markets are named after the Javanese days on which they are held. The choice of the locations is based on certain places to symbolize the meaning of each day according to Javanese principles. In short, it means they are good locations for commerce.

The locations of some *pasar pasaran* in Jogja are situated nearby or attached to the regular markets in the area. Following the five days pasaran cycle, the sellers can go to one pasar pasaran to another and conduct their business. A wide variety of things can be found in the markets. Secondhand sellers constitute a large portion of the sellers in there. This is a factor, which makes them particularly interesting for collectors of old things.

Pasar Legi takes place in two locations—Gamping and Kotagede. Pasar Pahing takes place at the front of Pasar Sleman. Pasar Pon is located in a large open space on the opposite of regular Pasar Godean. Pasar Kliwon takes place in two locations—on the narrow street situated right at the back of Masjid Agung Bantul, in the south, and in Cebongan in the north of Yogyakarta.

Another popular place to visit for possible cassette and record findings is an antique and curio shop. In addition to visiting specific geographical places, collectors would also look forward to particular moments or occasions. They were moments where intentional discarding acts occurred. For example, a moment where cassettes or records were disposed of a radio station is worth a visit. Such a moment, however, does not occur often. The information

42 Taking the relocation process as a case study, Sheri L. Gibbings in her article "Unnamed Interests and Informal Leaders: A Street Vendor Relocation in Yogyakarta City' explained how the government plan of relocating the street vendors brought up a long and heated conflict between Pethikbumi (Paguyuban Pedagang Klithikan Mangkubumi) and the city government.

about such occasions is usually circulated by word of mouth or through SMS messages. It is a kind of information that only an experienced collector can access.

Secondhand sellers equally valued the discarding moments. Other secondhand sellers, who scavenge for goods, wander the streets from one area to another area supply stall and shop owners with secondhand goods. The main reason of the important position of these scavengers was because they provided things at a cheap price. Though they occurred at unpredictable times, cassette and record sellers relied on discarding moments that were layered with parting of the ways.

Potential suppliers of music related goods for collectors also include: a family member who no longer wanted to keep cassettes, records, or their players, inherited by the other family members who recently passed away, or a fresh university graduate who decided to leave Jogja and go back to his or her hometown for good, thus leaving all unnecessary cassette collection behind, or an avid collector who decided to retire from collecting practice. Such moments were called *bongkaran*, or decluttering moments. On many occasions, they gave away their possessions, or rather their burden, to the sellers.

The scope of a collection-making map might go beyond the city that a collector currently lives in. The collectors that I met in Jogja were well equipped with basic knowledge of where to go to find collection material when in other cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Solo, Semarang, Surabaya, or Malang. They knew who to visit and when the relevant markets were open.

If time and money enabled him to travel, Yoyok knew he had to go to Blok M Square or Jalan Surabaya in Jakarta, to Pasar Comboran in Malang, or to Pasar Manahan in Solo, if he were to enrich his collection. Simultaneously he broadened the vocabulary of places to represent in his map with some distant places outside of already widely circulated knowledge.

OF DUST AND DIRT

Attempts to discuss caring, or any effort to care, seems to inescapably touch upon the discussion about neglect. Caring and neglect are paradoxes contained in the course of the fate of a thing. Collectors are presumed to be

those who care and pay attention to things. Accounts of caring and neglect, perhaps it might sound contradictory, can begin with a story of dust. When layers of dirt and dust are lying on the surface of something, it tells that it has been forgotten or has not been taken care of properly enough. But dust can also be a sign of care, too. It invites us to ask how far one would go to care and protect something, and how the depth of the willingness to care can be measured. Can it, roughly speaking, be indicated through how clean something is, or the absence of layers of dust?

I spent a day following Yoyok to three places which he regularly visited to find cassettes and other things for his collection. Acong, Kunci's librarian, who recently developed a fondness for cassettes, joined us. In order to go there, we needed to be aware of the relevant places for collecting throughout the city of Yogyakarta. We needed to have a shared knowledge of the 'collector's map' in our minds. The tactility and tangibility of things, in amongst other factors, have an effect on how a decision to collect is made. As if to fit the postulated plot of obsolete technologies in an obsolete place, Yoyok still used an old Nokia mobile phone. It was such an out dated gesture, given the common preference for the latest technologies amongst Jogja's artists and musicians. Once I asked him what he would do when he feel the need to find something on the Internet. "It is easy. I can just go to a *warnet* or borrow my wife's fancy mobile phone," said he.

We visited three places that day. All were dusty places. The first stop was the warehouse of Pak Nur, who is a collector of used goods. His job involved reselling bric-a-brac and knick-knacks, bought from scavengers, to other people. Among the miscellaneous items kept in his warehouse were cassettes, vinyl records, and other relevant things for Yoyok. The second stop was Pak Tarjo's shophouse. He used to have a permanent booth to sell secondhand cassettes in Pasar Kuncen. Two years ago he sold the booth and discarded secondhand cassettes seller profession altogether. But, he still kept the cassettes at his place. The living room and tiny space outside of the house turned into a showroom to display other goods for sale. The cassettes did not bring much profit to the family. He turned to other stuff and activities that he deemed to be more profitable: there were two big barrels of gasoline and an equipment to fix a flat tire. In the living room was a glass shelf with small items for sale such as cotton buds and *kayu putih* (tea tree) oil.

The third stop, the dustiest place of all, was Pak Iteng's house. It was located in a remote village at the southern part of the city. Pak Iteng was a

secondhand cassette seller. If not opening his booth in Pasar Kliwon in Bantul, or running some errands for all sorts of jobs, he would be at his house. We went to Pasar Kliwon earlier, only to find that Pak Iteng was not in his usual spot. After 20 minutes ride on our motorbikes, we arrived at his house. Had I travelled alone, I would surely not have been able to find it.

Shelves, in different size and form, were in the living room and on the veranda of Pak Iteng's house. The shelves were crammed with cassettes and portable cassette players. The cassettes, the players, and the shelves were all dusty. The floor was also dusty. Pak Iteng seemed to fully understand that dust and dirt were two elements that just did not go well together with things like cassettes. He knew that they would damage the cassettes and other technologies. When we started to make ourselves comfortable and to start conversing with each other while browsing around the shelves, he took up the broom and started sweeping the floor. While sweeping, he mumbled, "Oh the dust…no matter how often we sweep the floor, it always comes back again."

It was heard like an apology for the contradictions in his house—the dust and the cassettes. Out of politeness, we thanked him for making the floor clean for us. There was a large shelf in the living room, similar to the one in the veranda. Behind it was another large shelf attached to the wall. There was almost no room in between the two shelves. It left the cassettes in the second shelf squeezed up against the wall. To pull a cassette out of the shelf was a hard work.

A cassette with an interesting illustration caught my eyes. The image was of a woman with long-flowing hair and the color of the cover was a striking red, orange, and blue. I managed to free it from the shelf. The album title was *Nhac Tre 2* - a Vietnamese album. I wiped the dust and grime from its plastic case. I had to wipe it a couple of times with a wet tissue before it was clean. I saw the handwriting on the back of the cover: *For Widi & Wido: With kisses and love, from Dad in Vietnam, 17/6/74*.

Like dust that sticks to the case of a cassette, the handwriting too stubbornly demonstrates the intersections of people, place, time and the struggle for showing care. The cassette had traveled far: from Vietnam to Indonesia, and somehow ended up on the shelf at Pak Iteng's house. It was the trace of the love of a father who showed his love for his children. I decided to buy it from Pak Iteng.

ORDER AND DISORDER

From the side of a potential buyer of things, display is an essential aspect to guide whether something should be acquired or not. The politics of display performed by a seller commonly aimed to attract either those who have intention to shop or the window shoppers. Pak Iteng was a seller first and foremost. Nonetheless, he did not seem to care about the display aspect of his shop. As a shop, except for piles of cassettes scattered here and there and that people did come to browse interesting things to take home, Pak Iteng's did not bear any other common design feature of a typical shop.

Apart from being dusty and only occasionally roughly cleaned, the cassettes here were organized at random. It was far from neat and tidy. There were no signs to help guide potential customers. Though the great number of cassettes that he owned was easily recognizable. The shelves, and his house, remained an obscure locus of searching. There was no clear way to learn about the genre of music, names of artists, titles of albums and other information, except to look into the depth of the piles and start searching. Pak Iteng did not have an ability to memorize the cassettes, nor did he have a written record to help him remember where individual cassettes were.

The symptom of disorderliness emerged in events where he could not fully remember the cassettes stored at the house. He could only remember them only partially. Likewise, he could not remember fully things that were missing either. For example, Pak Iteng gave an account of Sanggar Cerita cassettes. Acong showed him five Sanggar Cerita cassettes bought from Pak Nur. It seemed to make him realize about Sanggar Cerita cassettes he used to have. "I used to have many Sanggar Cerita cassettes too, you know". But he failed to remember everything about them. "No, I can't remember their titles."

There is something in the way Yoyok arranged cassettes that continuously amazed me. Perhaps it is the feeling that Walter Benjamin defined as "the magical side of the collector" (Benjamin, 2007: 61). The amazement felt somewhat obscure. It stemmed from the insistence on applying a sense of order amidst the disorderliness. Arranging might be the first thing that needed to do to make sense of the cassettes.

Cassettes at Pak Iteng's were literally scattered around the living room and veranda, and could possible lead one to feel overwhelmed. Yoyok looked calm. According to Yoyok, to walk around the rooms and look at everything

displayed without any system would only lead to a panic feeling, because of too much excitement, and too less valuable finds.

The key, Yoyok says, is to focus on a small part of the collection. A collector must perform an ability to navigate the content of the room, to curate them in his or her mind. Yoyok sat quietly in front of a large paper box and plastic bags. The first thing he did was to organize the cassettes in the box. Finished doing it, he moved on to the plastic bags. Inside them were *kaset bodhol*, 'naked cassettes' – i.e. those without their sleeves and plastic cases.

Through its entire lifespan, a cassette often becomes separated from its case and sleeve as it moves between owners or is circulated amongst friends. After circulating in different places and ending up in a secondhand shop, *kaset bodhol* usually possess a lower bargaining position compared to other cassettes still in their cases with the original covers. This explains why they are not usually displayed openly, and exposed only on request. It is only the most fervent of cassette enthusiasts - such as Yoyok - who make such requests.

Watching Yoyok dig into the bag, unload what was inside it, and arrange the cassettes neatly, was like seeing him set out for unexpected treasure. Further, seeing piles of *kaset bodhol* in front of him elicited curiosities as well as anticipation. He seemed certain that hidden in the seemingly unworthy things were precious gems.

After finishing exploring the bags of naked cassettes, he moved on to another heap of cassettes, and started the curation process again. The collected cassettes were piled up before him. The more time he spent, the higher the pile of cassettes became.

But, the piling up of cassettes was not always followed up with the purchase. This was a screening process to produce categories such as *disenangi* (the favorites) and *ragu-ragu* (possible, doubtful). If Yoyok did not order the cassettes into his categories, he would not be able to assess their value. The first category refers to cassettes that he liked. The later were the cassettes that he was not sure about. What qualities are important in deciding which cassettes are worthy of being included in his collection? I explore this in the next section.

THE WORK OF VALUATION

The next site was at Pak Tarjo's place. Pak Tarjo seemed to treat his cassettes lightly. This observation comes from how the cassettes were stored, and the other casual or careless he treated them. Something that might have to do with the fact that he was not officially a secondhand cassette seller anymore, thus he did not see cassettes as commodity.

Yoyok once bought 654 cassettes from Pak Tarjo. Although this is a large number of cassettes, Pak Tarjo still had many others in his house. The cassettes were stored in Aqua water boxes, and kept under the chairs and bed.

As we unpacked the boxes, sorted out the cassettes into different categories, Pak Tarjo asked Yoyok—"Are you here because you intend to go to my place, or you happened to be somewhere around here and decided to stop by?" He repeated the same question several times as if he wanted to make sure that Yoyok did come to his place for cassettes. And if he did, he wanted to know why.

Yoyok said that he just aimed to buy around 15 cassettes this time, because he did not have much money left in his pocket, Pak Tarjo insisted on him to bring as many cassettes that he intended to buy. When Yoyok replied that he did not even pay in full the amount of money for 654 that he bought previously, Pak Tarjo said that he did not need to worry about it. "Just give me anything that is available in your pocket," he continued. Only the price of a cassette was slightly higher than that of a cassette Yoyok bought earlier—it was 5,000Rp each, whereas previously it was priced at 3,000Rp each.

One thing that made Pak Tarjo and Pak Iteng favorite places for cassette shopping was because they sold cassette at a cheap price. A cassette was sold for around 3,000Rp – 5,000Rp, whereas in other places it was sold at 10,000Rp (for an Indonesian cassette) and 25,000Rp (for a *Barat*, western cassette). The price could go lower than that if a customer went to their owner's houses—instead of going to their shops in the markets. The lower price given is compensating for the travel cost to the sellers' houses.

On the other hand, the common practice is to add *retribution*, or tax, and a booth rent fees to the price. A secondhand things collector is usually cost-conscious. To get the real bargain is everything, moreover if it is considered a

valuable one. To the advantage of Yoyok, Pak Tarjo and Pak Iteng might not realize the real value attached to their cassettes, and thus the cheap price.

It is useful to compare this pricing to the cassette pricing in the Indonesian market observed by Jeremy Wallach in Jakarta in 2000. The cassette price list in Wallach's research is as follows: "Western cassette: 20,000Rp (at the time approximately $2.50US), Pop Indonesia 16,000Rp to 18,000Rp ($2.00 - $2.25), Dangdut 12,000Rp to 14,000Rp ($1.50 to $1.75), Regional music (Musik Daerah) 10,000Rp to 13,000Rp ($1.25 to $1.63), Underground (independently produced and distributed) 10,000Rp – 17,000Rp ($1.25 to $2.13)" (Wallach 2002: 86). The price of the secondhand cassette might go down half or more from the original price. The price of a Western cassette in a secondhand place in Jogja seems to not change much from Wallach's list made more than a decade ago. My research indicates that the valuation of the secondhand cassette fluctuates—depending on many factors.

The knowledge level of a secondhand cassette seller functions as a mode of selling. Knowledge of music genres and artists helps determining the price of a cassette – as in the case of Pak Untung. Yoyok had never bought a cassette from him, but he knew his name from other collector friends.

Over the years, Pak Untung managed to make himself a master of his cassette stock. This is reflected through his comments or remarks about the cassette choices his customers make. Pak Untung knew what cassettes that many collectors would search for, the names of important record companies which released this and that album, the year when a certain album first released, or which edition of a certain album considered rare. On numerous occasions it appeared in the conversations with people who came to his place—especially with those who went there frequently, regarded more as guests, than simply customers. When he saw me observing a *Keroncong* cassette, a genre I am not very fond of, but the cassette had a quite an eye-catching cover design, he immediately said that it was a pirated cassette. He told me that the cover had been Photoshopped and thus looked like the original cover. He continued by saying that some people intentionally looked for pirated cassettes - perhaps for their personal *dokumen*.

Prior to selling cassettes, Pak Untung and his wife were scavengers. They scavenged from the garbage, for any odds and ends and for material that could be recycled. Pasar Beringharjo was an important point for collecting valuable trash. It expanded their knowledge of the geography of the market

and people who work and live there. They made friends with and built camaraderie among the market people. They decided to become cassette sellers after observing the works of businesses performed there. It was deemed more profitable than traveling around scavenging and gleaning.

Pak Untung started his new career with a series of preliminary learning sessions from his new environment. He picked up everything, which led him to the kind of cassettes that people usually search for. The most desired cassettes are those which can be re-sold. The cassettes can be categorized into tiers—rare, unusual, important, and other new tiers to be invented as the cassette business career progresses. The Internet was an essential source to guide Pak Untung in better understanding what made a desirable cassette. Another source in his early career was Rolling Stone Indonesia magazine, which regularly released a list of the best Indonesian albums or musicians. He did not intend to search for all musicians listed in the magazine for his shop. He just needed to know about which musicians and which album were popular, relevant or praised. Different cultural authorities—a senior cassette seller, the Google search engine, and leading music magazine—informed Pak Untung's knowledge. They operated within different fields to define the value of their power. The power lent Pak Untung a reputation as a knowledgeable cassette seller.

Pak Untung owned a kiosk that was located in a narrow alley next to Pasar Beringharjo in the centre of Yogyakarta. It was neither a kiosk nor a booth, since the space he occupied to sell cassettes was only a doorstep (*emper*) of a shop. He used to say *ngemper*, occupying an *emper*, in order to define his selling activities. His was a moving kiosk since he regularly moved from one doorstep of a shop to another. Initially, I thought he just used two kiosks, or two emper. But, I would later find out that he had access to three kiosk doorsteps.

He did not operate these kiosks at the same time, but one at a time. He would be available in one doorstep every Friday, and the other one on every Sunday, during the day. Both shops were shops selling plastic household products, owned by two siblings. The brother closed his shop every Friday, while the younger brother closed his every Sunday: meaning that Pak Untung could use their shop doorsteps. He did not pay the retribution money to them, 300Rp each day, but to a city government officer who came to the market every day.

On other days of the week, around midday, he could be found on the third floor of the market. The atmosphere of the floor was quiet and calm—compared to the hustle and bustle downstairs. There were many half-abandoned kiosks there, and used by sellers and buskers as spaces for napping. Pak Untung used one of them to store his cassettes, other goods, and to have a rest with his family.

Every night, Pak Untung would drag his boxes of cassettes to Pasar Senthir—unless it was raining, leading to many vendors deciding not to open their stalls. He did this all by himself despite having only one arm. He would be at Pasar Senthir until around 10 p.m., before slowly making his way back home. Or rather it was another temporary place he called his 'home', since it was a pavement, another doorstep of a shop that seemed to be always closed. The life of Pak Untung's family revolves around the market, periphery spaces that were occupied and made available to depending on negotiation (with the shopkeepers, market administrators, and different *preman*, or local gangsters who regulate the ways the people inhabit the market).

Pak Tarjo intended to sell as many cassettes as possible, at the lowest price. It seemed that his goal was to get rid of all the cassettes in order to free up same space in his house. At the same time, he still wanted to profit from them, even if just a little. Pak Tarjo's wife helped persuading Yoyok to buy more cassettes. "Here take this box too if you want." It marks the edge of his cassette business: a dormant level of turnover of cassette stock, and the decrease in the economic value of his cassettes. The growing interest in cassettes did not always mean an increase in profit on the side of the secondhand cassette sellers.

Stocking, on the other hand, is one of the main activities of a more active seller. Although Pak Untung frequently met with cassettes that did not really suit his taste, he took them on nonetheless. Otherwise, he would not have enough stock. The need for stock sometimes leads to competition among the traders of secondhand goods. Each secondhand seller must be able to look for alternative ways for stocking up their shop. In other words, they constantly struggled against scarcity. This is a condition where a supply security cannot be assured. Pak Untung told me about a waste collector (scavenger) from Pati (Central Java) who recently grew to become his steady supplier.

While depending on various discarding moments to get his cassette supply (a student who wanted to go back to Ternate for good brought all his

cassettes to Pak Untung for sale), the moments where people usually go back home were important as they were the time where they spent some money to buy cassettes in their leisure time (for example, the Idul Fitri time where many people go back to Jogja to visit families). He noted certain moments where some people, or 'person' as he usually called them in English, discarded some of their valuable stuff or provide opportunities for him to get them. "The Independence Day can be a special day where I often got interesting stuff. I got Soekarno's speech cassette on that day just a few months ago."

In my observation on Pak Iteng earlier, a large number of his cassettes were poorly kept and dirty. They were in messy and disorganized piles. The ways Pak Untung kept his cassettes reveal another meaning of *banyak*, plentiful, that is skewed and moved away from its literal meaning. Pak Untung could not tell the exact number of his cassettes. Whenever I asked him about it, he said that they were *banyak*.

To continue the description of *banyak*, he explained that they were kept in many places—in a place where he and his family lived, in front of the space where he *ngemper* (occupy a doorstep) every Friday and Sunday, and on the third floor where he usually was during the days. When I visited him on the third floor of the market, I asked whether the cassettes kept here were all the cassettes he had. He answered, "No. I still have a sack of cassettes. I put it in front of the plastic shop downstairs." I asked him further about whether he was not afraid of the possibility of it being stolen. He said, "It's all right. Everyone here knows that the sack belongs to me. No one would dare to steal it." The meaning of being plenty is constructed from the relation between the cassettes and the space. Pak Iteng performs his versatility – and that of the cassettes - through his ability to survive no matter the difficulties he faces.

Pak Iteng and I often discussed the overvaluation of cassettes. I saw how this topic also often came up in a conversation between his guests and him. The conversation was a means to interpret one's knowledge capacity.

> Guest : You would not believe this, I just read on the Internet about a man who aimed to sell a Soekarno stamp at 100,000,000Rp! That is just ridiculous!
>
> Pak Untung: Ah yes, that attitude! It is the same with this friend of

> mine who wanted to sell an Iron Maiden cassette at 100,000Rp.
>
> Guest : Which Iron Maiden cassette? If it were a rare one, it is understandable.
>
> Pak Untung : No! I think it is just an ordinary Iron Maiden. I have the cassette too. So I thought, wah, how lucky the person who would buy it from my place. Because it can be get for only at 25,000Rp.

According to Pak Untung, an increase in the number of cassette collector and competition amongst them enticed the cassette sellers to sell the cassettes at the overpriced rate. Unfortunately for many people, the new cassette collector in particular, were not equipped with the sufficient knowledge to use as the basis for their bargaining position. To the advantage of the sellers, these collectors could not see which cassettes were truly rare and which ones were just ordinary.

As the conversation continued, I could see how Pak Untung asserted his position as a knowledgeable and reasonable secondhand cassette seller. He sold only the good stuff, and more importantly he never created a specific scheme that was favorable only to him.

When there was no customer at his shop, I often saw Pak Untung sitting quietly on a little chair, with both eyes glued to a cassette on his hands. He tried to repair it, fixing the damaged tapes or replacing the missing pressure pad of the cassette, with very simple tools. On many occasions, I saw him rewinding a broken cassette with a ballpoint pen. He would then try to put it on a cassette player, and check the sound quality. After finished repairing one cassette, he would pick up another cassette and see if there was something that needed to be fixed. As a secondhand cassette seller, the main part of his job is to demonstrate efforts to bargain with the obsoleteness of the format. In this light, a secondhand cassette seller and collector can be perceived as the instances of ‘negotiated endurance’ (Rosner & Ames, 2014: 9). They intend to extend the life of a cassette. In the following sections, I explore an attempt at extending the life of a cassette, or other obsolete format technologies, when encountered with the necessities of negotiating it with the domestic lives.

ON *OPERASI* AND REPAIR

Acong, the librarian from Kunci and a long-standing friend of mine, did not have a particular expectation when he joined Yoyok and me in visiting the places where Yoyok usually went for cassettes. But, in the end he came out of Pak Nur's place with a box of some 200 cassettes. Acong liked being in a place like Pak Nur's or Pak Iteng's because they were the places where he could, in his words, 'swim in it [their respective collections]'. What he liked the most was that Pak Nur let him bring the cassettes and pay for them later when he had money. He had to pay 200,000Rp for all of them (1,000Rp for each).

The majority of his chosen cassettes were Indonesian ones. Some of them were part of my listening experience, a declaration of my liking to listening to a radio when I was a teenager. Some of the artists I liked included Tito Sumarsono, K3S (Bagoes AA, Dian Pramana Poetra, Deddy Dhukun), Randi Anwar, Hedi Yunus, Itang Yunasz, Base Jam, Vina Panduwinata, Kahitna, Lidya & Imaniar, Yana Yulio, and Sophia Latjuba. That was how I regarded them valuable.

Memories do not play a key role in determining the way Acong valued his cassettes. He might not have heard their music as many of the artists were only popular while he was still very young. In his case, the value of these musicians derives not from personal encounters, but from a decision to listen to their cassettes—the medium where they were initially released.

I lent Acong some money so that he could buy a cassette player from Pak Iteng. He added that it would also be useful for Kunci as the cassette player at Kunci had long been broken. I agreed with his idea that we could use the cassettes to store audio recordings of our interviews and discussion sessions, just in case there was something wrong with the digital files we had uploaded to the Kunci website.

Acong put the cassettes in a box and put it under the bookshelf, next to his desk, at Kunci's library space. Books and cassettes—were the two main focuses of his arranging efforts. The first thing he did was to play the cassettes one at a time. He learned from Yoyok that playing the cassettes was an important step to do after buying them from a secondhand place. The cassettes playing session turned the studious mood of the library into a loud and mood. It was great to see such old cassettes being listened to again.

There were two anthropology students who worked as interns in the room. Wok, Dina, and me were also in the room. We made requests for him to play a cassette that we thought might be interesting.

The playing sessions help to understand the condition of a cassette. It reveals which cassettes are in a good condition, and which ones are damaged and stretched. On the basis of the sound condition, Acong diagnosed what the problems were. It was the starting point for planning the remedies for the cassettes. The sessions were useful to synchronize what is written on a sleeve with the sound contained in a cassette. Sometimes the sleeve did not match with the cassette inside the box.

There were two types of repairs to be made: the outside and the inside. The former aims to fix the damage that has occurred on the cassette body. The latter focuses on the internal side—the sound produced. Acong told me that good collectors were always supplied with various materials needed in order to perform a proper remedy.

The material consists of different parts of a cassette - such as the sleeves, plastic casings, reel, magnetic shield, tape guide, and screws. Certain cassettes, certain sounds, become fragments. They are carefully taken apart, so as to become useful in fixing other cassettes. Acong said that Yoyok was an example of a good collector because of his supply of material that could be used to fix damaged cassettes. It was also from him that Acong learned various techniques for repairing cassettes. He also learned other techniques from YouTube videos. For Acong, YouTube's videos on cassette repairing were a vital resource: "almost everything is on it", he said.

Some collectors referred to the act of repairing as operasi, or operation. Watching Acong trying to fix a cassette it was like watching a doctor performing a surgery in a hospital room. He sat down on a chair and put the broken cassette on a table. The light of the study lamp cast on his face and the cassette. He tried to replace the label of a cassette that looked old and torn, with another cassette's label that still looked relatively new. The cassette with an old-torn label was in a good condition, whereas the other cassette with a good-looking label was actually not in a good condition—thus it was useless to keep it.

He put some warm water on the damaged label for a few minutes, and carefully pulled it off with the hands. The same method was applied to

remove the good-looking label from the broken cassette. “I should remove it with tweezers. But I don’t have them here,” he said.

In the second phase of operation, Acong repaired a Shanti Haryono cassette, titled *Berikan Cintamu*, Give Me Your Love. He had never heard of her before. But he quite liked her voice, and found the music interesting. Unfortunately, the tape had become a tangled mess as he played it. His diagnosis was that the reel needed to be straightened up.

Further examination showed signs of fungi on the tape. He used a cotton bud to clean them. Instead of straightening up the reel, he replaced the reels by taking others from another cassette. Two cassettes, ‘Qasidah Modern’ and ‘Non-stop Jaipong Jawa’, became the source of spare parts. Acong didn’t care too much for those cassettes and they could become collateral in the effort to fix the Shanti Haryono cassette. The attempt to replace the reels of Shanti Haryono’s with that of Qasidah Modern’s, however, failed. Somehow they did not match. But, there was more luck with using ‘Non-stop Jaipong Jawa’ cassette – even though Acong wrongly repositioned the sides of the tapes—what should be the Side 1 now the Side 2. “It is OK. I just need to be *telaten* (thorough),” he said.

An attempt to repair a cassette and bring back the sound to life involves repeated experiments and improvisation. It might be a laborious process - one which does not always follow with success. It indicates the scale of attempt at fulfilling the needs for ‘something’, the sound of music, a cultural product, something that can be referred to as proper knowledge. At once it brings a direct confrontation with limitations of what kind of things that can be obtained.

A few months later, I asked him about the cassettes. Acong said that he put them back in boxes and stored in a storeroom, along with his other belongings. He barely had time to collect more used cassettes, repair and listen to them anymore. When I said it was a pity these valuable cassettes were abandoned in boxes like that, he didn’t agree with me. They were put in boxes because he cared about them. To care about cassettes, and presumably other old material, is challenging. Even if one acquires the skill for fixing cassette, a more pressing challenge in collecting and caring is space availability for storage and time.

THE USEFULNESS OF COLLECTING IN THE FAMILIAL REALM

According to Susan Stewart, to position certain things in a collection is to refashion their use value, from extending the body to the environment, to "subsuming the environment to a scenario of the personal" (Stewart 2007: 162). Developing a classification system means to develop a personal articulation of knowledge about something. This is an example of a collection being, a 'mode of knowledge' (Stewart 2007) and an extension of the self. Collected things in the collectors' world as captured in Stewart seem to be removed the furthest distance from their use value, and have made the 'multivocal referentiality' in determining the fetish urge of a collector. Stewart views a collector as an alienated self that is constituted of the consumption of goods. The kind of labor displayed in collecting is a "fantastic labor, which operates through the manipulation of abstraction rather than through concrete or material means" (Stewart 2007: 164).

The kind of collectors that Stewart imagines seems to be centered on the collectors who devote themselves to their collection. The degree of their loyalty to the devotion, to emphasis on the 'fantastic labor' employed in practicing it, is high, to the extent that it is often be seen as being disconnected from the environment, the real people. Though the imagery of the collector perhaps may fit with the general description of what to expect from one. Based on my research findings, such description turns out to be not the only one. Stewart's image of a collector feels too limited.

In the context of the collectors observed above, the articulation of the thoughts regarding the collection is insufficient. A collector is also someone who manages to keep a balance between the display of the well-articulated thoughts and the usefulness of the collecting practices. So, what are the implications for our understanding of collecting?

Using the case of Yoyok, in this section I now show how the ability to perform the usefulness is seen as a means to validate the collecting practices. What are the kind of activities that he needs to do in order to show the functional roles of his cassette collecting? In other words, he could spend all hours at a secondhand cassettes shop all day, but what he should do to make it socially acceptable for his wife and daughter?

Collecting cassettes is an individual practice, but always a negotiated one. It needs to be made compatible with other aspects. Among the collectors, it

was common to greet each other with the following remarks—"Are you still fighting for the lives of your cassettes?" or "Are you still playing with cassettes?" They tell the fragility of cassettes as well as collecting. The willingness of a collector is put in question.

When a home is an environment of a collection, family views inform the collection's life condition and the sustainability of collecting. The majority of collectors that I met in Jogja are men, or husbands with wives and children. The views of the wives, followed with that of the children, often took center stage. Yoyok frequently mentioned about his collector friends who were forced to give up their passion for cassettes due to conflict with their wives.

Ordering is part and parcel of collecting. At the same time it might disrupt another order. To negate collecting, the wives usually reasoned with the husbands, and their hobbies, and used the following arguments. First, collecting cassettes is just a waste of money. Second, not only it is just a waste of money, it is also a waste of time. Implicit here is a thought that cassettes, the used ones in particular, are valueless. Third, to follow the argument, the wives would object to the practice based on the spatial condition of the house—that cassettes would take much space of the house.

Yoyok's wife, Mbak Pon, however, seemed to be very supportive of his collecting hobby. She works as a seamstress. When she did not have an urgent request to finish her sewing work, or to run an errand for the family, she would make tea for us all and join the conversation between Yoyok and me in the living room. Unless she had urgent daily chores to do, she would stay there until I left the house. On one occasion, she helped me with making a list of *pasar pasaran* that Yoyok regularly visited, including the exact locations of these markets. These were indications of her encouragement of Yoyok's cassette collecting.

A collecting practice might be perceived as disrupting this order, if it upset the normal routine. Yoyok and Mbak Pon did not have regularly nine to five jobs. The sustainability of Yoyok's collecting practice was made possible partly because it successfully blended into their flexible time management. Collecting happened because he had time to do it.

When he was not hired to work on different jobs which required his expertise on screen printing, or creating his artworks, he juggled his time between organizing the daily chores with ordering his collection—arranging,

rearranging, and repairing the broken cassettes. Among other cassette collectors, Yoyok was considered quite an expert at repairing the broken cassettes. This made him very proud of his collection—they looked shiny and remain in good condition.

Yoyok took Sheila, their only daughter, to school every morning; depending on the schedules, either Yoyok or Mbak Pon, would pick her up from school in the afternoon. The daily routine formed the pattern of his visit to the markets. The time allocated to go to the markets was to use the slot of time available from the time Sheila was in school until her home time came.

Yoyok attempted to make his collecting practice to conform to the way his family functioned. Going to a secondhand market emerged as a possible form of family recreation. He introduced the secondhand market as a site to get valuable knowledge items for not only for him, but also for Mbak Pon and Sheila. The family sometimes would go together to Pasar Niten (in the south of Yogyakarta)—another secondhand market that opened only in the afternoon—and searched for their favorite things. According to Yoyok, Sheila had been enjoying reading various children magazines found in there, and sometimes urged the family to go to the market. So as to make collecting not a waste of money, he kept it within the family budget. He usually spent 10,000Rp per visit to a cassette seller.

To show the close links between collecting practices and his creative expression, Yoyok's artworks sometimes took inspiration from his collecting practice. He made a series of paintings, which were based on a certain song, album covers, used books and comics. His works represent an artistic articulation of his collection. These works would be put in the same room with the cassettes and other collections. The collectors might buy them. And if they did, it would mean a valuable income for his family. I bought a small painting by Yoyok which depicts a cassette seller sitting in front of his shop. The possibilities to generate income from the collection elevated the meaning of collecting into a kind of proper job, and helped adding on the productivity value of the practice.

Another branch of Yoyok's collecting practice is developing a *perpustakaan keluarga*, or family library, based on his collection. He did not express the idea just once, but several times during the time we met. It shows how he really liked it to happen and perceived it as a logical extension of his activities.

The collection in this library was divided into the following categories: *lawak*/comedy, *orkes melayu*/*dangdut*, rock, pop, pop jawa/Javanese pop, keroncong, children songs, *Sanggar Cerita*,[43] Indian pop, gamelan, Malaysian pop, religious music. The categories would be expanded in increments, and intuitively, depending on his future findings and taste.

Some parts of the collection represent what Yoyok once had in the past, the sound of the past or something that intrigued him. He grew up listening to rock and lawak on the radio. Somehow the collecting practices made him realize of their value even more. The other parts represent the taste of the other family members—his daughter liked Indian music, his wife liked listening to Siti Nurhaliza and other musicians from Malaysia as well as religious music. The family used *Sanggar Cerita* cassettes as important source for Sheila to learn some folk stories. The production of *Sanggar Cerita* cassettes, however, has long been discontinued. But they were part of Yoyok and Mbak Pon's childhood memories. Sheila also used *gamelan* cassettes in her Javanese dance lessons. If collecting is a way of developing a 'mode of knowledge', as Stewart asserted, Yoyok's idea of family library materialized his personal articulation of knowledge about Mbak Pon and Sheila. Collecting became a way of learning what his family liked to hear in the everyday. It has also become a productive way to connect Sheila to the soundscape of Yoyok and Mbak Pon's childhood.

CONCLUSION

Collectors of obsolete technologies inhabit the idea that precariousness is an important element to inform digital environment. To live and work in such environment means to anticipate in an abundance of everything in the emergence of new digital platforms. Yet at the same time, it is always on par with the possibilities of losing everything. To collect cassettes, vinyl, and other superseded music artifacts, is to save them from further damage and neglect. It provides insights into the building up the sense of significance that is contained in the precarious storage of forms such as the cassette or vinyl.

To collect is to demonstrate a sense of caring towards things. In this chapter, the scope of things is not limited to cassettes only, but also the

43 Sanggar Cerita was a name of tales and folk tales series in the form of cassettes and radio programs produced by Sanggar Prathivi, Jakarta. Sanggar Prathivi was founded in Jakarta in 1974. Based on my personal memory, the production of cassettes and radio programs reached the peak in the 1980s to mid-1990s.

cassette sleeves, cassette boxes, and spare parts that can be useful for cassette repair, and other things to find while searching for cassette collection—books, posters or a cassette player. In the context of collecting, to care is to buy, fix the possible damage, and maintain the physical quality of the cassette. It takes training, practice and a series of experiments to be qualified to repair and give proper treatment to the cassette collection.

The longer a collector dedicate time and labor to be a collector, the more skillful he or she is in sensing what is significant to collect. This also applies to those who make a living from being a secondhand cassette or record seller. The knowledge gap between a collector and a cassette seller exists. Such a gap is to be exploited for the advantage of a collector and a seller. A collector is basically happy to obtain much valuable stuff in reasonable price. A seller is happy to be able to sell a certain cassette at a high price, but it is also satisfying just to sell anything to a customer.

My observations in this chapter indicate that the parameters by which a cassette or record is regarded as important can be based on what other people have said about the values of certain musicians and bands. Personal aspects are also utilized to measure value. The definition of what is important thus can be very loose. The stories in this chapter narrate that to be a collector, or to be someone to work to support collecting practices, is to hone and develop one's intuition. To be a collector is to practice and to be curious enough about what might be hidden amongst the seemingly dusty and unassuming high piles of used cassettes.

A collector might have different agenda on what to collect. The basis for the collecting agenda can be built from a mixture of various impetuses—a longing for certain sound from the past, a certain pleasant or intriguing sound or a sound that characterizes the history of Indonesian music from a certain era. A description of Acong's repair practices suggests that repair skill is necessary in extending the life of a cassette. But such a skill is not the only element needed to ensure caring. Collecting practices needs to be accompanied with sufficient resources to maintain the sustainability of collecting itself.

While the collectors needed to constantly demonstrate efforts to bargain with the fragility of their collected items, I observed that they also encountered the necessities of negotiating their collecting practices with the people that they lived with in a domestic environment.

It opens up a condition to recognize that the base of collecting is to make it functional in daily life. I want to emphasize the role of Yoyok's wife, Mbak Pon, and his daughter, Sheila, as family members who have shown support and care to what Yoyok cares about—the cassettes. Compared to some of the collectors, Yoyok was fortunate. Mbak Pon, his wife, is always supportive of his collecting. He never said, however, explicitly that he was grateful for her support. She could have easily encouraged him to quit, given the amount of time and money he invested in collecting.

To build a family archive is part of Yoyok's negotiation to make his collecting habit acceptable for his wife and daughter. The family archive is his contribution to the family. In Yoyok's case, to be able to sustain his desires for cassettes is to remember what to give to the family in kind. I perceive the family library as Yoyok's response to the questions regarding the useful values of his collection. Within the context of personal collection, it is important for the practices to be accepted by an environment where it is situated. It is important to be able to come up with a real and practical plan with the cassette collection. Further I see the family library development as a manifestation of a gesture to say thank you to his family.

As a commons, the family music library is a result of shifting the collection focus from a personal project to a family project. Perhaps Yoyok's family music library can be regarded as a practice to create commons, or a precondition for creating a shared resource for public. Collecting is expected to be a useful activity. It informs the meaning of the collectors' home-grown archives. The worthiness of archives is subject to reconstruction, reconfiguration, and reassembling. If collecting is a kind of 'engineering' – as defined by Mrazek (2002) - the type of the building can be defined as an assemblage of various things that matter to the closest people in the collectors' lives. The conceptualization of the future as well as what to inherit derive from the negotiation process of the useful meaning of archives.

CHAPTER 5

JASMERAH: DON'T EVER FORGET ABOUT HISTORY

This chapter is about Nirmana Records and Lokananta Records. Nirmana Records, founded in 2014, is a Jogja-based independent record company, which releases music in vinyl format. Lokananta Records is a national record company, which based in Solo. Lokananta is a state-run record company and has been operating since 1956. Lokananta has a sense of authority, due to its position as a national company which is backed by the state. It is a factor, which sets the main difference between Lokananta and Nirmana. As a new record company, however, the people who work for Nirmana, have earned a reputation as important figures in the indie music scene. People who buy the records that Nirmana produce value them as the result of the selection of a group of qualified people in music.

Nirmana uses a reissue of the works of Jogja musicians as a production strategy. At the time of writing this chapter, Nirmana have only produced two records by Jogja based artists: Frau and Dom 65. The records have sold well, and Nirmana is emerging as a thriving small record company. On the other hand, despite its reputation, the productivity and influence of Lokananta Records is gradually diminishing. This provides the ground for Lokananta to be the focus of many projects about 'saving' the important elements of music history. A story of Save Lokananta movement reflects on the people who may not necessarily be music fans, but are moved by a campaign to save the record company.

This chapter focuses on the lives of two record companies. The emphasis on the description of the thriving Nirmana and the diminishing Lokananta is not intended to show the financial success of a record company. Rather, I want to use that as moments from which I can draw a narrative about the intertwinement between recording and archiving music. In reproducing the works of the Jogja-based musicians, referred to by Nirmana as "the Jogja sound", the company perceives its role as part of an archiving practice. Nirmana is targeting the music fans who decide to buy records and think about it as part of archiving. I argue that the establishment of Nirmana Records provides flexibilities in acknowledging certain sounds to be included in the production. Reissue does not only refer to a production strategy, but the power to certify the sound being reproduced. Separately, I also want to come to terms with the state of alarm relating to Lokananta Records through

describing its current condition. Through conversations with the people who still work at the company, I describe the conditions which intimate the underlying feelings of what is regarded as important (and less important) for the people who work around what is referred to as a living historical archive, that is Lokananta.

Part 1
NIRMANA RECORDS: REISSUES AND INDIE DOCUMENTATION

Uji Handoko, or Hahan, is a visual artist, a member of Punkasila—an artist collective and band, with Indonesian and Australian members. He is also the founder and leader of Ace House Collective—a Jogja-based artists collective. In November 2014, he told me that he was in the process of creating a new record company called Nirmana Records. Hahan said that Nirmana would release music in vinyl form only. Nirmana is a Sanskrit word, which means 'creation' or 'construction'. In art teaching practices in Indonesia, it is employed as a main reference to the formation and imagination of harmonious composition of different visual elements. According to Hahan, Nirmana would release their music using reissue method.

Reissue means to reproduce something that already exists. Reissue can be seen as a statement to pay tribute to the works regarded as valuable and worthy of being reproduced. Gregory's research (2012) about tribute bands is constructive to have a better understanding of what valuable means within music industry. Gregory largely based her research on the existence of tribute bands in the United Kingdom. Her research indicates that the kinds of musicians who are paid homage to by tribute bands conform to the hegemonic measurement applied in the industry (Gregory 2012: 47-50). Tribute bands demonstrate the politics of representation at work—they prioritize certain musicians as the representation of the popular icons, and put aside the works of the other musicians. An exploration of tribute bands provides insights into how standardization and uniformity works in the music industry (Gregory 2012).

Moist (2013) asserts that reissue is also a strategy, which displays ingenious curating capacity and a diligent effort of excavating unknown-rich music sources. A record company, which chooses to base itself around a reissue strategy, to follow Moist, picks a role as a preservationist. It works to "adding the world's musical library, broadening the documentation of musical history in both recorded and written form" (Moist 2013: 238). Moist's research

indicates reissue as a practice generally organized by the collectors—the type of people who understand the historical value of certain matters. In practicing reissue, they intend to share their knowledge and good musical taste in the form of record production. Collecting is the engine of reissues.

The works of a reissue-based recording companies are appealing within collecting practices environment. They represent good quality music with high historical values. The collectors and reissue practitioners are both pitching their practices at music documentation. To buy them means to participate in an act of documentation, and at once to differentiate their music from the other kind of music packaged by the other recording companies. Their positions as the proponents of documentation reverberate with what Shuker (2010) asserts about music collecting as a valid social practice.

One of the most popular presentation about a music collector in the Indonesian context comes from the English film, *High Fidelity*. The film is based on Nick Hornby's best-selling novel with the same title. In the movie, John Cusack plays Rob Gordon, a vinyl collector and owner of a reputable yet failing vinyl shop. He ran the shop assisted by two friends, who shared similar high appreciation toward music. Rob Gordon character shows thorough and total immersion in his collection, to emphasize the exemplary behavior of collecting. Rob comes across as an anti-social type of person. Though this might be characterized as the charming side of a collector. The obvious useful value of Rob's collecting practices appeared in the ways he used it as modalities for expressing his music expertise in friendship. During fieldwork, I saw *High Fidelity* the book displayed on a shelf of a record shop in Pasar Santa, Jakarta. As this chapter would make clear, the diligence in collecting, or recognition of valuable material, make way for doing other things that go beyond collection material.

Hahan, the driving force behind Nirmana Records, is a collector too. The idea of building a recording company was born out of Hahan's personal collecting habit. Through organizing a record company, Hahan was dealing with the vinyl production, and at a certain extent, extending his personal taste in music and making it available to the public. To draw on from Gregory (2012) and Moist (2013), reissue practices stand on the notion of standard popularity and aspirations to assert inventive musical items. Hahan explained the decision to choose vinyl as the format released by Nirmana by stating that vinyl is a durable format. But this might also be their strategic business decision due to the recent inclination of local music fans toward vinyl. To produce music in

vinyl form is to take part in the global revival of an analogue technology (Bijsterveld and van Dijk 2009, Bartmanski and Woodward 2015). In Chapter 4, I talk about the prominence of materiality that is celebrated in the collecting and buying of things. Reissue practices support such 'thinginess'. Although Nirmana is a Jogja-based company, they cater for a trans-local collectors market longing for valuable vinyl.

In practicing reissue, Nirmana Record company is asserting that vinyl production is something meaningful in the present, rather than simply hyping vinyl as a collectible music item from the past. The main purpose of Nirmana, as written (in English) on the website, is to "preserving best quality yet cutting-edge music from Yogyakarta exclusively on edition-numbered vinyl which in other way also has a strong visual aesthetic" (https://www.facebook.com/nirmanarecs/).

The word 'cutting-edge' is important in Nirmana's self-description. How would Nirmana use that as a means to select the works of the Jogja musicians? Though Nirmana Records would mark his debut as a vinyl producer, Hahan told me that he was quite optimistic about it. In his view, Nirmana would be able to produce well-curated music that would attract wide appreciation. I took that as a cue for making sense the meaning of cutting-edge—popular and high-quality music.

How would Nirmana define the idea of preservation? Taking the idea of preservationist as put forward by Moist further, and connecting it to the statement that Nirmana made on the website, Nirmana intended to make their Jogja music release part of the wider Indonesian music history. How would they achieve that goal? And what is the importance of taking the Jogja music focus? As we will see later in this chapter, a policy to focus on Indonesian music reverberates with the history of cultural politics that, in some points of historical junctures, has been highly charged with nationalism sentiments.

THE MAKING OF NIRMANA RECORDS

In his early 30s, Hahan was a young successful visual artist. Many collectors - local and international - desired his works. He owned a big house-cum-studio in Nitiprayan area in the west of Jogja. Since 2011, he has been a brand ambassador of Hurley Indonesia—a branch of Hurley International, an American brand of surf apparel and sportswear. Apart from regularly wearing Hurley t-shirts and baseball hats, he made ready-mades for sale at Hurley

stores, designed Hurley's special t-shirts, and took part in the company's activities that employed his artistry abilities. It enables him to enjoy a wider appreciation outside of the usual contemporary visual art circle.

Meanwhile his position as the vocalist of the band Punkasila and involvement in various projects of Ace House Collective enabled him to circulate in prestigious exhibitions, international art biennales, and art activism. The work mode and some of the output of Ace House Collective were crisscrossed with casual attitudes and experiments towards pop culture and commercial art. This demonstrates his versatility to occupy multiple sites that might not sit comfortably together, and simultaneously makes it difficult to define the nature of his works. Nonetheless it makes him establishing stature as an artist.

A turntable on a desk at Hahan's house narrates a story of his development as a collector, and provides insights into how a vinyl is experienced as a new cultural object. The turntable was a gift from Gintas Kesminas – the brother of Danius, who is his band mate in Punkasila. Gintas gave it to him when Punkasila toured Melbourne and exhibited their archives at Monash University Museum of Art in 2011. It was not a new turntable. Gintas gave it to Hahan, because according to Hahan, Gintas already had four turntables. Hahan had not started collecting vinyl yet at that time, although he already contemplated it. He brought the turntable all the way to Jogja for him.

Initially the turntable was just sitting on a cupboard for quite a long time. He did not have many records to play on it. In fact, he did not know how to operate the machine. The first records to collect were bought during his visit in Hong Kong. The growing number of vinyl suppliers made it easier for him to obtain vinyl locally. When his collection began to grow, and reached a number that made it credible to call him a record collector, he decided to learn how to play a turntable. He looked up for useful information on the Internet, watched many tutorial videos, films about DJs and their sampling activities on YouTube, and tried to work it out for himself.

The narration of Nirmana Records in this chapter comes through Hahan and Uma Gumma, one of his best friends. Uma is also Hahan's colleague at Ace House Collective, and now a business partner in Nirmana Records. Nirmana Records is a small-scale company and is composed of local artists who are informed about the dynamics of Jogja's art scene.

The company team members also include Wok the Rock (Yes No Wave initiator, director of Ruang Mes 56, curator of Jogja Biennale 2015), Uma Gumma (a member of Ace House Collective, and Hahan's band mate in many music projects—Hengki Strawberry and N.E.W.S Sound Collective), and Adi Adriandi, or Gufi (a musician, Frau's manager, and a part of Kongsi Jahat Syndicate—a Jogja-based music event organizer). All the team members are connected to each other through labor association, collaboration, and friendship. Wok's Yes No Wave has released Punkasila albums, and he himself has been involved in Punkasila since the band's second album—"Crash Nation Mantra". As a DJ Duo, Hahan and Uma received invitations to perform in numerous art events, including exhibition openings at Ruang Mes 56. Wok and Hahan are reputable visual artists while Gufi is a well-known music producer in the local music and performance industry. Uma has a formal education background in economics, and has always been interested in managing the financial side of Ace House Collective and Nirmana Records. The expertise of the company team defined the types of job descriptions in Nirmana. The personal nature of the company has allowed for a more informal style in executing certain tasks. Hahan played a major role by investing a considerable amount of money to get the company establishing its initial projects.

Since they announced the inception of Nirmana Records, many had waited their first release with anticipation. The composition of the team promises the cutting-edge vinyl production that was honed by their established fine intuition and clever taste. It serves as the gatekeeper mechanism for filtering the sound produced by the company.

The first release of the company was a reissue of Frau's first album, *Starlit Carousel*. Frau is a solo lead by a singer-songwriter, Leilani Hermiasih, and her keyboard, which she has named Oscar. Yes No Wave, Wok's net label, originally released the album in 2010. Due to the popularity of Frau within the indie scene, the company viewed the re-release of the album as a good choice. It is a good choice, and a safe one. "People would buy anything that comes from Frau even with their eyes closed," said Hahan.

But, there was more in Frau that propelled Nirmana to reproduce her music. Leilani of Frau was not only able to produce good music. The trajectory of her works shows a combination of strong artistic personality and intellectual capacity. She chose to distribute her music entirely through a net label, in this case Yes No Wave. She had a solo show in 2016 at the prestigious

Jakarta Art Building concert hall. She is the co-founder of the Jogja-based Laras-Studies of Music in Society collective. With her colleagues in Laras, they make books about Indonesian music studies and hold regular discussions about music. The first book produced by Laras is an edited volume titled *Ensemble: The Mosaic of Music in Society*. I wrote a chapter about Wok's project—Burn Your Idol, in the book. Lani is also keen in producing music in an experimental manner. Her second album, *Happy Coda*, was initially released in the form of a music sheet book, with her own recordings of the album were made available as a download from the Yes No Shop.

According to Hahan, Nirmana is not only about finding and promoting good musicians. They want to work together with the musicians with certain artistic and intellectual attitude. At the same time, Nirmana hoped to grow as an independent and financially sustainable company. They wanted to produce music through which substantial revenue could be obtained.

In order to be able to set the price for Frau vinyl, Nirmana conducted a small research on the prices of CD and vinyl in local markets. One of their findings was that many people were willing to spend a lot of money for a secondhand record or CD, as long as it was about the album of the musicians they liked. For example, *Godzkilla Necronometry* vinyl of Homicide, a Bandung-based hip-hop band that first released in 2002 was sold as high as 500,000Rp (or roughly $50) in the online secondhand markets. The CD of the first album of White Shoes and the Couples Company that released on 2005 was sold at 450,000Rp (roughly $45). The average cost of a CD at that time was around 30,000Rp to 50,000Rp. (roughly $3-5). Such was the knowledge on which Nirmana people base the price of their first release.

The Frau vinyl release (*Starlit Carousel*), accompanied with a music sheet book (80 pages), also written by Lani of Frau, was sold at 395,000Rp (almost $40). This price was not cheap at all, particularly in Jogja context where many things were regarded cheap – such as food and accommodation. The price of the record is also more expensive than what people are prepared to pay for clothing. During research, an official band t-shirt is sold at around 100,000Rp to 150,000Rp ($10-15). As I write this chapter, Uma, the financial manager of Nirmana, told me that they had sold out of the first run of 200 copies of Frau vinyl. The number of copies of Frau vinyl is very limited. I see this as part of the company production tactics. What matters most is to be able to sell all copies—however limited is the number of copies. The 'limited edition' label attached to a record might provide a good reason to buy. Frau

was playing to a full house in the concert launch in Ruang Mes 56, in early 2015. Reissue provides a niche market for quality vinyl and promises good revenues.

BUILDING UP A SENSE OF INDONESIAN MUSIC DOCUMENTATION

I was sitting on a couch at Hahan's house, talking with him while listening to some old Indonesian records. He put all his vinyl collection in colorful plastic crates. The crates did not have lids, and they were put in a corner of the living room—just behind his working table. He showed me his collections, and said, "It must be nice to live in a foreign country such as The Netherlands and Australia like you. They are so clean. It seems that there is no dust to damage the records."

A particular Indonesian record that always brought him a sense of pride and excitement among his collection called *Mari Bersuka Ria dengan Irama Lenso* (*Let's Get Happy with Irama Lenso*). The record was released in 1965, and has four songs on each side. The vinyl was a product of Indonesian artists and IRAMA Record Company in conjunction with the 10th anniversary of the famous Asia-Afrika conference held in Bandung. Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia, in collaboration with the prominent musician Jack Lesmana, wrote a song titled "Bersuka Ria" in the vinyl. Syaiful Nawas of Orkes Gumarang wrote the liner notes. Two sentences penned by Soekarno stamped the notes, as if to authorize it: "*Saia setudju. Setudju diedarkan*". This roughly translates as, "I endorse this product. I endorse the release of this (vinyl)."

I had previously heard the "Bersuka Ria" song before thanks to Acong, my colleague at Kunci. He had downloaded the song from the Internet and had stored in on his iPhone. When the song "Bersuka Ria" finished playing, Hahan said that it would be better if his collection were oriented more to Indonesian music. According to him, collecting Indonesian music was a worthy activity, because it was equal to learning history. He pointed to the back cover of *Mari Bersuka Ria dengan Irama Lenso* vinyl and encouraged me to read the notes. At this point I wonder whether Hahan also learnt about how Soekarno particularly despised rock and roll because it represented an inauthentic Western culture.

The notes start and end with emphasizing Soekarno as the authority to govern what would be the authentic representation of the country. Soekarno had created a new style of dance called Lenso. What kind of music to accompany the dance best? The notes persuaded the readers that such kind of music should be the one bearing a strong national personality. It should belong to the existing local tradition. Because only in tradition can the perfect rhythm (*irama*) adhere to the national personality be found. In the following, I quote the notes at length:

> Our president/the great revolutionary leader, Bung Karno, has found the new style of the Lenso dance that he has always been performed on special dancing occasions. Surely, people would likely ask – what about the music style to accompany the dance? Would it go well with the rhythm of cha-cha, bossanova, to which the people, especially those who have a liking for entertainment music, have long been familiar with? Here is a straightforward answer: the rhythm mentioned above does not suit to the rhythm sound for accompanying the new style of the Lenso dance. Indeed, we need to have a certain character to accompany the dance, a distinct personality with a distinct musical rhythm that belongs to Indonesia. Our great revolutionary leader always encouraged us to be brave and stand on our own feet. Such a suggestion can be extended to the music field. Going back to the rhythm to accompany the new style of the Lenso dance, has it found yet? We have found it, and the result is extraordinarily enjoyable. You can hear it with your own ear here in the new record of "IRAMA" orchestra led by Jack Lesmana with various famous singers: Titik Puspa, Nien, Rita Zaharah and Bing Slamet. Through the performance of a new work of Bung Karno, his own creation/the result of his dwelling on something, a song titled "Bersuka Ria", we can hear what the most appropriate rhythm sounds like. It is the original rhythm that belongs to Indonesia, and can be used to accompany the new style of the Lenso dance on a regular basis. The distribution of the dance should be widened, so that everyone in the society can do it.
>
> To broaden the understanding of the people to the new style of the Lenso dance created by Bung Karno, other songs such as "Euis" (By Trihanto), "Soleram" (the folk song of the Maluku people),

> "Malam Bainai" (By Karim Nun), "Burung Kakatua" (NN), "Bengawan Solo" (By Gesang), and "Gendjer-Gendjer" (By M.Arif), all have the appropriate rhythm, which can be used to perform the dance gracefully and gleefully. The songs collection is the favorite songs of Bung Karno, which gathered from various places. They are the songs that have long been known by the Indonesian society, who populated the area that stretched from Sabang to Merauke.[44] In conclusion, while you are hearing these songs, we suggest you to learn the new style of the Lenso dance created by Bung Karno in depth. This is the dance, which can be performed by everyone in the society, old and young people. At the same time, the Indonesian personality in the field of dance and music is nurtured. Our hope is none other than the new style of the Lenso dance to receive the warmest welcome from the society and… hope you would have a gleeful time.[45]

The text indicates that the real good music is always 'there', rooted in the long history of Indonesian traditional music. But its value is concealed. There have been various reasons, which conditioned people to fail to see the 'real' value of the traditional music. One important reason, as explained in the text, was the fascination with foreign music. Lenso dance is the kind of dance that only goes well with the kind of music infused with Indonesian character. The character of Indonesian music can only be grasped through practicing the

44 "Sabang to Merauke" is a standardized way, fueled by the national imagination, to refer to Indonesia.

45 The Indonesian text of the notes reads as follows: "President/Pemimpin Besar Revolusi Bung Karno telah menemukan Tari Lenso Gaja Baru jang selalu diperagakan oleh beliau pada saat2 tertentu dimana atjara tarian telah terselenggara. Tentu orang pada bertanja, bagaimana tjorak musik pengiring tarian ini? Apa bisa disesuaikan dengan beat cha-cha, bossanova jang lama dikenal beat-nja oleh orang jang gemar pada musik hiburan? Djawabannja hanja singkat, beat-beat jang kita sebutkan diatas tidaklah sesuai dengan beat jang dikehendaki untuk pengiring Tarian Lenso Gaja Baru. Memang, kita harus punja kepribadian untuk mengiringi tarian itu, kepribadian tersendiri dengan memiliki beat musik jang chas milik Indonesia. Pemimpin Besar Revolusi Kita selalu mengandjurkan, agar kita berani berdiri diatas kaki sendiri, tentu andjuran beliau itu mentjakup bidang musik kita pula. Tadi kita mnjebut tentang beat untuk mengiringi Tari Lenso Gaja Baru, apakah beat itu sudah diketemukan? Kita telah menemukannja dan hasilnja sangat memuaskan. Beat itu telah dapat didengar dengan njata melalui rekaman terbaru dari orkes "IRAMA" pimpinan Jack Lesmana bersama penjanji2 tenar seperti: Titiek Puspa, Nien, Rita Zaharah dan Bing Slamet. Dengan memperagakan sebuah karya terbaru dari Bung Karno jang boleh dikatakan galian/tjiptaan Bung Karno berupa sebuah lagu jang diberi djudul "Bersukaria" dapat didengar dengan njata bagaimana beat jang dikehendaki itu. Beat asli milik Indonesia jang dapat dengan teratur mengiringi Tari Lenso Gaja Baru jang seharusnja diperluas penjebarannja, agar dapat ditarikan oleh segenap lapisan masjarakat. Untuk memperluas pengenalan masjarakat pada Tari Lenso Gaja Baru karya Bung Karno ini, lagu2 seperti "Euis" (tjiptaan Trihanto), "Soleram" (lagu rakjat Maluku), "Malam Bainai" (Karim Nun), "Burung Kakatua" (N.N.), "Bengawan Sala" (Gesang) dan "Gendjer-Gendjer" (M. Arif) mempunjai beat jang dikehendaki untuk menarikan tarian itu dengan lintjah dan gembira. Koleksi lagu2 ini adalah lagu2 kegemaran Bung Karno jang diungkap dari pelbagai daerah dan ternjata lagu2 ini sudah lama dikenal oleh masjarakat Indonesia, jang terbudjur dari Sabang hingga ke Merauke itu. Kesimpulannja, sambil mendengar lagu2 ini kami menjarankan pada Anda untuk mempeladjari setjara mendalam Tari Lenso Gaja Baru karya Bung Karno ini jang dapat ditarikan oleh segenap lapisan masjarakat, baik tua maupun muda sambil memupuk lebih mendalam Kepribadian Indonesia dibidang Tari dan Musik. Harapan kita tiada lain, semoga Tari Lenso Gaja Baru ini mendapat sambutan jang hangat dari masjarakat dan …… Selamat Bersukaria.

Lenso dance. The text indicates that the music with Indonesian personality derives from the rich culture on which the feet of Indonesians stand.

The Lenso dance is related to the framing of what Indonesian music is and its character. The character is only partially implied by the text, rather than providing a direct answer. The anti-rock and roll attitude as demonstrated in Soekarno's cultural policy embodies the idea about Indonesian character that had been shaped by Soekarno in the 1950s and the 1960s. A volume edited by Lindsay and Liem (2012) provides valuable insights to understand the cultural politics in the 1950s and 1960s of Indonesia—what it means to be Indonesian and representing Indonesia, in the period where nationalism was shaped from the inside as well as from the outside through various forms of cultural traffic – such as performing cultural missions abroad, developing cultural organization, and expanding networks. To conform to the political context that was filled with anti-neo-colonialism and imperialism in the period, there was a strong call for returning to the originality by juxtaposing "authentic culture" with anything that was imported from the West.

Soekarno coined the word *ngak ngik ngok*, which later used as a generic term for all kinds of music not reflecting the soul of the nation (Barendregt 2002, Ryter 2002). In his speech that was delivered to commemorate *Sumpah Pemuda* day, or the National Day of the Youth Pledge, in Surabaya in 1959, he said, "Why don't young people today develop our national culture? Why do not you protect our national culture? Why do you show more love to cha-cha-cha, rock 'n' roll and *ngak ngik ngok* songs?" (Soekarno 1959). In this view, performing *ngak ngik ngok* is a "Western-imitation" (Barendregt 2002: 242) and thus inauthentic.

Perhaps it was no coincidence that after I listened to "Bersuka Ria" on Acong's iPhone, the next song to play was "Hidup di Bui" by Koes Plus. The song title "Hidup di Bui," means "living in a jail", captured the experience of the band members while living in jail during 1965 for producing a kind of *ngak ngik ngok* music. Soekarno despised such music, instructed the military to "wage war against Beatle music" (Farram 2007) and to put the band in jail. But, the criticism towards *ngak-ngik-ngok* or Western culture as illustrated here should not be perceived as the general picture of the period. Tony Day (2012: 119-141), also in Lindsay and Liem (eds.), writes an essay, which paints a positive picture, or rather, amazement to America as the center of popular culture.[46]

When Hahan found the *Mari Bersuka Ria bersama Irama Lenso* vinyl, he was not yet aware of Soekarno's cultural policy. It wasn't a part of his consideration of the album. In Hahan's case, it takes time and labor to be able to possess this Soekarno-era vinyl. Soekarno-era vinyl has become a rare item, as with other vinyl records from the same era. They are all rare, thus valuable, and in need of being preserved. Their value comes from the fact that they are rare; only a few remain in circulation. It was this quality which encouraged Hahan to document Indonesian music. They are the documents through which he could learn new knowledge of local music history.

In developing a vinyl collection, Hahan tried to grasp the idea of Indonesian music through gathering the rare sounds in various old records. This is a common attitude among the music collectors I talked with throughout my research. In the previous chapter, I told a story about Yoyok, who searched for old cassettes high and low, and tried to develop his own logic of collection. My observation of collecting practices indicates the desires for learning about meaningful things from various music matters that seem to be transient. It feels transient because the visibility of these sounds might not be easy to predict. To be a collector is to get hold of the physical things, cassettes, or records, which contain sounds.

To connect it to the idea of Indonesian music proposed in the notes of the Soekarno vinyl above, I am trying to build a ground to say that a sense of Indonesian music might develop from random yet noteworthy sounds. Further, these random and noteworthy sounds are to be found in the forms of physical music objects. In the next section, I explore how this sense is used to produce the Jogja sound in Nirmana Records. What are the other aspects that the record company employed to frame and produce the Jogja sound?

THE SOUND OF JOGJA

The list of the music to be reproduced by Nirmana Records consists of a range of well-known musicians from various musical genres. The music has been part of the sonic landscape, which signifies the relation between Nirmana Records and Jogja. According to Nirmana's view, the works of these musicians are regarded as the valid music representative of the city. They are the musicians who choose Jogja as the site where creative processes take

46 Day's essay takes examples from the depiction of Hollywood in the view of Usmar Ismail, who studied film for a year at the University of California Los Angeles in 1952-1953. Day also uses the stories derives from Soekarno's visit to Washington in 1956.

place. Such a view is not accompanied with a clear and rigid definition of the sound which has emerged from their record production.

Lovering's discussion (1998) about 'local musical space' is instructive to understand the meaning of Jogja in Nirmana's records. Lovering argues that "a local musical space can be thought of as a territory in which a 'community of musical taste' is identifiable to its participants emerges and is sustained by an apparatus of creation, production, and consumption" (1998: 47). The dynamics of a local musical space follows the activities of not only the musicians who live and work in there, but also those who work to organize the music venues, shops, managers, and fans. It might be too difficult, even among the music practitioners in Jogja, to define what can be referred to as a representation of a 'community of musical taste'. But this might be the room to provide flexibility for Nirmana Records for producing the sounds that they deemed important.

On the list of Nirmana Records were musicians such as Sapto Rahardjo, Sawung Jabo, Sheila on 7, Dub Youth Soundsystem, Seek Six Sick, and Dom 65. Sapto Rahardjo (d.2009) was a *gamelan* maestro. The usage of electronic music tools in his performances designated him as the avant-garde gamelan composer. Sawung Jabo is a prominent rock musician. His works is notably known through Sirkus Barock and his involvement in Swami and Kantata Takwa. He performed with other well-known musicians such as Iwan Fals, Setiawan Djodi, Inisisri, Jockie Surjoprajogo, and Totok Tewel. The premiere of Sheila on 7, a pop band, in the musical event *Ajang Musikal* in 1998, a program on Geronimo Radio, which was dedicated to promote Jogja-based musicians, is often hailed as an important milestone in the development of indie pop. Dub Youth is an electronic music duo created by Heru Wahyono and Andy 'Metz' Zulfan. Heru is the lead vocalist of Shaggy Dog, a reggae-ska-rock n roll band. Metz was the former manager of Shaggy Dog. Both Seek Six Sick and Dom 65 are respected groups in experimental rock and punk music fields.

The scope of their music is varied, and it often surpasses the meaning of mainstream and indie in its limited sense. The listed musicians were related to the major record labels in different ways. For example, Sheila on 7 albums are produced and distributed by Sony BMG. Airo Records Production released the previous mentioned albums of Kantata Takwa and Swami, two groups in which Sawung Jabo is a part. EMI produced the first album of Shaggy Dog, a group that Heru and Metz closely affiliated.

But, they are also musicians who have respected independent practices and labels. Shaggy Dog now owns a record label called DoggyHouse Records through which they produce their albums as well as other musicians' music. One of their most recent releases is a single of Dub Youth ft. Masia One called Ba Ba Boom. Another respectful independent record label, Realino Records, produced Dom 65 album in the form of cassette in 2005. Realino Records, like many independent labels in Jogja, has since ceased functioning. As cassette becomes 'old-fashioned', it is increasingly difficult to find an opportunity to listen to Dom 65 album—unless one has an access to the cassette. The same applies to Seek Six Sick. Their previous albums were released independently; some of their music, in the digital format, appears in the online distribution platforms such as Free Music Archive and Yes No Wave websites. They have recently launched an album – Nothing Perfect Noise - produced by Rooftopsoundrecs in 2009.

Nirmana aims to reproduce the sound that has become limited due to the nature of their initial production - one of the main reasons was that such recordings were only produced in a small number of cassettes or CDs. I see a connection between the reproduction practice of Nirmana and documentation sense practiced by net labels discussed in Chapter 2. The development of digital technology that followed with the capacities for storage and reproduction engenders the rise of independent distribution platform. Due to the vulnerable character of the digital storage, digital files are unexpectedly prone to damage. Some net labels propagated documentation to include more music works in their platforms. In this case, to save is to reproduce. While net labels attempt documentation through digital reproduction, Nirmana Records attempts the same through physical reproduction.

Among other musicians and bands, which were listed, as possible future releases were Black Ribbon and Belajar Membunuh. Black Ribbon is one of Hahan's music projects. Belajar Membunuh is another band whose members are all closely affiliated to Hahan and other Nirmana staff. The inclusion of these bands indicates another important aspect to consider in the vinyl reproduction in Nirmana—they are included because they have been part of the personal music experience of Nirmana's people. They formed the landscape of the sound that would narrate their period of coming of age.

The map below best illustrates the close relation between Black Ribbon and Belajar Membunuh. The map itself shows the genealogy of Punkasila. Punkasila is a band and collective initiated by a Melbourne-based artist,

Danius Kesminas, and Jogja-based artists—Hahan, Iyok Prayoga, Krisna Widiathama, Prihatmoko Moki, Rudy Atjeh, Janu Satmoko, and Wimo Ambala Bayang. Atjeh made the map in 2011. It encapsulates the development of the band members, recorded through the realization of different collaboration projects. Drawing on the history of creative trajectories of the band members, it makes an inventory of the band members' participation in various music projects. At the same time, the map represents the intersections that occurred between the band members with the other artists.

Black Ribbon is a band that consists of Hahan, Krisna, Iyok, and Moki; all of them are Punkasila members. Atjeh, Blangkon, Tatang and Ikbal are part of a band called Sangkakala. Tatang is part of Belajar Membunuh. Other members of Belajar Membunuh are Rudi, Wedhar, Arwin, and Codit. Hahan and Wedhar have exhibited their works in numerous occasions of collective exhibitions. Hahan, Krisna, Iyok, Moki, Blangkon, and Tatang are all part of Ace House Collective.

The map serves as a map of work and artistic relations. Such relations tend to fluctuate from time to time. Shown in the Punkasila map were the original members of Punkasila—Danius, Hahan, Iyok, Krisna, Moki, Atjeh, Janu and Wimo. When the band launched their latest album, *Crash Nation*, in 2014, there was a change in the band membership. The band members in this album were Hahan, Wok the Rock, Terra, Blangkon, Moki, Danius, Atjeh, Iwank, Antariksa, and Janu.

The map does not represent something that is fixed. It captures the dynamic process of the Jogja music-scape in which Punkasila is a part. It is the kind of map that always needs to be renewed, updated and elaborated. For example, listed as Hahan's music projects on the map are Punkasila, Black Ribbon, The Spektakuler, Irama Peluru, The Psychoir, Hengki Strawberry, and El Jembt. But the map does not include NEWS, his most recent band. As I write this part, Hahan and other people being listed on the map might have started new bands or other music-related projects.

To connect the map with the idea of documentation that Nirmana upholds, the history of the past appears as something that opens for new data input, additional facts, and correction. The map does not only provide information on Black Ribbon and Belajar Membunuh. It provides insights into other possible sound to be included in the company's reproduction scheme.

A wide range of musicians and bands that Nirmana envisaged as their future releases reflects the dynamic art and music scene in Jogja. To a great extent, they came from the indie music scene, and had only partial connections with the mainstream Indonesian music scene. Through their music, Nirmana does not only attempt at showing their knowledge of Jogja music in depth, but they seek to provide different views of what distinctive and original sound mean. They are distinctive, original, and deserve to be on record. I want to elaborate on the distinctive element in the Jogja sound and try to connect it with the other distinct sound in music.



Figure 1. *Punkasila* map

To follow Hemphill (2015: 60), the distinct characters of Nashville sound, for example, can be recognized from its relaxed atmosphere, or high level of country soul. The word 'sound' in Nashville sound resembles a certain genre; it is shaped by culture of listening to country music activated by fans and its music stakeholders. On the other hand, 'sound' in the Jogja sound is reconstructed from an independent curatorial process developed by Nirmana Records. It does not depend on the main stakeholders, who have important roles in characterizing the sound of local music. The sound of Jogja which might include the works of Nirmana people, or the works of their friends that deemed important and deserve respect. To establish a recording institution

means to possess production tools for deciding what kind of sound to be produced and reproduced. In Nirmana's case, reproduction serves as a process to certify the music they want to promote. Nirmana's releases relating to 'the Jogja sound' narrate some parts of the city music history.

THE AESTHETICS OF THE REPRODUCTION

Each cover of the vinyl being produced by Nirmana is a remake of the original cover using painting reproduction technique. In Hahan's words, they are using a 'hyperrealism technique.' I take this as another cue for making sense of the meaning of reissue conducted by the record company. In practicing preservation, Nirmana paid attention to the vinyl aesthetics too. Reissue is a reproduction practice propelled not only by what is inside certain album, but also an exploration of the exterior of it. To illustrate this, in the following I describe the reproduction process of Nirmana's first vinyl—Frau's *Starlit Carousel*.

Wok designed the original cover of the *Starlit Carousel* album. On the cover, Lani (whose stage name is 'Frau') was lying on her back. A painting had fallen on her body. In her right hand was a mobile phone. The impression is as if she is besieged with messages in any possible forms that came from the phone. It brings about a painful yet sensual image. The painting that had fallen on Lani's back depicts a woman, striking a similar pose as her (or perhaps it is Lani who is copying the woman's pose). A painting that fell on a woman on the painting depicts a sailing boat on an ocean.

The portrait of the woman with a painting that is falling on her back is the work of Guy Bourdin—a French fashion photographer. The cover, however, does not say anything about Bourdin. Wok downloaded the image of the painting from the Internet, framed it, and used it as the photo shooting property. He had appropriated the painting.

In order to understand the cover reproduction practice practiced by Nirmana, I bring in the concept of aura that Benjamin proposed (2007). To follow Benjamin, the aura is a distinct moment and phenomenon that is created from the unique compatibility between the subject and the particular environment (Benjamin 2007: 111-112). Developments in technology which facilitate greater reproducible capacities, such as in Benjamin's case—the camera technology – leads to the decline of the aura.

When Yes No Wave released *Starlit Carousel* in 2010, there was an electronic version of the cover available to download. For those who would like to own the album in the CD format, for example, they can download the music files as well as the cover. They can burn the files onto the blank disc, and print the cover on a piece of paper. Since the cover is a remix of Guy Bourdin's work, it does not hold the natural aura that might emanate from the painting. The concept of aura in Benjamin's proposal has certain materiality produced from the intertwined relation between the place and the ambience surrounds it. He asserts that the withering of the aura indicates the beginning of various new social practice functions (Benjamin 2007: 224). The aura in the digital cover of *Starlit Carousel* might be compromised, but the download option provided by Yes No Wave opens up a wide access to Guy Bourdin's painting, though in its remixed form.

In producing a reproduction of the album, Nirmana took the idea of remix up again and amplified it further through reproduction technique. Each vinyl cover is produced through painting the original cover of certain album. Prior to the painting process, the digital file of the Starlit Carousel cover is printed, and perceived an original work on which this painting work based. Since the original cover takes the form of a digital file (though it can be printed), to paint the cover can be perceived as an attempt at adding a distinct quality to it. Painting the cover is part of Nirmana's efforts at producing vinyl, which could emerge as a tangible and beautiful music document. The painting is later to be digitally reproduced into hundreds of vinyl covers. If a painting has its inherent distinct quality, or aura, to go back to Benjamin, to reproduce it would make the aura disappear. The production scope in Nirmana Records is limited, in order to keep the production fee within the budget. Each vinyl that the company produced would still be special – and even if not 'unique', at least being relatively few in number.

NARRATION OF EXPERTISE

Though vinyl is a favorite format for music collectors, establishing a record company turns out to be a challenging task. An increase in the number of musicians who produced their music in vinyl format and their wide network of friends do not necessarily make information about a place to outsource the vinyl production function is easy to get either.

None of Nirmana members had any prior experience in the record production. This provides the main challenge for Nirmana when they set up a record

company. It is worthy noting here that among the people to be recruited as part of Nirmana, none of them has an expertise as a recording engineer—clearly an important role in a record company. Hahan, Uma, Wok, and Gufi, are very knowledgeable about music and their knowledge provides the basis for the company decisions about what music to record. But theirs do not extend technical expertise required for record production. When Nirmana began to operationalize as a record company in 2014, there was no a pressing plant in Indonesia. As a start-up in record business, Nirmana does not even have a recording studio where their recording process is centered.

Yampolsky's research (2013) about music and media in Dutch East Indies provides historical insights into recording industry in IMS (an abbreviation derived from Dutch East Indies, the Malay States, federated and unfederated, and the British Straits Settlements) from 1903 to 1942. In the previous part of this chapter, I explained about the establishment of Nirmana against a backdrop of a new fondness for records among music fans. In his extensive research, Yampolsky (2013: 55-163) elaborates on the facts that even when records development was emerging, the history of recording industry in Dutch East Indies painted a challenging picture.

The common ideology for European and American companies was to expand their markets and scope of recording material. Asia was an important target, but the Dutch East Indies market was considered small. The main challenge for the companies, as elaborated in Yampolsky, was not only how to sell well, but also to ensure the recording process was done adequately. The challenge appeared in the forms of war—which might hinder the travel schedule of the recording engineer, language gap, knowledge transfer between the company's recording engineer and the local people who would organize the company branch in future, to the local assistance to provide advice on music material and the character of the market.[47]

Yampolsky's research points to a different period in the history of music in Indonesia. It gives an account of the course needed to take to be able to record music. The subjects of Yampolsky's research are experienced record companies. As far as the research tells, the challenges they faced do not revolve around technical problem. To draw an analogy between these record companies and Nirmana is to write a description of different expertise and resources in order to run a record company. In Nirmana's case, it seemed that the only way to start producing a record was to ask around.

Wok suggested Hahan and Uma, who were in charge of finding the vinyl plant company, to make enquiries about it to a fellow musician who had recently produced a vinyl of an indie band in Jakarta. After a first attempt at enquiry had passed, there was no reply. Another musician friend suggested them to ask about it to an independent record company, which had released a vinyl of another indie rock band. There was a little bit of light this time. They obtained a contact of a vinyl plant company, but there might be an issue with customs and the possibility of the records not being delivered to Jogja perfectly undamaged. After another series of enquiries to a network of friends and colleagues, there was a suggestion to contact Gotta Groove Records, which is based in Cleveland, in the United States.

Hahan and Uma found the website of Gotta Groove Record provided useful information regarding pressing process and related services catered for prospective clients in distant places such as Nirmana. The price for vinyl pressing was within the allocated budget. But the distribution cost and the time duration spent from Cleveland to Jogja might emerge as a hindrance. This might sound too minor to make it problematic, but as a newcomer to the record production area, Nirmana felt the need to be cautious and calculate the cost spent from production to distribution. The reason was because they did not want the price of their records ended up being too expensive for the local market.

At that point, they thought up alternative and cheaper shipping scenarios. A possible scenario would be for Gotta Groove to send the records to Jogja via Singapore and Batam. A good friend of Hahan who was in the skateboard business, and recently imported skateboards from China via Singapore and Batam might be of assistance. The friend had a good connection with a forwarding company, which might help smoothing the way for Nirmana's vinyl delivery. The plan sounded promising, plus the price was reasonable. Until they realized that the price was not including the tax yet. A new homework for Nirmana then was to get information about the tax regulation set by Indonesian custom regarding vinyl.

In the midst of searching for the information about the tax price, they found another source that they might try to do a vinyl pressing process with the facilitation of David Karto, a co-founder of Demajors, a Jakarta-based record

47 See further in Yampolsky (2013), *Music and Media in the Dutch East Indies*, *Gramophone Records and Radio in Late Colonial Era*, 1903-1942, and Yampolsky (2014), "Music in Dutch East Indies Radio in 1938: Representations of Unity, Disunity, and the Modern" in *Sonic Modernities in the Malay World: A History of Popular Music, Social Distinction, and Novel Lifestyles* (1930s-2000s).

company and leading indie music distributor. After a series of correspondence, David expressed his willingness to facilitate Nirmana's vinyl pressing process with using his connection.

Nirmana did not need to spend more time to find the best and most economical ways for doing it. David would take care of the rest. Nirmana did not even need to think about how to deal with the exchange rate fluctuations, tax, customs, and shipping. They were part of the things that would be taken care of by him. All Nirmana needed to do was to pay a certain amount of money stated in the quotation sent by his company.

It would quicken the vinyl pressing process, and might lower the shipping costs. The scenario promised uncomplicated procedures. On the other hand, as a new record company, Nirmana also hoped to acquire first-hand knowledge of dealing with the nitty-gritty of vinyl production—finding a suitable pressing plant (establishing contacts with the people there), shipping, tax regulation, and customs. But it seems that the available options would make their position as a start-up precarious. In the end, Nirmana decided to proceed with the production plan offered by David. Though this would compromise their inclination for obtaining first-hand record production knowledge.

My exhaustive explanation of Nirmana's pressing plant search suggests the production process that is patchy, and points to many moments of uncertainty. They depended on online information and the expertise of other people. They queried friends and colleagues who might share information about recording process. However, Nirmana were being open about various inept points in the early stage of their company.

When I met Hahan and Uma for the last time in September 2017, they said that many of their projects were conducted based on the idea of learning. They initiated Ace House Collective not on the basis that they already knew how to run an artist initiative or gallery well. A considerable knowledge of running an artist initiative and art gallery would be acquired as they went along with the organization of Ace House Collective. They are learning about record production by establishing Nirmana Records.

Though still at its early development period, Nirmana promises to be a thriving record company. Their hard work has had a promising pay-off. Nirmana is already regarded as a young record company which produces a

well-curated music selection. As a result of the rise of vinyl collectors, their records have sold well. The archiving strategy of Nirmana Records is compatible with the consumption taste of the music fans' new generation. Nirmana fills in the niche market for music fans groups who conform to the company's aesthetic taste, and would like to remember and acknowledge the value of certain music through buying records. In the future development of Nirmana Records, it would be interesting to learn about how they balance the needs for gaining financial success, maintaining interests in engaging in music archiving, and following the logic of the market. Market and the logic of the market are two important things to consider in a record company.

Though in Yampolsky's research (2013), while he emphasized the fact that a record company cannot be blamed for following the logic of the market, he states that he blames Lokananta Records, a state-run recording company, for simply obeying the logic of the market. I quote what Yampolsky (2013: 50) states here, "I, do, however blame Lokananta, independent Indonesia's national record company for choosing to follow market logic when it could have used its governmental authority and prestige to record and honor the unknown musics from all around the country." The statement also derives from his observation of the failure of the Indonesian media at the time to grapple with the idea of cultural diversity. The scope of Yampolsky's imagination of cultural richness in Indonesian music ranges is as wide as the archipelago—music from Flores and New Guinea, *Gamelan Banjar* from South Kalimantan, and *Hoho* from *Nias*. I perceive his statement to suggest the neglect of Lokananta in incorporating the richness in Indonesian music, the different sounds, to the company recording policy. The lack of different sound, in the cassettes and records produced by Lokananta, might play an important role in the diminishing of Lokananta performance within music industry.

But here, I want to recall to the discussion about the Jogja sound that Nirmana produces. Nirmana Records and Lokananta Records have different ideals about their sound production. At the same time, sound proves to be an open space to manage the market strategy as well as to emphasize the value that a record company wishes to assert in the recording industry. With this thought in mind, I move on to the second part of this chapter, which discusses the layered dimensions of saving, and caring about, Lokananta.

PART 2
SAVING LOKANANTA

Lokananta Records, Indonesia's oldest recording company, is a state-run recording company, founded around 1955-56 in Solo (Yampolsky, 1987: 1). Yampolsky stated that Direktorat Jendral Radio-Televisi-Film (General Directorate of Radio-Television-Film), which is also part of the Departemen Penerangan (Ministry of Information), was the state institution to control Lokananta. The Ministry of Information would later be dissolved by the Kabinet Reformasi Pembangunan, the cabinet of the Reformed Development, formed in 1998. Lokananta is now a subordinate to Perum Percetakan Negara Indonesia (Indonesian Government Printing Office).

For the past five years, there have been a series of initiatives to raise public awareness about Lokananta Records. The initiative sought to highlight that, although Lokananta was dormant, it was not yet a dead company. Lokananta was no longer producing many new recordings and the initiatives stemmed from the growing concern for the condition of the company. The decline of Lokananta happened quickly and it was perceived to be incapable of protecting the different forms of cultural assets that it had produced over several decades.

Many journalists, in the Indonesian media, drew attention to such condition and published articles about the fragile state of the historical music archives stored at Lokananta. In the context of social movements operating within the digital media ecology, to follow Tufekci (2013: 849), gaining attention is crucial since it is a means through which the cause and preferred framing for the movement, members recruitment and mobilization, can be introduced and take place. Social media platforms act as a powerful catalyst in promoting various ways of saving Lokananta.

One of the outcomes of the wide publication of the Lokananta precarious condition was the popularity of #savelokananta hashtag on social media. It quickly became a 'trending topic' on social media platforms—particularly on Twitter in 2012.[48] There are some variations of writing Save Lokananta--#savelokananta, #saveLokananta, or #SaveLokananta. Others added #Lokananta on their tweets. I also observed the appearance of another similar hashtag called #sahabatlokananta (Friends of Lokananta). Sahabat Lokananta seems to be a less popular hashtag than Save Lokananta. But the hashtags and their variations all serve as popular channels to convey support

and sympathies towards Lokananta. The supporters and sympathizers broadcasted tweets on Twitter, and posted articles, commentary or images on Facebook, with their preferred hashtag to share their concerns for Lokananta.

There are many aspects that play an important role in making something a trending topic. In the case of #savelokananta, the role of musicians was significant. Their significance relies on their celebrity power to command the direction of the public attention, select certain information from the overloaded online information, and bring back the 'fractured public' to focus on certain issues (Tufekci 2013: 856). Tufekci, writing in the context of Arab Spring in Middle East and North Africa in 2011 and 2012, states that the kind of celebrity that she researched is not necessarily the Hollywood type of celebrity, but a group of people who have been capable of guiding the public's attention. Tufekci coins a term 'networked micro-celebrity activism' to define their practices in utilizing personal testimonies, advocacy, and citizen journalism, to participate in the wider discourse about political issues in their environment (Tufekci 2013: 850).

Many Indonesian musicians have been trying to use their fame and influence to garner support for Lokananta. For example, popular bands such as White Shoes and the Couples Company, Efek Rumah Kaca, Pandai Besi, and Shaggy Dog, have all organized live recording sessions at the Lokananta studio.[49] To have prominent musicians record their music at Lokananta was seen as a strategic way to draw more public attention to the still functioning studio. But their prominence was not the only factor in this effort. These bands have developed their own strengths and currency, which can be utilized to influence the public attention into taking more concrete action towards the company.

White Shoes and the Couples Company is a Jakarta-based indie band. The band members—Rio Farabi, Aprilia Apsari, Saleh Husein, Ricky Virgana, Aprimela Prawidyanti, and John Navid—come from visual arts and classical musical background. In addition to their musical activities, each member builds their own persona and actively engages in the visual arts, exhibitions, and film scoring project, environment movement, and fashion. Efek Rumah Kaca is a Jakarta-based indie band. Pandai Besi is a separate music project of Efek Rumah Kaca. Efek Rumah Kaca is known for sharp-melodious song lyrics, inspired by current social and political issues in the country. It creates

48 A trending topic means a certain topic, which surged to become a source of conversation shared by many on different social media platforms.

the foundation for the fans, which is not only formed by good music, but also an inspiration to the music community. Shaggy Dog is a Jogja-based ska-reggae band. Shaggy Dog is strongly embedded within the Jogja ecosystem. The band has established an in-house record company, Doggy House Records in 2014. It marks the band's return to the indie way of music production (Shaggy Dog previously produced their music under EMI Indonesia), and sets out a new adventure of the band in engaging the music production in Jogja.

Glenn Fredly, a very popular Indonesian singer, was also active in promoting the Save Lokananta efforts. Fredly was known as an active promoter, or buzzer, of Save Lokananta. Compared to White Shoes and the Couples Company, Efek Rumah Kaca, Pandai Besi, and Shaggy Dog, Fredly differs greatly in terms of musical style, production, and circulation. Fredly music is always produced within major labels and mass media. Fredly is also a musician who can express his opinions and concern about the current social and political issues. His Twitter account, @GlennFredly, has some 2.26M followers. Fredly regularly tweeted about the needs for allocating time and energy to take care of Lokananta Records' archives. In collaboration with other musicians, he organized Rumah Musik Indonesia, a live music event dedicated to raise awareness of Lokananta Records in 2012. Indosiar, a national TV station, broadcasted the event. In the preparation of his solo concert in 2015 for example, he visited Lokananta Records, and made a series of tweets about it. Local newspapers wrote about his visit, which later being shared by his fans on Twitter. Part of his daily tweets provided his followers with links and comments regarding Indonesia's current news—corruption, Indonesian political exiles abroad, the Indonesian branch of the Hizbut Thahir, or a recommendation for a good Indonesian movie to watch.

On a different occasion, I read an article in a Solo-based online newspaper (www.timlo.net) about a group of music fans from the Museum Musik Indonesia in Malang, who organized *gotong royong*, a collaboration work, to clean the vinyl collection of the company. I found the article through a link provided by someone who tweeted it which appeared on my Twitter timeline. Half of

49 White Shoes and the Couples Company is well-known for producing retro sound, jazz, and ballads, all couched in high quality recording production. The band works in close relation with Ruang Rupa, a leading alternative space and art and cultural institution in Jakarta. The band manager, Indra Ameng, is a co-founding member of Ruang Rupa. Efek Rumah Kaca and Pandai Besi share the similar band members. In practice, it is difficult to differentiate both bands in terms of the musical style. The fans of Efek Rumah Kaca are usually also the fans of Pandai Besi. In Chapter 2, I wrote a section about crowdfunding, a practice, which was taken by Pandai Besi to fund both their efforts to do a live recording in Lokananta, and to produce a new album. Here one can wonder about what was more important—the funding availability to fund the band's travel to Solo, or the production of a new album. Shaggy Dog's music is a mixture of ska, reggae, and rock.

the article was used to explain some of the handy tips for cleaning vinyl. The vinyl-cleaning activity was read as a kind gesture of the music fans to Lokananta, as an important music institution.

I was able to attend an event called Lokananta Festival in December 2014. The festival was organized by local organizers and held in accordance with the spirit of saving Lokananta. The participants were invited to perform, set up non-permanent booths and sell old and new cassettes, records, and band related merchandise. They were also invited to create artworks to be displayed on the walls on the terrace of the Lokananta building.

Along with the development of social media, I noticed a surge of the #savelokananta hashtag appearing on Instagram. This photo-based social media platform is appropriate in recording both the beauty and abandoned state of Lokananta. Many people took their pictures in different parts of Lokananta building, and captioned them with appropriate words that described their feelings.

To portray the phrases used in the Save Lokananta postings on social media, using the postings in Twitter as an example, I categorize them into four kaleidoscopic categories: 1) definition/impression of Lokananta; 2) what should be done towards Lokananta, or hopes about the record company; and 3) depiction of the act of going to Lokananta. In the first category, the popular phrases used are *jadul*, an abbreviation of 'jaman dulu', or old-fashioned thing, *antique*, antique, *sejarah musik Indonesia*, the history of Indonesian music, bersejarah, historical, and recording pertama, the first recording company. In the second category, I find popular phrases peduli, to care for, selamatkan, to save or preserve, and *yang nyaris terlupakan*, that which is almost forgotten. The words used and categorized in the third category are *ziarah*, pilgrimage, *nostalgia*, and *blusukan*,[50] a Javanese word to describe an act of visiting an unusual place. They provide insights into the portrayal of Lokananta as a hidden historical thing, and something that is worthy of being revisited.

The social media messages containing #savelokananta were not always original posts, but an assemblage of reposts and retweets of other messages posted by others on different social media platforms. They were expressed to

50 *Blusukan* has been a very popular word during Joko Widodo's presidency. It is used to describe the habit of President Joko Widodo, or Jokowi, to visit certain places throughout Indonesia. An aspect, which makes Jokowi's *blusukan* practices standout, is that it is conducted often unexpectedly. Within the public discourse, the choice of the *blusukan* places indicates the ability of the president as well as his whisperers to see the real condition of the people.

show support to the activities initiated by other individuals. The practice of sharing the information about the activities through clicking a certain button makes it part of online activism that characterized new participation culture in Indonesia (Lim 2013).

The popularity of #savelokananta represents a case which has successfully mobilized the public attention on a large scale via the local social media realm. In studying Indonesian social media activism, Lim (2013, 654) concludes that a social media activism would be most successful when the symbolic icons represented an echo of the dominant readings of contemporary popular culture. In #savelokananta case, the hashtag became very popular because it expressed the widely shared public opinion about the value of Lokananta and what needs to be done about it. I imagine that in making comments about Lokananta, typing #savelokananta, or sharing various news related to that, there was a sense of being in the same caring community that developed in the process. In the case of Lokananta, people rarely made claims about the ownership of the hashtags. These hashtags were circulated freely across the vast social media network. It produced a public display of caring

According to Lim (2013), the thin, fast, and light character of social media, is not able to facilitate complex and layered discussion around certain issues, and thus it engenders the kind of activism that is prone to being thin, fast, and light. I see this in the case of #savelokananta too. Lim explores the downsides of the social media activism, that she refers to as "many clicks but little sticks." It manifests in the online activism, which only results in a high number of clicks, but is limited to their transformation into a meaningful movement. In her research, she uses such downsides as key insights to shed light on the dynamics of the online movement organizations.

The pattern of the Save Lokananta appearance is up and down in accordance with the activities related to Lokananta Records. When Lokananta happened to be featured in local television, or appeared in a local newspaper, the Save Lokananta hashtag also appeared. For example, when Glenn Fredly visited Lokananta in 2015, leading up to his solo concert, there was a sudden surge of #savelokananta on Twitter. When there was nothing happening that could be connected to Lokananta Records, it led to a decline in the visibility of the keyword on social media platforms.

More poignant than reiterating the decreasing postings or mentions about Save Lokananta on social media through number, I find the decline is vividly

evoked through the postings of different people, who in their own ways, tried to say something about Save Lokananta. Their comments, however, seemed to dissipate quickly, until someone found them through an online search, and decided to respond by retweeting or reposting it. On 7 March 2015, a person called Hendra, using his @MrJavaJr Twitter account, tweeted "By the way, I am just asking here, so what is the continuation of #savelokananta?" Roughly a year earlier, on 28 April 2014, S.M.I.T.H, with @Racunhati Twitter account, said "Hey #SahabatLokananta Heyy @SaveLokananta how have you been? Have you been lost somewhere?" On 9 March 2015, Ermansyah or @SP_ERMan retweeted a tweet of @ejha_rawk that states: ":) RT @ejha_rawk Happy Indonesian Music Day to all musicians and music fans in Indonesia. How are you #saveLokananta?"

But Save Lokananta has become a known keyword to depict public desires for saving the record company. There is a shared sense of urgency to save the company, though the discourse around it seems to fluctuate. In many cases, #savelokananta has been stated by various people who might not always connected to each other. Nonetheless, the Save Lokananta keyword, or #savelokananta hashtag, became a kind of connector to gather different people in the imagined caring community.

The second part of this chapter focuses on aspects of the #savelokananta movement on social media that are potentially superficial, to follow Lim (2013), and uses the ups and downs of this outward public expression of feeling as a transient note in guiding me to look at what happened inside Lokananta.

LOOKING INTO THE INSIDE OF LOKANANTA

I long knew about Lokananta Records from my mother's collection of Javanese wedding music cassettes and my father's collection of *klenengan* (a kind of East Javanese music) cassettes.[51] In between the hype of 'saving Lokananta' and my own memory of Lokananta, I was somehow reluctant to go there. It was not a reluctance that bordering on dislike, but rather it stemmed from feeling 'too familiar' with it. But as a matter of fact, I had never been there at all. It was the familiarity brought about by the power of the state which

51 Philip Yampolsky's discography reveals that my memory and introduction to Lokananta through Javanese wedding and klenengan cassettes was not totally personal. It was informed by the company's market policy to not participate in 'pop Indonesia and dangdut' arena and choose instead to produce a more regional-based music (p.13). The development showed that it gradually narrowed down the scope of the regional music production, resulted in Central Java being the focus (p.20).

emanated through the state-built buildings. The sense of power remained intact even when the buildings had slowed down their activities. I was sure that it would be there, at its historical spot, as long as I could imagine it. But, the Lokananta Festival seemed to be a perfect occasion to attend, so I boarded a morning train from Yogyakarta's Tugu Station to Solo.

There is no doubt that Lokananta is an important institution. While wondering about my own reluctance, I also realized that Save Lokananta was an initiative that I valued. Though perhaps an extension of the feeling, it posed new doubt. What was the use of all this? If Lokananta was an important institution, and there were some people who committed in doing good, I should not allow any reluctance to surface at all. My doubt was not without guilt about not feeling sufficiently motivated to join in the enthusiasm to 'Save Lokananta'.

At the same time, my reluctance also involved a degree of curiosity. What did the vinyl pressing plant look like? What did the studio look like? How were the records arranged? It is common knowledge that coffee powder is a natural substance that can be used to keep the room temperature dry. It might hinder the growth of the molds. I had heard from Wok the Rock, about the coffee powder that put under the record shelves in Lokananta, to keep the records free from molds. Was the coffee powder still there? Such curiosities excited me.

I decided not to have clear plans while in Lokananta; I tried to visit without having a clear or pre-determined agenda. I was letting myself to be carried by moments and hoping to have, to follow Spyer, "accidents" (2010). They are not the massive scale of accidents referred to by Virilio (2006), but rather of unexpected encounters, small-scale happenings that I could call discoveries.

Spyer emphasizes the importance of surrendering to the serendipity, *sérendipité*, or the happy chance (2010: 149-150). They facilitate further enquiries and happenstance to reveal insights beyond the otherwise considered ordinary occasions. In a similar line, when writing about ethnography practices, Okely uses Breton's concept of *disponibilité* to focus on chance and serendipity when being in a new place. To follow Okely, being disponible is "wandering without express and pre-formulated aims (2012: 53-55). Drawing on the notions of serendipity, accident, and *disponibilité*, lies in my decision to have a free agenda during Lokananta visit is an expectation of valuable findings that their ways through unexpected encounters.

In the previous chapter, I made an analogy between a collector and an engineer. A collector can also be seen as an engineer who is able to construct a building from different found objects. A secondhand market, for example, constitutes the perfect site to find the potential remains or leftovers to be collected. In this section, I again pick up the idea of building a respectable collection from a plethora of things, and try to connect it with an attempt to pay respect towards Lokananta.

There are many aspects of the Lokananta building that I saw during the visit, which reminded me of something that is half-abandoned. The building was not in complete ruin, but some parts did evoke a sense that they were in need of repair. I want to speculate that a condition where something seems to have suffered much, in ruins, is a key point in defining what is important or less important. Visweswaran (1994) views allegory as a situated practice to bear layers of meanings. In alignment with various social media postings, which describe the state of Lokananta in words that filled with both admiration and disappointment (and an urge to do something), I intend to show that perhaps through ruins, a sense of 'being alarmed' can be grasped.

IN BETWEEN OBSOLETENESS AND USEFULNESS
Dimuseumkan

The Lokananta logo, written in italic form, seemed to gaze at me, to the visitors and passers-by that happened to pass the building and wondered what it was. When passing the foyer, I stopped to look closely at the pictures that were hanging on the walls. In the waiting room, I saw some pictures, which depict the situation of the company's recording room during its early years. There was a placard on the table with "Lokananta cassettes are available here. Lokananta, satisfaction guaranteed" written on it.

As I walked down the terrace on which the participants of the festival set up their booths to sell old and new cassettes, records, bands merchandise, and stopped by to observe the stuff displayed, I looked for other things—rooms with the doors half open or glass windows through which I could see the room inside. I walked across the big yard of the building.

A room with 'Museum Lokananta' written on the door next to the director room was dedicated to display different cassettes duplication machines and other appliances related to audio recording and duplication tasks used by

Lokananta in different eras. Machines and tools in the room were arranged in serial and chronological order—"VHS Video Recorder 1980", "Record Player 1970", "Cassette Duplicator (High Speed Duplicating) 1980", "Equalizer 1960". The museum, as I found out later, was not a museum in a conventional sense. Based on my conversation with Bemby Ananta, one of Lokananta employees that I talked with during Lokananta Festival, the museum was perceived to be a room to store old audio recording machines used by the company.

To follow Clifford (1988), the museum and art market form a zone where matters that are officially regarded as important are kept and circulated. Clifford (1988: 222:226) proposed the concept of art-culture system, with the connoisseurs, curators and collectors, who work to set criteria for valuing. Though the museum room at Lokananta was not a museum per se as the company staff indicated, it was full of collectible items that were once part of Lokananta's greatness era. The existence of the Museum Lokananta room in the building indicates the desires for being regarded as important in the wider narration of music history. It serves as a reminder of Lokananta as the great cultural inheritance. To organize various technologies of sound production in a museum environment, I argue, is the route chosen to establish their significant position in the Indonesian music map.

Anderson's explanation (2006: 178-183) of the logic of political museumizing used in colonial states, continued in the post-independence colonies, is instructive here. Along with the intensity of the Save Lokananta campaign, I could sense that Lokananta appropriated negligence as condition to observe the lack of awareness of the company's historical inheritance value. It demonstrates the lack of caring towards the 'evidence of inheritance' (Anderson 2006: 318). The idea of developing a museum thus has been imagined and nurtured as the future of the record company. The Museum Lokananta is perceived as a stage of life to give evidence of the role of Lokananta in guiding the education of history to the future generations. It was readily available to be visited and checked upon. During the festival I saw many people coming and going the room.

I walked around the room twice to ensure that there was no particular interesting thing that I missed. This one-room museum displayed various technologies for audio production. All around me were things that Marx defined as "factors of production"—analog sound recording, mixing, and audio production tools. I walked around the room a couple of times, and tried

to become enthusiastic and find the revelation in the machines, but nonetheless I continued to feel a kind of emptiness.

The presence of the emptiness was all the more pressing because what I saw was a total contrast to the 'museum' as the space created for collection material. In a collector's 'museum', things are not only collected, but also gathered with an intention to revive them. But what I saw here were a combination of dysfunctional and irreparably damaged machines—an embodiment of the epitome of *dimuseumkan*, to 'museumize', an Indonesian expression, if derisive, to say to put something in a particular place and let it be abandoned.

While in the room, I saw there were many photos of the state officers who had paid their official visits to Lokananta hanging on the wall. Maybe this could be seen as another route to emphasize the important status of the record company, that is to show that the officials visited the company, and included it in their agenda. The state officers who visited the company posed with similar gestures: looking at things and observing. In amongst the similarities of their gesture and fashion style, I saw a familiar face—Harmoko the Minister of Information. Harmoko served as the minister of information, the head of the government department of which Lokananta is a part, during New Order era from 1983 to 1997. Therefore, he appeared in many photos. The wall was like a display of the New Order bureaucrats' visits to Lokananta and how the company prospered in that era.

The reason of how I immediately recognized the photo was because I grew up in the New Order era. An ability to memorize many details concerning the government was part of the requirement to pass history test in school at that time—to be able to memorize the names of the ministers in Soeharto's Development Cabinet was among other things. Indeed the state officials photo series did remind me of the photos of the national heroes, president and vice-president in the classroom. They have always been part of the compulsory things which are used to decorate the walls of any types of schools.

Each photo and clipping was a showcase for greatness, or remnants of past greatness. It demonstrated the undisputed grandeur, although being accompanied by clear traces of neglect. The pictures were old and worn. Together with the clippings, they were composed and put together just like that on the walls.

Greatness and neglect combined together brought to the fore such a familiar view, prompted me to accept the pair, and made my reluctance to creep up. Perhaps I was reluctant to go to Lokananta because I was too afraid to see the signs of the negligence, something that too often attached to all things considered old and unproductive. It brought about the feeling of hopelessness, which I would have preferred to avoid. But it already came into me and I used it partly as a lens, or shield, through which everything I saw during my visit, was understood.

A NEW SITE OF PRODUCTION

Bemby Ananto looked very busy during the festival. It seemed that he was the most sought-after person to talk with by the media people, visitors, or researchers. He was the Head of Remastering Section in the company. He introduced many innovative ideas to the company, which ranging from digitizing Lokananta's audio archives in the forms of CD and using them as a means to generate income, to utilizing the company's cassette reproduction machines to produce cassettes for numerous indie bands. He was known as the mediator between Lokananta and people or independent initiatives who attempted to organize events at Lokananta.

I stood in front of the big windows of the archive room. The door was locked. But I could see rows of shelves full of records. I was not the only one to stand by the window; there were others who like me, were standing there and whispering to each other while pointing at a certain record they saw. One of them said that I should try approaching Bemby if I wanted to go inside the room. I told Bemby that I was a PhD student from Leiden University who is researching Indonesian music. He drew a bundle of keys from his pocket and opened the door. For a moment I just stood there, looked around, and was somewhat overwhelmed by my surroundings—shelves and shelves full of records. I knew some of the musicians whose albums were displayed in the room. But most of them were unknown to me. This added another layer to my sense of being overwhelmed by the collection. I felt like I was on a tour in a totally foreign place and that Bemby was the tour guide.

Like what a tour guide commonly said to start the tour, he talked about the basic information of Lokananta: "Lokananta is an important place. In the past, the company was tasked with duplicating music material from the central office of the Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) in Jakarta. The material was

distributed to the branches of RRI in various cities in Indonesia." I listened and looked around. There was no sign of coffee powder anywhere. As if to read my mind, Bemby told me that two air conditioners had just been installed in the archive room and the storage room for reel-to-reel tapes, contributed by a businessman from Jogja. The fact that he was a businessman, thus having financial capacity to contribute air conditioners, seemed to be a more important point for Bemby, rather than whether or not he was also a music collector.

The tour progressed with visits to the cassette duplication room and the storage room – which also doubled as Bemby's workspace. Lokananta started to appear not as a failing site of production, but as a site situated in between 'site of production' and 'museum'—presumed as the terminus of the production circuit. To imagine its in-between position is to imagine it is suspended on a certain axis. There were moments where it swung itself more to the side of 'site of production' and relativized the in-between position of the company. The board with the company name erected in front of the building emphasizes the meaning of Lokananta as a site of production. Below the company name was a list of its productivity capacities, all written in a single line: *Recording Studio Audio Video Duplicating Broadcasting Multimedia Printing*.

When we visited the cassette duplication room I saw piles of cassettes scattered across the table. The names of the people who ordered the cassettes were written on the notes that were pasted on them. With cassettes regaining their value as a medium for recording, Lokananta received orders from indie musicians and bands that wanted to release their music on cassettes. I saw a pile of *skripsi* (undergraduate theses) on Bemby's desk. The topics of the theses were diverse, ranging from elaborating on the state of Lokananta as the national museum of Indonesian music, computerization of administration system of cassettes selling, directing techniques for films in Lokananta film collection, the public trust of Lokananta as a brand, to designing graphic novels with Lokananta as the main character. Each thesis, in its own way, shows an attempt by the writer, at seeing Lokananta not as just a subject of study, but as an inspiration for further cultural production. Lying below the theses, so as to support them literally, was Philip Yampolsky's book, *Lokananta: A Discography of the National Recording Company of Indonesia 1957-1985*.

Bemby's work place is spacious – even if it is cluttered with long lines of

steel filing cabinets, which almost filled three sides of the room. He was always in a constant fear of the dust from the street entering the room and damaging the reel-to-reel tapes in the filing cabinets. The easiest solution was to keep the windows closed, so as to keep the room clean from dust - but shutting the windows made the room hot and stuffy. The installment of the air conditioner made the room fill with fresh air. He worked with two big computer screens—on one of which were covers for the newly released CDs of Lokananta that he had worked on for some time. Though to say that they were totally new materials was not appropriate since the contents were not new. They were the re-issues of the albums that previously released on cassette. But this was the moment I saw Lokananta being a functional production site.

Bemby opened the filing cabinets. There, I saw many piles of black and brown tapes. Attached on top of each tape was a label with numbers and words. Bemby started his career in Lokananta as a remastering staff in 2007. He had an education background in a vocational school of technology and four years' experience of working in a wood processing company. Remastering was a new skill that he had to learn it from scratch. Remastering is the technical term in which a sound quality of a recording is being restored and improved. In the remastering process, an old recording is reproduced into a new one with a much better sound quality. Remastering Lokananta's recordings entailed a high degree of familiarity with Lokananta's collection.

During the early phase of Bemby's work period in Lokananta, Parmin, the former head of the remastering department taught him the necessary skills and techniques. But the knowledge transfer process was interrupted when Parmin was transferred to the RRI office in Solo. Bemby was left with the task of remastering, even though he hadn't yet mastered the technique. The first thing he realized was that he had to find a method for arranging the reel-to-reel tapes.

Arranging was the first important step prior to doing the remastering. He used the word '*mengatur*', arranging, because the tapes, he said, were '*berantakan*', messy or disorganised. Lokananta neither had a catalogue nor any kind of system which would help him solving the problem. Then he found Philip Yampolsky's book and found it useful as guide in arranging the tapes. He said that his knowledge of the English language was not advanced enough. Nonetheless, he strived to read the book. Using the book, he rearranged the tapes according to the year of release, the details around the

production, *susunan koppeling* (coupling sequence), and other practicalities that he needed to know for remastering. I only had the opportunity to read Yampolsky's book while living in Leiden. As I began to read the book at the university library in Leiden, and imagined the cataloguing process that Bemby went through in Solo, Yampolsky's book felt like a meta-catalogue.

"I don't have a big salary here. We all here have to find our own ways to survive, so to speak. It is all right. I see myself as *penyelamat harta karun Lokananta* - the savior of the Lokananta's treasure," he said. When I was about to leave, I asked him to be photographed in front of the filing cabinets. He stood at the center of the room, in front of them, and looked at the camera with a proud gaze.

He asked Bimo, one of his staff, to accompany me to visit the old studio of Lokananta. The studio, just like Bemby's workplace, is also quite spacious. Posters showing musicians who did their recording sessions here were hanging on the studio lobby. I asked Bimo whether the mixing console in the room was still in function. He said that it was broken long time ago. "Then what happened during the live recording sessions with White Shoes and the Couples Company, Efek Rumah Kaca, and Pandai Besi?" I asked. He replied, "They brought their own mixing console here."

A VISIT TO THE FUTSAL COURT, AND A CONVERSATION ON WHAT 'IMPORTANT' MEANS

Two weeks after the festival, I visited Lokananta again. On top of the agenda of my visit to Lokananta that particular day was to observe the futsal court. Futsal had started to become a very popular sport for young people in the end of 1990s. To follow its popularity, there were many people who started a business from building commercial futsal fields. I wanted to see the futsal field because I learnt that it was the new business that Lokananta had become involved in. Lokananta's futsal court is very popular among the youth who lived in the area. It became a sign to locate the position of Lokananta. I took a *becak* from Solo Balapan train station. When I mentioned my destination, the *becak* driver asked me whether I wanted to play futsal too.

I walked through the narrow passage in between the rooms to store the records. On the left of the field was a row of toilets. On the right was a *musholla* (small prayer house). When I reached the end of the passageway, I

saw the futsal court. There was a wide, worn out net fixed on each side of the court which made the entire court look shabby.

A vending machine stood in the corridor next to the field. The lights in the vending machine were shining bright, in contrast to the dim ambience of the corridor and the court. The ambience of the whole Lokananta futsal court was dim. Bushes were growing in the space behind the court. I walked through the corridor—and saw a man squatting down in front of a stack of burning waste. I had seen him at the cassette duplicating room before, but we had just exchanged a smile and we did not talk to each other.

This time, he smiled, got up, and asked me if there was anything he could help me with. His name is Wawan. I said that I was in Lokananta to do some research about Indonesian music. He nodded and immediately asked, "Is there such a place like Lokananta in The Netherlands?" I could not think immediately of a Dutch equivalent to Lokananta – although I presumed that there was one. In return I only said that it was easy to find records in The Netherlands. Used records are cheap, compared to the high price set by record shops in Jakarta. Perhaps unsatisfied he asked me again, "But don't you think Lokananta is important?" "Of course, it is important," I replied. Lokananta's recording studio has a wide reputation for being the recording place of many Indonesian pop superstars.

Then I continued talking about Irama Nusantara. Intrigued, he asked where they had got funding for their archiving activities. I told him that it was from Hivos, a Dutch funding agency. How could they access a funding organization like Hivos, again he asked. But he seemed not interested in my explanation of the proposal writing and funding application. Instead he said, "Maybe you can help us."

Can "maybe you can help us" be perceived a small talk? It could also honest words. He was not the first to say that to me. Previously Bemby asked whether I could help with getting some funding for Lokananta. In response to that I said, "But as a researcher, my real contribution is writing. Right?" Wawan laughed a little and said that it was right.

Next to the vending machine was a long table with three plastic boxes neatly arranged on top of it. In the boxes were various kinds of snacks, chips, *kerupuk*, and biscuits. A tin tray was on top of the table with ten *nasi bungkus*—rice meals wrapped in used newspaper. The table has drawers on

either side where the books to keep the records of the financial activities of the futsal court (the list of the field users everyday and the time they would like to spend in the court) and the canteen (how many packages of chips or drinks sold today) were kept.

Wawan had worked at Lokananta for two years as an office boy. His tasks were a wide range of menial jobs, from sweeping the floor, tidying the rooms, cleaning up the bins, doing the bookkeeping of the futsal business, and now taking care of the small warung (it was not usually his job). December was a holiday month thus not many people came to play futsal, preferring instead to leave the city, he said. Nonetheless there were ten groups of people who used the court that day. It was an additional income of Rp.500,000 for Lokananta.

Wawan and his wife used to work as staff at the post office in Boyolali. He was forced to leave the job due to the office regulation, which did not allow an in-house marriage. His wife is now working at the post office in Solo, but she will be relocated again to Jogja beginning 2015. Working in Lokananta enabled him to be flexible between taking care of their son and managing the household. He initially thought of being an office boy as a stepping-stone to a much higher position. Now he felt like he was stuck in his position and began to lose hope of working for longer period in Lokananta.

“How did the knowledge transfer about the importance of Lokananta to all the workers here work?” I asked him. “It is not that deep,” he responded. This prompted me to think whether he thought of Lokananta as an unimportant place, which contradicted what he said to me earlier, or whether the phrase ‘knowledge transfer’ that I used sounded a bit pompous.

“This futsal court was used to be a place to store the pressing plant machine. The records were all be kept here as well,” he said. And what was now a row of white pillars, with growing shrubs and bushes in the column, used to be the space where the Lokananta employees parked their motorcycles. “Look at what this place looks now. They could have developed it into something,” he said.

The stories of Lokananta came to Wawan in pieces. It reflects the way he got the stories—the same way he told me about them. They were told and retold to him not in the form of official documents published by Lokananta – it was not because he could not access it. But, it was because Lokananta never published such documents. His colleagues told him some bits of stories

about Lokananta. These colleagues heard of the stories from other people who previously worked there or knew a lot about it. They were told as parts of informal talks, which conducted during breaks in works. Here chatting performs a way of talking about office-related matters, other matters, and historical matters.

Just like the character of chatting might suggests, informal and relaxed, historical matters transferred from one person to another as snippets and fragments. Often, they came out unintentionally and unexpectedly. They emerged spontaneously during a conversation - when something suddenly stood out. This 'something' is not something that which is totally unfamiliar. It is something that has always been there all along. In fact, it might have always been in one's mind. It just needs the right moment to point at it, to remember a story attached to it, and to talk about it.

So as to retain the tone of the conversation, with a kind of historical sense that began to permeate through it, Wawan got up from his chair. He said he wanted to show me the other parts of Lokananta building that were located on the opposite side of the futsal court. "Of course, I am not a professional tour guide. This is just like a tour guided by a friend," he said.

Walking across the path in front of the court and turning left, we passed a row of rooms that are used by an agency of the state cryptography department as classes. Colorful murals were painted on the walls of this back part of the building. Clearly, they were not made with commission from Lokananta. A *pendopo*, the Javanese verandah, was installed in the patio, which connected the classrooms and the studio. It seemed no one sat on this *pendopo* anymore. "That is the unused *pendopo*," he said. Bushes were growing underneath and around it.

We walked into a narrow corridor and arrived back in the open area in front of the futsal court. " Don't you think that these parts could also be turned into something?" he asked me. Before I managed to ask him what did he mean by 'turned into something', he said, "They all could be monetized." I nodded and said that these parts of the building could be in a better condition than what they appeared to me at that moment. Monetization, or an attempt to convert particular matters into money, may look a blatant way of acquiring certain social status. The next thing he said, however, stresses another side of status brought by fortune that is having a dignified state of being. He said again, "Have you seen the room that they converted into a museum? It is not really a

proper museum, right? It is just a room where things were just being put there. And that's it."

He gazed at the bushes; giving them a pitying look of some sort, as if they were the embodiment of negligence. They are the unwanted growing things; things that perhaps I should not see at all. When I told Bemby that I wanted to see the futsal court, he looked at me in disbelief. The court is located far behind the office rooms, and according to him, going there would make visitors susceptible to being bitten by mosquitoes. That is the thing that worried him the most. But when looking at the bushes and the failing court on my left, I began to make sense of the reluctant air in Bemby's voice. One is not supposed to freely enter the back part of the other's home without the owner's consent. Wawan and me gathered at the back of the building and talked. What we knew as well as what we did not know about Lokananta enabled us to stand at the backside of the building and talk about its preciousness, and that it should not to be wasted, but it was wasted anyway.

JASMERAH: *DON'T EVER FORGET ABOUT HISTORY*

Wawan asked me when I would complete my PhD. I replied that my scholarship would end in September 2015. "But even though you are now living abroad and having an education there, you would go back to Indonesia and still be an Indonesian, right?" Perhaps because I did not immediately answer his question, he went on to quote the famous proverb from Soekarno, "Don't ever forget about history. *Jasmerah*." The proverb is best known in its abbreviation form, Jasmerah: which stands for *Jangan sekali-kali melupakan sejarah*. Do not ever forget about history.

"May I offer you a *nasi bungkus*? It is on me. If only I had a more dignified kind of meal to offer. Instead I only have these wrapped rice meals," he said. Politely I said no, and said that it was time to go. When I was about to pay for two bottles of *teh botol* and chips that I had, he waved his hand and said that I did not have to do it.

I recalled what Bemby had said to me. That if he was too busy working and therefore could not talk or take me around in Lokananta, I could just ask a *satpam* (security guard), for a company. Then he reminded me that if I did it, I should give a small amount of money to the *satpam*. The moment I heard him saying that, I thought about it as a generous gesture and a decent act. It conforms to the general narration of Lokananta's financial condition, which

affects the wealth of its employees. Bemby is regarded an important person in leading the direction of Lokananta. What he said to me can be perceived as an attempt to share the fortune, a splash of money, to the hands of the others. It seemed that he expected me to do the same—to give a bit of money to the people who have helped me, especially if these people are structurally positioned below him.

To interpret the food offered by Wawan to me as something bigger than just simply politeness, a person offered the food to another person, might be an exaggeration. The meeting with Wawan, however, emphasizes that an open path, indeed an essential one, to grasp the true meaning the transformation of old cassettes and records into historical music archives is not only through observing how the collectors live with things they collected. Rather, it is through understanding the people who live with the archives as part of daily work and learning how they position themselves in relation to the archives that the projection of some fragments of their lives can be seen. A life of an archive is forever depending on the life of the one who possesses it. Once the fragments are seen, the logic of the game of value would unfold. There are limits to certain things that we agreed on as good.

While saying 'Don't ever forget about history' seemed to be an obvious statement, Wawan could suggest that taking a more concrete action regarding the fate of important archives is a decent thing to do. I sensed that his offering to buy me food was a subtle and small act to show that however tattered and abandoned the situation of his work environment and the things kept there might be, they are nonetheless precious. They are worth of being treasured. His gesture can be related to his laments and accounts of a range of places we had seen that were all in the mixture state of being abandoned, unused, or only occasionally used. These are places and objects with a long historical background, and therefore they should be treated with a certain sense of dignity and respect. Taken together they compose a personal reflection on the current state of Lokananta and how he tried to make peace with the things that clearly had brought him a daily sense of unease.

In the end his unease is felt not only about Lokananta, but is mixed in with his own personal anxiety of an unsteady income and job. The state of Lokananta and things kept in there mirrored the situation he had to deal in personal life. My encounter with Wawan enabled him to share his thoughts about Lokananta. Though it might be not intentional, '*Jasmerah*' (don't ever forget about history) is a forceful statement. And, it is a part of Sukarno's legacy to

contemporary Indonesia. It emerged as a guidance to go back to the roots of the history. He has been clinging on to it all the time. It was quickly grabbed and used in the conversation to make me *eling*, a Javanese word for remembering.

When I was on the train going back to Jogja, I felt a mixture of regret and fondness for Lokananta. But to think of the conversations I had during my visits there brought a sense of comfort. As such, a conversation can be regarded as a caring substitute. It makes visible the emotion and affection of something and brings them into contact with other people.

CONCLUSION

The conversations I had detail examples of caring practices, which were driven by the good intentions of various collectives. Nirmana Records is a new record company to reproduce new music documents in the form of vinyl records. It uses reissues as a strategy to archive valuable music material. The choice of the vinyl form is supported by the rising popularity of vinyl as a collectible item among music fans. Lokananta Records is the first record company to play an important role in the national music trajectory. At the same time it is always being understood as a state company, which lacks resources to make the valuable archives kept in it properly maintained and preserved. Lokananta has regained popularity, and became a source of conversation, when the Save Lokananta campaign emerged in 2012. The campaign, and the public discourse to emerge from it, gave new impetus to the rising of public awareness of Lokananta as a historical asset.

Nirmana Records documents some parts of Indonesian music that they historically regard as important. A group of musicians, artists, managers, and other important people in the local music scene were behind the organization of Nirmana. The company's music products reflect the tastes of the people behind it, and what important music might mean for them. In the case of Nirmana, this might mean the sound produced through Jogja music scene. Through establishing a record company, Nirmana attempts to lay the foundation of being an authority in music and culture. To develop a record institution is to have an opportunity to take part in the authentication process.

Save Lokananta has become a known as a keyword to depict public desires for saving and doing a good thing for the record company. To transform

public attention such as evidenced in the campaign into actual works, which has enabled Lokananta to thrive as a financially stable record company, however, has proved to be difficult. During my visits, I saw the employees of Lokananta who worked hard in order to keep the company afloat. They worked hard at monetizing whatever was at their disposal as a means to generate income, and open the door for various collaborations and opportunities. I observed a condition where Lokananta was perceived to be an emerging production site—a new favorite place to duplicate cassettes for indie bands and a new place to hold gigs. But still, there were too many damaged recordings that needed to be restored. Also, the building was in need of repair, which would take up a lot of money. There were too many things to be taken care of at Lokananta. At this point, I began to see #savelokananta as a concept, which is similar to *Jasmerah*. Save Lokananta becomes an ideal, a public invitation, to respect what is valuable around us.

At this point, I began to see #savelokananta as a concept, which is similar to *Jasmerah*. Save Lokananta becomes an ideal, a public invitation, to respect what is valuable around us. The public character of #savelokananta is situated in the fact that it is free to use for public. The prospect of #savelokananta to create commons was big. But it was not accompanied with the development of rules and norms to make #savelokananta effective for the betterment of Lokananta. It was not successful to be a medium for collective initiative creation. However, #savelokananta can also be perceived as a baggage of documentation spirit. To revive it remains a possibility.

I read an article on an online newspaper about Anis Baswedan, the current Jakarta governor, and the then Minister of Education and Culture, who visited Lokananta in 2016 (https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/781925/anies-baswedan-lokananta-harus-jadi-museum-pendidikan). As he was observing the records, touching them, in the manner very similar to the ministers and statesman of the New Order era whose photos hanging on the Museum Lokananta room described above, Baswedan said, “Lokananta has to be transformed into *the museum of education* so that the children who want to learn about history can come here.” A museum is an idea that holds the salient points of life. But until the idea is realized, it is just an idea.

I also recall a conversation that I had with Wok shortly after my first Lokananta trip. According to Wok, if one would like to show support to Lokananta, he or she should consider working there, to becoming a Lokananta staff and dealing with the daily problems that the company might

have. Otherwise attempts to save Lokananta as shown by campaigns ‘Save Lokananta’ or ‘Sahabat Lokananta’ would not bring about any fundamental changes. They did not seem to be *nyata* - a real (or tangible) act of saving Lokananta, he said. Wok also stated that to save Lokananta is to be committed to it. Only when writing this part I began to understand that what seemed to be a small talk, such as the one I had with Wawan of Lokananta, could be a request for contributing something more real, permanent, not superficial, rather than just words on papers.

By what metric one should measure the success of archiving initiatives? What does documentation mean? Save Lokananta is an example of an independent initiative to respect the life of Lokananta, which is supported by many. Lokananta is undoubtedly regarded as an important record company to the history of Indonesian music. To position Lokananta as a historical site by reiterating statements that it is important seems to be inadequate too. The underlying feeling was that Lokananta was still a neglected historical site. The statements need to be accompanied with actual work.

My research at Lokananta led me to encounter moments where commitment, or the willingness to care, tends to appear as evasive as ever. Perhaps to commit is to be ready with tiredness. Commitment to care needs something that is binding. The success of Nirmana’s vinyl sale leaves me wondering whether vinyl reissue should be seen as a kind of gimmick to ensure the favorable result of a documentation program. To archive is to devise strategies for endurance through time and make some adjustments to the current music culture. Preservation continues to exist as a promise and a challenge.

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I return to the notion of sustainability as a way to interrogate the implementation of vision and plans in managing the music commons. The reality of music commons in this research shows that it takes more effort to find a common purpose for working together. It leads to a question about the imagination of collective that a project has. The imagined commons is informed by the imagination of the collective and the capacities which emerge from it. And, this imagination of the collective is sometimes limited. Within this limitation however, the projects narrated here involve participation of various people—whether artists, curators, writers, fans, or family members. They are enthusiastic and seek to be supportive of one another. Sustainability emerges as a focus through which the people that I am researching find justification for working together with the other people.

Plans are not fixed; they are always changing. A project might be the materialization of dreams and plans and they serve as a medium to rehearse particular ideas. There are many moments which lead to break-ups and abandonment. Friction feels real and endless. Collaboration can end easily; and there might not be enough reasons to patch things up. Sustainability is a work in progress. To reach a sustainable condition is to acknowledge moments of break-ups and abandonments, and to allow opportunities for repairing relations.

The activists of the Indonesian Net Label Union are busy getting on with their own lives. When my fieldwork was officially ended, the second Indonesian Net Audio Festival that I attended in the end of 2014 was the last festival that the union organized. Wok is increasingly busy with his role as an artist and curator. Wok has been busy with curating Nusasonic, a series of music and sound performances for CTM—Festival for Adventurous Music and Art. The festival took place in Berlin, in January 2019. Tinta has taken on a new role as a prominent activist of 'street-walking' through the founding of Manic Street Walker – a club that she initiated in Surabaya. The club organizes regular tours to different parts of the city and she advocates walking as a practice to reclaim the cultural ownership of the city and to reimagine the map of the city differently. Tinta seems to have more opportunities to travel to various places in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Taiwan, and Japan. She has traveled for various purposes and represented different organizations—Indonesian Net Label Union, *Manic Street Walkers*, and recently *Pertigaan Map*, which

means, a map formed in a junction. Hilman has left Jogja for Jakarta to work for Creative Commons Indonesia. This job combines his expertise in law, copyright, and net label practices. Nonetheless, he still has time to release new albums through his net label, Ear Alert Records. Arie is still managing Mindblasting and maintaining his day job at a hospital in Purworejo. Arie Mindblasting and other *anak noise* are still diligently producing collaboration albums with local and foreign musicians. Some parts of this noise group have also been active in organizing tours in other countries in the region.

Mira spent a year in the Netherlands (2016-2017) to pursue a curatorial course at De Appel in Amsterdam. Sandi moved to Ubud, Bali, to pursue a new career, which combined his yoga teaching skills and managing an arts residency. Sandi occasionally visited Jogja, and when he did, he organized various events at Lir Space. In 2018, Mira was in Italy doing another long-term residency. Dito, Mira's husband, and other people, were managing Lir Space while she was away. Lir Space's Instagram account indicated that the gallery functions normally even though some of their main staff had been away. The gallery still held exhibitions, the library was being added to and there seems to be a new video program for the public.

Yoyok sent me some photographs showing the room of his cassette collection. He has a set of book cupboards with doors neatly installed on both sides of the room. Yoyok's family's library has finally been built. I wonder whether he sometimes invites his neighbors, friends and relatives to visit and enjoy the collection.

Nirmana Records released their second vinyl production, *Greatest Pledges Articles*, by Dom 65, in December 2017. According to Hahan, the vinyl has not sold very well, and, he has not decided on what to produce next. But Nirmana Records is just one part of Hahan's work in the arts. As with many others, he has a variety of projects to work on. He manages various activities in Ace House Collective, in collaboration with his wife (as of May 2018), Gintani, Uma, and other colleagues. Hahan has been busy with numerous exhibitions in Indonesia and elsewhere. For example, he was invited to participate in the National Gallery of Victoria's Triennial (December 2017-April 2018). I met Hahan and Gintani in Melbourne during his exhibition period and I also helped him with interpreting for his artist talk.

In a limited sense, a *skena* (scene) can also mean a space, where a project is

happening. The people behind a space are always related to other spaces. A space needs to be contextualized in its relational position with other spaces. The Indonesian Net Label Union is linked with various net labels and other cultural initiatives of which its members are a part. In the same way, the organization of Walk the Folk and Nirmana Records partly depends on the exhibition projects, residencies, and researches that Mira and Hahan are doing. The Indonesian Net Label Union, Walk the Folk, and Nirmana Records, are collective projects, which depend on the dynamics of the personal projects of their activists. In this case, a personal project serves as a space where new ideas are developed and new methods for doing something are learnt. And when the time has come to perform in Indonesian Net Label Union, Walk the Folk, or Nirmana Records, the new ideas or methods can be practiced. A collective project is a space where thoughts of different people are united. As such, the people are always dispersed through other projects. The people that I talked with in this research are used to the dispersal of collaborators, and to work together in various modes.

In December 2017, Mira curated a new site-specific art project in Kaliurang called *900mdpl*. The description of the project reads like a combination of *The Kaliurang Project* and *Walk the Folk*. This project serves as a continuation of the Walk the Folk project and it also indicates a nature of the project that enables improvisation. Mira explains as follows:

> 900mdpl is an extensive site-specific art project in Kaliurang, a small village on the southern slope of an active volcano, Mt. Merapi. Kaliurang is an hour away from the city of Yogyakarta with average altitude of 900 meters above sea level. Historically, it was built as a resort area for Dutch geologist during colonial period. It continues to be a popular resort area due to its milder temperature and relish its heyday until the end of the New Order era. 900mdpl aims to respond to the space, collect stories, and revisit local wisdoms while promoting on knowledge exchange and community engagements with the locals through collaborative projects. 900mdpl consists of two parts: first, the residency period resulting in different solo projects by each of the artists; second, the grand project presentation of all artists at scattered sites around Kaliurang where wider audience will be guided on the exhibition walking route. In this exhibition, walking is a crucial method of spatial practice. For the artists, walking is the research methodolo-

> gy in developing their artistic projects. For the audience, walking is the act of activating the place and turns it into a space of experience: weaving together the narration in each sites presented by the artist. 900mdpl is projected to be a seed of a continuous platform of a site-specific art project, offering a space of possibilities. During the exhibition, a map and weekly guided walking tours with the curator and artists are provided for the audience. A series of workshops and public programs presented by the collaborating artists will also be available for the local community during the two weeks of the exhibition.

In December 2018, Lir Space lost their rented space. On their Instagram account (@lirspace), they announced that, "After 8 years of running Lir Space as an independent art space, we decided to work in a nomadic form. By mid 2019, Lir Space will fully turn into Lir curator-artist collective, working in a nomadic manner with no permanent address. We produce temporary exhibitions, exchange programs, curatorial projects, site specific and artistic works within different venue, institutions, and off spaces here and there." Lir's new venture suggests that the physicality of space is important but it is not everything. It provides insights into a new layer to the meaning of sustainability. The chapters throughout the dissertation show the focus of sustainability on access, participation, and memory. Lir's new venture suggests a sense of discontinuity and continuity at the same time. Sustainability can mean an ongoing condition for the sustainability of ideas.

My journal article on net labels, "Limit of sharing and materialization of support: Indonesian Net Label Union" has been published in *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies Journal*, and has led to another contact with the people of the union. They have told me that they are planning another Indonesian Net Audio Festival later this year.

In August 2018, I went to Jogja for work and a family visit. My visit coincided with the third edition of the Indonesian Net Audio Festival. Wok approached me to see whether I could contribute to a panel in the festival. The festival was conducted in Jogja National Museum. Taking "Sharing over Netizen Explosion" as the main theme, the festival was renamed Indonesian Net Audio Forum. Compared to the previous festivals, the recent festival has a stronger music program, workshops, and artist talks. It has more diverse activities such as cooking demonstrations, media art exhibitions, and a pop-up market.

The main reason behind this expansion was thanks to funding from the Japan Foundation.

The panel of the festival was designed as a performative talk. The theme of the panel was "Mapping the Undercurrents." The panel description states that the talk intends to discuss the interlinking of the Internet with digital technology as the energies to amplify the production of hoax and new local knowledge. It contributes to the development of new infrastructure of production and distribution. I was tasked to discuss about my newly published journal article. I shared the panel with Manshur Zikri of Forum Lenteng, Jakarta, who talked about art, media, and hoax. Irfan Darajat of Laras, talked about *dangdut koplo*, live performances, and piracy. Dina of Kunci moderated the panel. During the event, I met Tinta, Arie Mindblasting, and Hilman, again. They helped the organization of the festival. For the purpose of the festival, Arie and Hilman asked permission from their bosses to be absent from work.

How long does a *skena* last? It lasts as long as there is a conducive environment to maintain the *skena* and the thinking behind it alive. In order to make it happen, there must be a condition where learning and experimenting are made possible. My research shows that learning and experimenting emerged as opportunities to learn, reflect, and experiment; and these opportunities come unpredicted. But such opportunities can be available if there is a deliberate attempt to make them available.

I recall my conversation with Wok regarding 'Save Lokananta' or 'Sahabat Lokananta' campaigns. According to Wok, if one would like to show support to Lokananta, he or she should consider working there, to becoming a Lokananta staff and dealing the daily problems that the company might have. Otherwise a campaign attempt would not bring about any fundamental changes. I want to extend the meaning of real, tangible act, *nyata*, to the availability of collaborators for working together. In the case of Indonesian Net Label Union, Tinta, Arie, and Hilman, are examples of long-time comrades who seem to be always ready to work for the union. They are *real*, because they also see their works in the union as a form of long-term commitment.

In chapter five, Hahan and Uma reflected on their practices in managing Ace House Collective and Nirmana Records as part of an educative process. They are learning about how to manage an art space through developing their art

space, Ace House Collective. They are learning about a record company, and producing particular sound, through developing their record company, Nirmana Records. In managing Ace House Collective and Nirmana Records, they are gaining a sense of authority and confidence in engaging with art and culture. For them, being 'amateurs' is as important as the vision of what they want to do.

The scope of all the projects examined in this research is limited. The discussion in chapter one is about infrastructure of personal access to cultural materials in an urban setting. Thoughts about copying and piracy are manifested in the development of Burn Your Idol project. Burn Your Idol is an art project, which serve as a repository of public music collection. Though Burn Your Idol is an online-based project, which allows wide participation from music fans; it largely circulates within the domain of visual art.

The membership of Indonesian Net Label Union is open to the public. But a net label is a distribution platform, which is adopted by music practitioners who reside mainly in Java. Based on my observation, the activities of the union are centered on Java. However, to follow the cosmopolitan character of its activists, the conversation about the union can take place in an international-artists-exchange-setting. The union activists took part in *Media Culture in Asia: A Transnational Platform* in Tokyo, in early February. But this only happens when there are opportunities to make it happen. Walk the Folk is a site-specific project, which centered on Kaliurang. This might be a project that Mira discussed about during one of her curatorial residencies abroad. Yoyok created a family library—based on his cassette collection. The library is located in his house. Nirmana Records only produced a small number of records. Although many music fans anticipate their sound production, the circulation of their records remains small. I start the discussion about Lokananta Records with a reflection about Save Lokananta—an online campaign to raise awareness to Lokananta. The online character suggests the wide character of the campaign. The campaign managed to open up a public discussion, or rather concerns, about the future of Lokananta Records. But the determination of such campaign is being tested in a specific site, Lokananta Records in Solo.

Hahan and Uma have been busy working for a long-term project, Arisan Tenggara, a residency program and collaboration platform for artist collectives in Southeast Asia. The name of the project is a nod to arisan as a

traditional model of community development through saving.[52] Uma has been involved in Kunci's *Sekolah Salah Didik*, or School of Improper[53] Education as a temporary student. During his participation in the project, Uma and Kunci as the school organizer developed an audio-based project called *Nguping Records. Nguping* is both a Javanese and Indonesian word for listening. The project emphasizes *budaya telinga*, or ear culture. To follow the project description, "the ear culture refers to a learning activity which is adapted from transmission and knowledge exchange rooted in the oral culture." The idea of music, to follow the project, is extended as "everything that can be listened to." The project aims to release various audio archives generated by various independent cultural organizations in Jogja and present them as "a music album."[54] This audio project might represent a new trajectory to explore in the making of commons. The people in this research seem to think about the production of new projects.

To reflect on this, I go back to the notion of 'emergency activism' proposed by Budianta (2003). Budianta depicts the climate of the immediate post-1998 environment as an emergency situation and the cultural activists to take place in the period as part of 'an emergency activism.' Their activities were conducted to fill in holes in the environment. At the same time, emergency implies the short-lived nature of the activities. It is the kind of fast activism,

52 *Arisan* is a popular community-based savings association in Indonesia. Amid various ways of savings and credit facilitated by modern banking platforms, *arisan* proves to be a sustaining mechanism for accumulating money (see Geertz 1962, Papanek and Schwede 1988, Henley 2009). Arisan-like mechanism exists in different cultural context across the region (see Hope 1993, Shanmugam 1991), and is used as a springboard for developing a collaboration platform in this project. In this project, Ace House Collective works together with Jogja-based collectives—Krack! Studio, Lifepatch, Ruang Gulma, Ruang Mes 56, and Survive! Garage. During the project, they served as hosts for other organizations in Southeast Asia—Tentacles (Bangkok), Tanah Indie (Makassar), WSK! (Manila), Rumah Api (Kuala Lumpur), Rekreatif (Dili), and Gembel Art Collective (Dili). Further information about the project can be obtained through its Instagram account--@arisantenggara.

53 Sekolah Salah Didik (SSD), or School of Improper Education, is Kunci's experiment on 'school' as a platform to inquiry into the economic sustainability of an organization—in material and immaterial senses. We appropriate the idea of school as a garden of ideas, a laboratory of affect, and a space where new ideas collide and merge. Further information about the school practices can be obtained here: http://sekolah.kunci.or.id/?lang=id

54 In what follows, I present some basic explanations of the project—1) "Nguping Records aims to operate some basic ideas through releasing the audio archives that might hidden in the drawers of an organization or individual and present them as 'music' albums. Our initiative intends to extend the meaning of music not as the product of composition of vocal disharmony or sound instruments, but grasping its simple understanding, everything that can be listened to"; 2) Albums released by Nguping Records is compiled through various data of audio archives derived from various events—open/closed discussions, interviews, lectures, internal meetings, dramatic readings, soundscape of an event, or public performance. We will select and compile these audio archives with a set of loose categorisations—by time, topics, and methods. Our 'curatorial' is adapted from the development of mixtape and playlist making, which is made easier by digital technology. While mixtape traces personal routes in listening practices and understanding music, through presenting such audio archives, we are interested in reconstructing speculative relations from various oral (our mouth)-based raw knowledge material." Further information about Nguping Records can be obtained through http://sekolah.kunci.or.id/ and the following Instagram accounts--@cikunci, @uma_dua, and @nguping.rekaman.

which set to fill in certain holes with meaningful things. Various cultural projects in this research serve as a meeting point between the people from Generation 98 and post-Generation 98. In the introduction chapter, I have discussed an alternative space as a mechanism to fill in holes in post-Reformasi Indonesia.

From one project to another, they are all regarded as important. They convey different measures to make sense of the current condition. Each project represents one hole that has been filled in. But once a hole is filled in, there seems to be another or more holes appearing in a different social setting. Or rather, once certain holes have been filled in, we began to see other kinds of holes surfacing from beneath. What would one define a transient period that seems to last for a long time? We live to fill in holes. And, perhaps it is the holes that define us. We assume different roles and responsibilities, often in hyperactive manner. In other words, we are striving for life.

During my last visit to Jogja (August 2018), I went to Ace House Collective to meet Hahan and Uma. We spoke in the living room of the collective's rented house. As part of their *Ace Mart* project, a pop-up shop to sell groceries and popular artworks during Ramadhan, the living room was transformed into a temporary supermarket. I walked behind the house, and saw a row of *kamar kos*, rented rooms. The rooms are rented by the people who work in café and bars around Jalan Parangtritis. Hahan said that he rented two rooms—one for the office, and another allocated for 'a residency room.' The latter is designed for an artist-in-residence who comes to Ace House Collective or other organizations in the city.

I walked in to the pavilion that used by Ace House to exhibit the works of the collective members. They named the gallery *Juara Dunia*, the World Champion. When I walked out of the gallery, I saw *Seni juga butuh istirahat*, which means art needs some rest too, written on the pavilion wall. When Ace Mart opened for the first time in 2017, the supermarket was open 24 hours. It was open 24 hours to the convenience of the fellow art workers who often work 24 hours. I perceive it as a nod to the busyness, or state of feeling busy, a familiar condition to many art and cultural activists. Hahan acknowledged that it was fun to have a shop which is open 24 hours per day. But then everyone got sick, because working 24 hours is such hard work, he said. This is how the idea of writing "art needs some rest too" came.

The phrase “art needs some rest too” provides insights into the nature of making commons practices. The projects narrated in this research can be regarded as fast activism. There is a sense of emergency attached to it. However, the people are taking pauses, *istirahat*, in the musicking process. Some pauses are short. Some other pauses can be long.

My research has explored the different ways sustainability works through making visible intentions, fiddles, doubts, and vulnerabilities. To undergo sustainability works means to envisage new tools, and new directions, for ‘keeping going’, to follow the words of Graham and Thrift (2007: 3) with the intended plans and ensuring the continuity of the everyday. Sometimes an activity was stopped, and being in a phase where things seemed unclear, then moved towards a different phase where it was started all over again. The process could be slow, or was paced in accords with the condition of supporting resources. Here being ‘slow’ does not mean to slow down. But rather that there is a sense of persistence in it. It reminds me of a Javanese phrase, *alon-alon waton kelakon*, which roughly translates as ‘slowly but surely.’[55] It is something, which also resembles a ‘slow burning process.’

To what extent does a cultural project bring some effect on the cultural environment? A further question is whether the effect is short-term or long-term, and whether a project might have a wider impact on the wider environment outside Jogja. My research has been about small-scale, low-key music projects. Perhaps, the definition of ‘to be useful’ is to show care towards a specific part of the environment – i.e. the closest, most immediate context. The usefulness of something should not be limited to scale and scope. The people in this research create a model of platform for cultural practices. The formats of the platforms examined in this research are not new. But they have been developed with different framing. In taking action to organize them, the people narrated here are taking different measures to make sense of the current condition, and develop their own ways of making values. The character of the platform is general, but it is something that can be repurposed and imitated in a different social context. This is the premise on which the long-term impact of the works of the people in this research can be concluded.

55 Arya Panjalu, a Yogyakarta-based visual artist and the vocalist of a punk band called *Black Boots* created an installation and performance work to base on this phrase. He roamed the streets of Jogja on a bicycle with special tire, which is a slow act of pedaling the vehicle, would print the words ‘Pelan-pelan aku akan sampai’, an Indonesian translation of a Javanese phrase, *alon-alon waton kelakon*.

PHOTOGRAPHS

CHAPTER 1
AFTER COPYING



Figure 1. A pirated disc kiosk on Jalan Mataram, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 2. A visitor in Studio One, Jalan Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Y.A.Merdikaningtyas.Woodward to understand the popularity of cassette and vinyl in the local*



Figure 3. A view of Studio One branch on Jalan Mozes Gatotkaca, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 4. A beauty salon and a second hand mobile phones kiosk next to the Studio One on Jalan Mozes Gatotkaca, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*

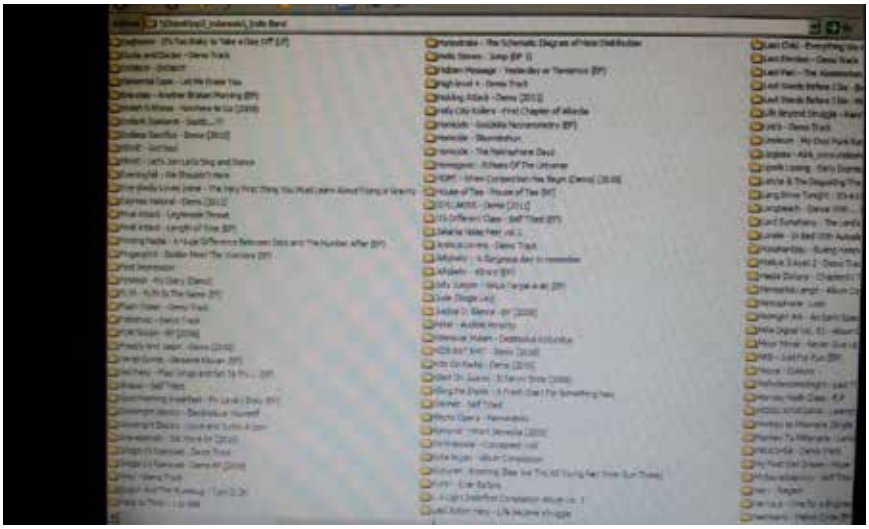


Figure 5. The list of the music folder called Indie Band at a warnet on Jalan Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 6. Dina and her Spice Girls CD-R from the Burn Your Idol exhibition at Jogja Art Fair, at the Taman Budaya Yogyakarta. *Photo by Wok the Rock.*



Figure 7. Burn Your Idol installation at Jogja Art Fair, at the Taman Budaya Yogyakarta. *Photo by Wok the Rock.*



Figure 8. A living room at Burn Your Idol's installation at Jogja Art Fair, at Taman Budaya Yogyakarta. *Photo by Budi ND. Dharmawan.*



Figure 9. A bedroom with a computer and audio-visual equipment, location unknown. Photo was courtesy of a now defunct Burn Your Idol website (http://burnyouridol.com/)



Figure 10. A new Burn Your Idol's disc rack in SongEun ArtSpace, Seoul, South Korea. *Photo by Wok the Rock.*



Figure 11. Burn Your Idol disk rack on Kunci's veranda, Yogyakarta. *Photo by G.S. Kusuma.*



Figure 12. A row of shops selling old and new books at Shopping Center, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 13. A network of maze full of bookshops at Shopping Center, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 14. Piles of papers, theses, and used newspapers at Shopping Center, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 15. Piles of papers and other study materials neatly stacked in the shelf, at Shopping Center, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 16. Bundles of clippings with different labels, at Shopping Center, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*

CHAPTER 2
THE LIMITS OF SHARING AND MATERIALIZATION OF SUPPORT: A CASE OF INDONESIAN NET LABEL UNION



Figure 1. An offline-sharing booth at the Indonesian Net Audio Festival #2, Institut Français Indonesia, Bandung. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 2. The schedule board of the Indonesian Net Audio Festival #2, Institut Français Indonesia, Bandung. *Photo by the author.*

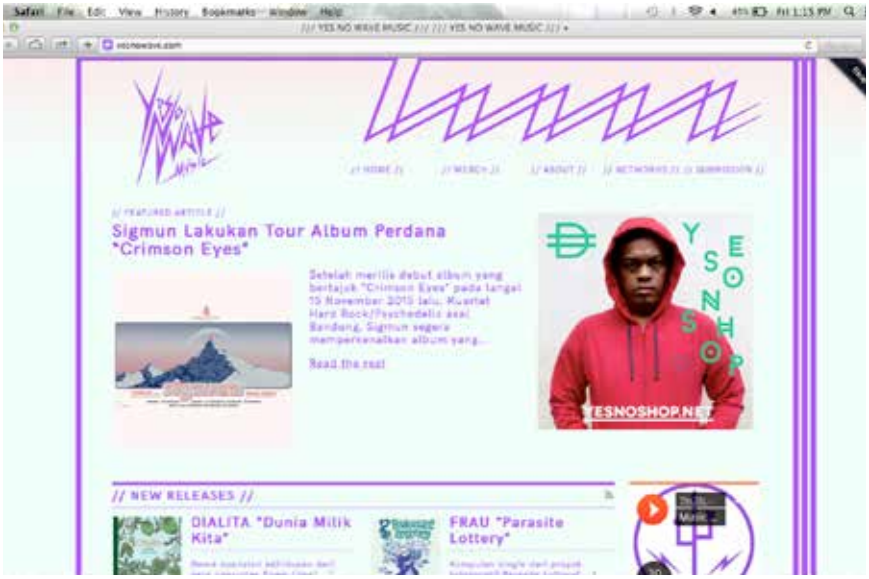


Figure 3. A screen shot of Yes No Wave website.

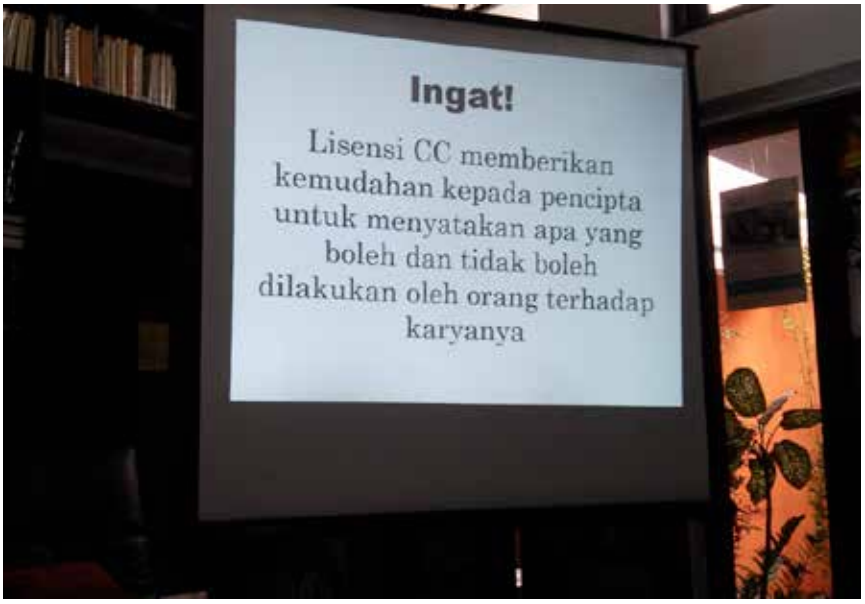


Figure 4. A slide of presentation about Creative Commons in the Indonesian Net Audio Festival #2, Institut Français Indonesia, Bandung. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 5. Bottlesmoker performing at the Indonesian Net Audio Festival #1, Langgeng Gallery, Yogyakarta. *Photo courtesy of Indonesian Net Label Union.*



Figure 6. YK Booking's donation box at the Lokananta Festival, Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 7. *Prasasti*, a Zoo's album, released with a cover made from stone. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 8. *Grind Your Lunch*, a To Die's album, released in the form of a lunch box. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 9. Yes No Shop's *lapak* at the Indonesian Net Audio Festival #2, Institut Français Indonesia, Bandung. On the table were Senyawa's vinyl, Frau's album, Yes No Wave's t-shirts and tote bags, the union's zine, and Marcus Boon's book. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 10. *Happy Coda*, Frau's second album was released in the form of a music sheet book. The artist management organized a signing book-meet and greet event at Kedai Kebun Forum, Yogyakarta. In the photo, Lani, or Frau (in a white t-shirt) signed the books. Gufi (in a black t-shirt), the manager, was standing and observing at the corner of the table. *Photo by the author*



Figure 11. The union meeting to prepare the first Indonesian Net Audio Festival, Kedai Kebun Forum, Yogyakarta. From left to right: Adi Adriandi, Wok the Rock, Bagus Putra Jalang, Adya Mahardhika, Hilman Fathoni, Gilang Nugraha, Anitha Silvia, Wednes Mandra, Arie. *Photo courtesy of Indonesian Net Label Union.*



Figure 12. Wok in a Burtan t-shirt, one of the bands he promoted through Yes No Wave. *Photo by G.S. Kusuma.*



Figure 13. Wok the Rock's room at Kunci's old space, Jalan Langenarjan Lor 17B, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 14. Wok the Rock's room at Kunci's current space, Jalan Ngadinegaran MJ III/100, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 15. Kenji Ide, an artist in residence at Kunci, appeared on Yes No Wave website to promote the label's t-shirt merchandise.



Figure 1. Walking together with Walk the Folk participants in Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. I am wearing the black hat. Unless otherwise stated, all photos related with Walk the Folk used here are from Titah's coverage about the event at Cobra Magazine. Titah was also a participant of Walk the Folk. *Photo by Dito Yuwono.*



Figure 2. Ananda Badudu and Rara Sekar from Banda Neira played in a tennis court, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Dito Yuwono.*



Figure 3. Gardika Gigih and Layur played under the shade of a big tree, across an old abandoned house, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Dito Yuwono.*



Figure 4. The audience congregated around the pool and enjoyed the music, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 5. In collaboration in an abandoned pool: Banda Neira, Layur and Gardika Gigih. In other events they had played as a group called The Sound of Cloud. *Photo by Dito Yuwono.*



Figure 6. Again, Banda Neira played in Mira and Dito's house's garage, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Dito Yuwono.*



Figure 7. Lani of Frau and Nadya Hatta played "Salahku, Sahabatku" on Mira's piano. *Photo by Dito Yuwono.*



Figure 8. A slanted and defunct *warung kopi*, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 9. Trespassing on a gated land towards an abandoned pool, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 10. A very quiet Wisma Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 11. Pos ronda, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 12. An abandoned *Tempat Pembuangan Sampah*, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 13. Itta S. Mulia (C.U.T.S's vocalist) and her husband, Agan Harahap, played "We'll Meet Again" of Vera Lynn in a pasture behind someone's villa, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Cosmas Dipta.*



Figure 14. A workshop held by PADEkor, a Yogyakarta-based craft group, during Walk the Folk #2. They showed how to make decorations from branches and pinecones that are easily found in Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Cosmas Dipta.*



Figure 15. Titah and her friend took up ukulele and guitar, created a spontaneous band called Gadisubi, to play "Anyone else but you" of Moldy Peaches. Kaliurang, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Cosmas Dipta.*



Figure 16. All participants of Walk the Folk #2 in Mira's living room. Sitting at the center, with a straw hat, was Mira, Kaliurang, Yogyakarta.
Photo: Anom Sugiswoto.



Figure 1. A shelf full of used cassettes found in the warehouse of Pak Nur, a known scavenger, in Bantul, Yogyakarta. There were various things placed on top of the shelf—a radio tape player, a box contains of books and other things, a tin tray to hold small things made of metal, a dusty fan, and a glass bowl. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 2. A view of Yoyok's living room, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 3. Yoyok and two boxes of cassettes, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 4. Pasar Kliwon at the back of Masjid Agung, Bantul, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 5. Pasar Pon, Godean, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 6. Cassettes found among magazines, books, motorcycles' speedometer, and speaker at Pasar Pon, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 7. More cassettes and radio tape players at Pak Nur's warehouse, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 8. A piano and a variety of small things on top of it at Pak Nur's place, Yogyakarta. Next to it was piles of used books and magazines. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 9. Yoyok and Pak Tarjo in Pak Tarjo's shop-house, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 10. Cassettes at Pak Iteng's place, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 11. Yoyok and Acong at Pak Iteng's place, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 12. Cassetted arranged on a shelf that is attached to a wall at Pak Iteng's place, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 13. A box of kaset bodhol ('naked cassettes').
Photo by the author.



Figure 14. A corner of Pak Untung's kiosk at the emper of a shop, Yogyakarta.
Photo by the author.



Figure 15. Acong at Pak Untung's kiosk at the third floor of Pasar Beringharjo, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 16. A plastic bag full of cassette sleeves at Pak Untung's kiosk in the alley of the market, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 17. Boxes of cassettes and tools for repairing the cassette at Yoyok's place, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 18. Acong using two broken cassettes to repair another cassette, Kunci, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 19. Acong placing a cassette into warm water to remove the damaged label, Kunci, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*

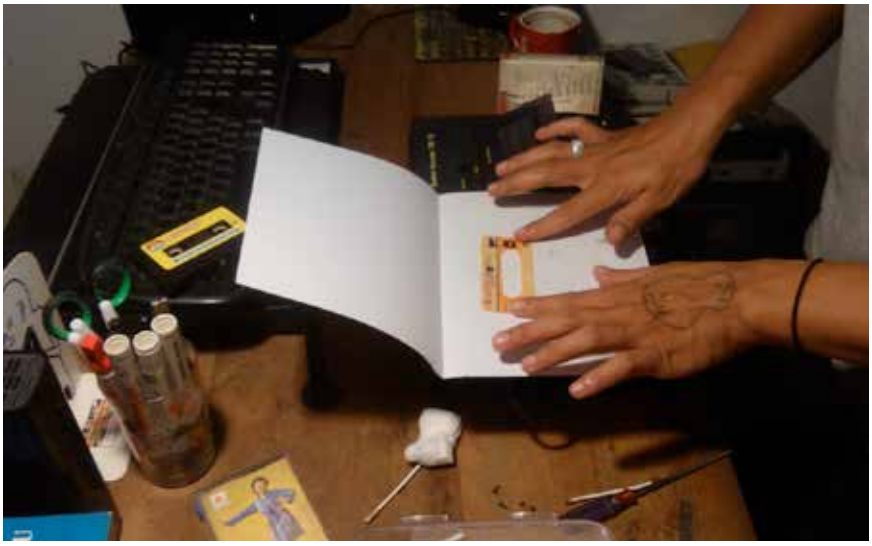


Figure 20. Drying the wet good-looking label by pressing it to a piece of paper, Kunci, Yogyakarta *Photo by the author.*



Figure 21. *Katanya Hidup Sepi Tanpa Miusik*, the title of Yoyok's painting captures a cassette seller on the street. The image is from a catalogue published for Climen, his solo exhibition at Jogja Contemporary in 2012.

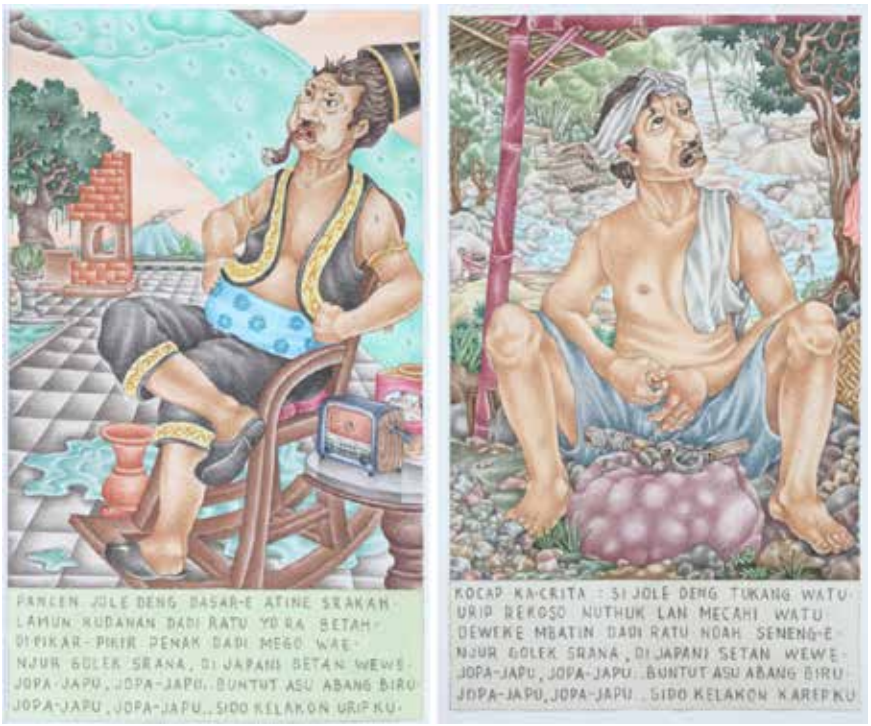


Figure 22. A diptych showing two paintings that Yoyok created to base on Mul Mulyadi's songs. The image is also taken from Climen's exhibition catalogue.



Figure 23. Yoyok's family library, Yogyakarta. *Photo by Acong.*



Figure 1. Work in progress at Hahan's place. The sister of Hahan's girlfriend helped him installing an ornament to the painting, Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 2. Hahan and his vinyl collection. He uses plastic crates for storage. Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 3. Hahan's working desk, with his turntable next to his computer. Yogyakarta. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 4. The cover of *Mari Bersuka Ria dengan Irama Lenso*, completed with Soekarno's signature. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 5. A Map of Punkasila, by Khrisna Widhyatma.



Figure 6. People behind Nirmana Records, posing with Lani of Frau. From left to right: Gufi, Uma, Hahan, Lani, and Wok. *Photo courtesy of Nirmana Records.*



Figure 7. *Potong tumpeng*, cutting the yellow rice, ritual at Frau vinyl launching for a good luck in future, Ruang Mes 56, Yogyakarta. *Photo courtesy of Nirmana Records.*



Figure 8. A painting of Frau's *Satellite Carousel* cover, a tote bag, and a turntable, specially displayed at Yes No Shop room for the launching night. Yogyakarta. *Photo courtesy of Nirmana Records.*



Figure 9. The performance of Frau at the launching night, Ruang Mes 56, Yogyakarta. *Photo courtesy of Nirmana Records.*



Figure 10. Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 11. The waiting corner at the foyer, Lokananta, Solo. Five pictures in frames put on the wall depict the situation at the recording room back in the day. A placard sitting on the table says "Lokananta cassettes are available here. Lokananta, satisfaction guaranteed." Photo by the author.



Figure 12. A room to display the records' covers, Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 14. Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 15. An old telephone, plants in pots, and mineral water, Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 16. Master audio tapes on the wall, Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 17. The cassette production room, Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 18. Lokananta Futsal, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 19. The canteen, Lokananta, Solo. *Photo by the author.*



Figure 20. Minister of Education and Culture, Anies Baswedan, on his visit to Lokananta music studio in Solo, on Tuesday, 21 June 2016. *Photo courtesy of http://njna04.blogspot.com.au/2016/06/menteri-anies-usul-studio-tua-lokananta.html*



Figure 21. The visit of Minister of Education and Culture, Anies Baswedan, to Lokananta Solo (Tuesday, 21 June 2016). *Photo courtesy of http://solo.tribunnews.com/2016/06/22/wali-kota-solo-wacanakan-perusahaan-rekaman-lokananta-jadi-museum-musik-indonesia*

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SUMMARY

This research is about musicians, visual artists, music collectors, fans, curators, and cultural activists, participating in the popular discourse of music through relevant music activities. It narrates these people, with some of their music-based plans and initiatives. It also narrates the elaboration of the spaces where the works take place. The implementation of the plans and initiatives takes place in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. It takes place in an urban media infrastructure setting.

I refer to the people in this research as musicians, visual artists, music collectors, fans, curators, and cultural activists. They were raised by local alternative milieu. I introduce the people in this research, the figures of the scene, through an elaboration of indie and alternative concepts. I employ self-organizing, collectivism, and institutionalization of cultural production as useful concepts to define the alternative milieu. It is the milieu, which shapes the production of tools and ways of organizing a series of action on managing music, culture, and life.

The people in my research are often referred to as *tokoh skena*, the 'figures of the (indie) scene', by their peers, because of their prominent position in that scene. To some extent, the scope of the works explored here is located within an indie music environment. However, my research does not focus on the textual and aesthetic realm of indie music. The people that I am researching here are moving within and across various music scenes at the same time. What I mean by indie is situated in the readiness for taking alternative approaches to control the cycle of cultural production and to consciously frame the musical activities within the wider social context.

Music is often perceived as the finished product of creative process. Many things seem to be determined and judged through what is visible—albums, musicians, performances. People in music, or music people, are often defined according to their designated function within industry. The meaning of music is constantly reframed. I choose points of musicking, which embody the dynamic relation to music. I study the development of the Internet-based record label union, event organizing, cassette collection, cassette repair, initiative to save a historical record company, and establishment of a record company. I pay attention to various dimensions of musicking that might be taken for non-music dimensions. They sustain the efforts exerted to make

something happen. I study about friendship, kindness, friction, and informal supports. I study old and new habits of doing music. I present them as innovative experiments in the field of music and popular culture. At the same time, I show why and how they fail and do not work.

I present commons as a framework to think about music. In the cases presented in this dissertation, music does not emerge as a determinant of a case study. Rather music is inserted as part of the questions, or plans, to be executed in a certain project. To define music as a commons might sound a bit odd, and indeed, there is more than one way to define a commons. In thinking about music as a commons, the focus is not on music of a particular genre. Music, which also serves as a commons, emerges as a horizon of possibilities, or a means, to be managed and maintained for different purposes.

I propose sustainability as a shared imagination of what doing music means. The articulation of such imagination informs the structure of the dissertation. The structure articulates the questions brought about by managing commons; they are the questions about a sense of security, sustainability, and documentation. It provides insights into what aspects that the people need to work on when they think about music.

The development of new technology and social media provides an environment where collaboration, networking, and sharing, constitute the elements to inform peer-to-peer relations. The city of Jogja (also known as Yogyakarta) serves as an ecosystem, surrounding the people and activities presented here with contexts. It fuels the people with the spirit to develop alternative infrastructure for art and culture.

I argue that the discourse of Indonesian music would be enriched from taking into account the condition of cultural production and the wellbeing of cultural producers. The performance of action on music and culture is always intertwined with the struggle for self-sustainability and personal survival. I suggest that consideration for these aspects direct music studies to observe the collective dimension of music. It shifts a perspective from seeing individuality as the ultimate form of artistic elaboration to the emergence of music as a source of collaboration. To view music as a collective project means to understand it as part of long-term cultural strategy. It provides links to media access, alternative distribution mechanism, social engagement practices, archiving, and cultural activism. It reveals the shared questions,

vision, and plans that would remain unspoken otherwise. It leads to the production of vernacular keywords to define the character of doing music and culture in contemporary Yogyakarta.

Chapter one discusses the materialistic orientation of cultural access. It is a precondition for the emerging ideal of commons. To engage in contemporary music and popular culture is to practice different modes of consumption—buying, pirating, borrowing, renting, copying, and downloading. It is coupled with an exploration of everyday urban media infrastructure from which music and other cultural material accessed. It is part of a process of how cultural material is a regarded as a resource. To regard cultural material as a resource is to pose questions against its availability and limitation. As the Internet provides a useful site of knowledge exploration, it requires knowledge of how to navigate the territories (shared or unshared) and the authorities which guard them. To regard cultural material as shared resources is to question their meaning as intellectual properties.

Chapter two is about Indonesian Net Label Union. Net label is an Internet-based distribution platform for musicians to share their music for free. The development of the Indonesian Net Label Union represents a self-organizing act to indicate an attempt to work together and reclaim distribution space. The decision to share music for free generates public resources. Distribution is also a space to consolidate ideas around sustainability for future works and precariousness of an artist. The union constitutes an avenue for making commons and doing commons. In this case, to commons is to employ sharing as a uniting concept and envisioned to be a collective project to achieve a collective sustainability.

Chapter three focuses on Walk the Folk—a participatory music gig. Lir Space, an alternative space for visual art and culture organized the gig. The running of Lir Space indicates a space-making act, a crucial element of the cultural movement post-1998, which is extended to the organization of Walk the Folk. The environmental dimension of the gig extends to an intention to develop a more meaningful relation with social environment. Using stage, audience, participant, and mode of interaction between musician and audience axes, Walk the Folk engenders the opportunities to reimagine the meaning of participation and contribution. Walk the Folk contributes to the nurture of moments to produce the participation climate within art production. The development of commons requires participation habit.

The last two chapters—chapter 4 and 5—focus on archiving. Chapter four explores collecting practices among music fans. It uses an exploration of archiving conditions as a starting point to examine what counts as valuable in developing a collection. Archiving becomes a means to generate social values from collecting. Using a story of personal cassette collections as a case study, I examine various moments in the collecting process where senses and skills for valuation are exercised. I use it to draw a narrative of the meaning on what is important and the usefulness of collecting.

Chapter five explores a communal sense of loss and decline, which transforms into an awareness to collect music archives. Memory creates the ground on which the criteria of archives set and a sense of shared history built. The first part of chapter five talks about Nirmana Records, which uses re-issues as a strategy for preserving music material. The second part of the chapter captures efforts to save the historical music archives contained in Lokananta Records. They narrate initiatives to develop music as a form of public archives. Using the vinyl production of Nirmana Records and the current state of Lokananta Records as study cases, I interrogate the challenge to maintain commitment to care.

In the concluding chapter, I go back to the notion of sustainability as a way to interrogate the implementation of vision and plans in managing commons. I make sense of the ongoing development of the commons-making process. I reflect on a shared value throughout the various projects which I have examined, and try to define what managing a music commons means. The people in this research create a model of platform for cultural practices. The formats of the platforms examined in this research are not new. But they have been developed with different framing. In taking action to organize them, the people narrated here are taking different measures to make sense of the current condition, and develop their own ways of making values. The character of the platform is general, but it is something that can be repurposed and imitated in a different social context. This is the premise on which the long-term impact of the works of the people in this research can be concluded.

SAMENVATTING

Het onderwerp van dit onderzoek zijn muzikanten, visuele artiesten, muziekverzamelaars, fans, curatoren en culturele activisten die gezamenlijk en via muzikaal getinte activiteiten deelnemen in een de publieke discussie over wat muziek zoal omvat. Dit onderzoek gaat in op het wel en wee van deze mensen, aan de hand van enkele van hun muzikaal geïnspireerde initiatieven. Hun muzikale belevenissen staan tevens voor de meer bredere ontwikkeling van de plek waar veel van muzikaal getinte processen plaats vindt, Yogyakarta, Indonesië, een stedelijke setting gekenmerkt door een rijke media infrastructuur.

De actoren in mijn onderzoek ontplooien hierin wat ik een lokale 'alternatieve' setting noem. Ik introduceer de belangrijkste van deze actoren door verwijzing naar de door hen gehanteerde 'alternatieve' concepten in ogenschouw te nemen. Ik doel hiermee op begrippen als zelforganisatie, collectivisme, en de institutionalisering van culturele productie zijnde concepten die dit alternatieve milieu volop kenmerken. Het is dit milieu dat vervolgens vormend is voor de wijzen waarop men verder omgaat met muziek, cultuur, en het alledaagse leven an sich.

De belangrijkste figuranten in mijn onderzoek staan bij hun collega's te boek als zogenaamde *tokoh skena*, prominente 'figuren in de *indie* scene'. In zekere mate zijn zij en hun werk dat hier verkend wordt, dan ook te plaatsen in de onafhankelijke (of *indie*) muziek scene. Mijn onderzoek richt zich echter niet zozeer op hoe deze muziekscene gedefinieerd kan worden aan de hand van tekstuele en esthetische aspecten. De centrale figuren bewegen zich immers niet alleen in deze scene maar ook veelal tussen verschillende andere muziek scenes. Ik trek de definitie van de term *indie* op en interpreteer haar veel breder dan zijnde slechts een muziekgenre. Ik doe dat door haar te plaatsten in een bredere sociale context waarin het bij betrokkenen gaat om een alternatieve benadering tot culturele productie en controle over dit proces.

Muziek wordt vaak gezien als het eindproduct van een lang creatief proces. Veel van dat proces wordt bepaald en beoordeeld aan de hand van wat uiteindelijk zichtbaar is; albums, muzikanten, performances. Mensen die aan muziek doen worden vervolgens vaak gedefinieerd naargelang hun functie in de muziekindustrie. De betekenis van muziek wordt hierbij continu anders

ingevuld. In mijn onderzoek richt ik mij op verschillende vormen van ‘musicking’ (een term ontleend aan Christopher Small, het best te vertalen als ‘muziek doen’) die voor mij de dynamische relatie tot muziek in Yogyakarta belichamen. Ik bestudeer bijvoorbeeld een internet gebaseerde platen label unie, de organisatie van muzikale evenementen, herstelwerkzaamheden van cassettes, de reddingspoging van een historische- en oprichting van een nieuwe platenmaatschappij. Ik besteed tevens aandacht aan de verschillende dimensies van musicking die vaak als niet-muzikaal worden gezien, terwijl zij het juist zijn die de muziek mogelijk maken. Zo bestudeer ik processen als vriendschap, genoeglijkheid, frictie en informele support. Ik bestudeer oude en nieuwe manieren om muziek te maken. Ik presenteer ze als innovatieve experimenten in het veld van muziek en de populaire cultuur. Tegelijkertijd laat ik zien waarom deze experimenten soms wel werken en soms ook helemaal niet.

In de verschillende casussen die in deze dissertatie worden gepresenteerd is muziek vaak niet de (enige) drijvende kracht. Muziek is eerder onderdeel van bredere vraagstukken, plannen of slechts onderdeel van een enkel project. Dat ik muziek daarbij definieer als ‘gemeengoed’ (commons) mag wat vreemd klinken. Er zijn inderdaad talloze wijzen waarop het gemeenschappelijk kan worden gedefinieerd. In mijn denken over muziek als gemeengoed is de focus niet zozeer gericht op specifiek genres. Muziek als gemeengoed vertegenwoordigt voor mij eerder een palet aan mogelijkheden, iets dat moet worden onderhouden maar waaraan men zich ook kan vasthouden en dit voor meerdere doeleinden. Ik gebruik daarbij het begrip duurzaamheid als staande voor een visie op wat samen muziek maken uiteindelijk kan betekenen voor de betrokkenen. Die visie loopt ook als een rode draad door deze dissertatie heen en zij geeft vorm aan vragen over muziek als gemeengoed, het onderhouden daarvan, een gevoel van zekerheid waarnaar men streeft, en het vastleggen ervan met allerhande documentatiemiddelen. Deze visie geeft vooral inzicht in alle verschillende aspecten waaraan mensen moeten werken als zij denken over het doen en maken van muziek.

De ontwikkeling van nieuwe technologieen en sociale media dragen bij aan een omgeving waar samenwerken, netwerken en delen tot credo zijn verheven en centraal staan in allerhande peer-to-peer relaties. Jogja (de meer affectieve betiteling voor de stad Yogyakarta) fungeert daarbij als een ecosysteem en verdere context voor de mensen en hun activiteiten die ik hier beschrijf. Het voedt hen spiritueel met het idee van een te ontwikkelen alternatieve infrastructuur voor kunst en cultuur. Ik stel dat een breder discours over

Indonesisch muziek dan ook kan profiteren van het nader beschouwen van zulke omstandigheden waarin culturele productie plaatsvind en hoe deze bijdraagt tot het welzijn van de cultureel producenten die erbij betrokken zijn.

Muzikaal en cultureel activisme is altijd vervlochten met een hang naar zelfredzaamheid en de drang tot verdere persoonlijke ontwikkeling. Ik suggereer hier dat meer aandacht voor deze aspecten ons muziek doet bestuderen als een meer collectieve benadering. Het verlegt de focus van individualiteit als de ultieme artistieke vorm, naar muziek als een bron van vooral samenwerking. Muziek bezien als collectief project laat haar zien voor wat zij is, een lange termijn culturele gemotiveerde strategie. Muziek wordt zo verbonden aan ideeën over toegang tot media, alternatieve distributie, sociaal engagement, archiveren en cultureel activisme. Het laat ons gedeelde vraagstukken, visies en vergezichten zien die anders onbesproken zouden blijven. Het leidt ook tot het benadrukken van lokaal in zwang zijnde sleuteltermen die benadrukken hoe men hoe men muziek doet en beleeft in hedendaags Yogyakarta.

Hoofdstuk Eén benadrukt de meer materiele aspecten van culturele toegang en beschrijft deze als voorwaarde voor het opbloeiende ideaal van gemeengoed. Deelname in hedendaagse muziek en populaire cultuur impliceert verschillende wijzen van consumeren – kopen, kopiëren, illegaal delen, lenen, verhuren, downloaden. Deze praktijken worden veelal gecombineerd met een verkenning van alledaagse stedelijke media infrastructuur en de positie van muziek en ander cultureel materiaal hierin. Deze processen zijn ook onderdeel van een bredere duiding waarin cultureel materiaal vooral wordt bezien als bron en hulpgoed. Dit leidt tot vragen over beschikbaarheid en beperkingen. Het internet is de ultieme plek voor het verkennen van kennis maar roept ook de vraag op hoe verder te laveren in het verkennen van al dan niet gedeelde kennis en van de krachten en het omgaan met de autoriteiten die deze kennis soms willen afschermen. Daar waar zij cultureel materiaal vooral willen bezien als gedeelde hulpbronnen borrelt ook al gauw de vraag op wat dan eigenlijk intellectueel eigendom is.

Hoofdstuk Twee behandelt de Unie van Indonesische Netlabels. Een netlabel is een internet gebaseerd distributieplatform, waar muzikanten hun muziek gratis delen. De oprichting van de Unie staat voor een vorm van zelforganisatie, een poging samen werken en vooral het zich samen toe willen eigenen van het distributieproces. De beslissing om muziek te delen en er niets voor terug te willen genereert publieke hulpbronnen. Deze vorm van

distributie is tegelijkertijd ook een arena waarin men nadenkt over ideeën van duurzaamheid en toekomstig werk en over de vaak precaire omstandigheden van menig artiest. De Unie is daarmee een plek waar men gemeengoed maakt en aanhangt. Het aanhangen van gemeengoed ligt in het idee van 'delen' als een verheffend concept en het is dit dat wordt bestempeld als een collectief te ondernemen project.

Hoofdstuk Drie richt zich op Walk the Folk—een participatorisch muziekgebeuren. Het was Lir Space, een alternatieve plek voor visuele kunst en cultuur die het initiatief daartoe nam. Lir Space wordt in dit hoofdstuk bezien als een vooral 'lokaliserende act', een proces dat cruciaal was voor de post 1998 cultureel activistische beweging en ook in Walk the Folk mee wordt genomen. Hier zijn vooral de ruimtelijke dimensies van het gebeuren van belang die tot doel hebben verdere relaties met de omgeving aan te gaan. Met gebruikmaking van podia, publiek, participanten en verschillende wijzen van interactie tussen muzikanten en publiek, probeert Walk the Folk de betekenis van participatie en deelname opnieuw invulling te geven. Walk the Folk gaat zo over momenten van bezinning en het creëren van een klimaat waarin culturele productie welig tiert. Het ontwikkelen van gemeengoed valt of staat dan ook met participatie

De twee laatste hoofdstukken focussen op de praktijk van archiveren. Hoofdstuk Vier verkent verzamelpraktijken van muziekfans. Het kijkt naar de omstandigheden van archiveren om vandaar te beschouwen wat geldt als waardevol in een te ontwikkelen verzameling. Archiveren dient als een middel om bepaalde sociale waarden te benadrukken en tot uitdrukking te laten komen in een verzameling. Ik gebruik hier het voorbeeld van een persoonlijke cassette verzameling en analyseer waar precies in het verzamelproces het gevoel en vernuft in dit waarderen wordt uitgeoefend. In mijn verhaal laat ik zo zien wat waardevol is, en wat van belang bij het verzamelen.

Hoofdstuk Vijf behandelt het gemeenschappelijk gevoel van verlies en verval dat ertoe kan leiden dat men muziek gaat verzamelen en archiveren. Herinnering is hier een leidend principe voor hoe men een gezamenlijk geschiedenis vorm kan geven. In het eerste deel van dit hoofdstuk ga ik in op Nirmana Records, een platenmaatschappij die re-issues gebruikt als strategie om muziek te preserveren. Het tweede deel va dit hoofdstuk beschrijft de pogingen om de historische muziekarchieven van Lokananta Records te preserveren. Zij leveren beiden verhalen over initiatieven waarbij muziek als publiek archief wordt ontwikkeld. Kijkend naar zowel de vinyl releases van

Nirmana en de huidige soms moeilijke situatie waarin Lokanananta zich bevindt analyseer ik de uitdagingen die komen kijken bij al deze toewijding en zorg voor het archief.

In het afsluitend hoofdstuk, keer ik terug naar de notie van duurzaamheid om zo visies en vergezichten voor het gemeengoed verder tegen het licht te houden. Ik ga dit hoofdstuk in op enige verdere ontwikkelingen in het creëren van muzikaal gemeengoed. Ik reflecteer op de gedeelde waarden van de verschillende muzikale projecten die ik naar voren heb gebracht en probeer te definiëren waar het zorgvuldig managen van gemeengoed uit bestaat. De verschillende mensen de een rol spelen in mijn onderzoekproject creëren feitelijk een platform voor culturele praktijk. De formaten die zij daarbij gebruiken en die ik met de lezer heb gedeeld zijn niet nieuw. Maar ze worden hier wel heel anders geduid. In de manier waarop zij georganiseerd worden nemen betrokkenen soms specifieke besluiten om betekenis te verlenen aan wat zij doen en creëren zij hun eigen waarden. Het doel en karakter van het platform is daarbij algemeen geformuleerd maar het is wel iets dat naargelang de omstandigheden creatief kan worden aangepast en ingezet. En het is op dit soort principes dat de impact van het werk van de mensen in mijn onderzoek op de lange duur ook stoelt.

RINGKASAN

Penelitian ini adalah tentang musisi, seniman, kolektor musik, fans, kurator, dan aktivis budaya, yang berpartisipasi lewat wacana musik populer lewat aktivitas-aktivitas musik yang relevan. Ia menarasikan orang-orang ini, dengan beragam rencana dan inisiatif musik. Ia juga menarasikan elaborasi atas ruang-ruang dimana kerja-kerja berbasis musik tersebut berlangsung. Pelaksanaan dari rencana dan inisiatif musik yang diteliti berlangsung di Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Ia berlangsung dengan latar belakang infrastruktur media urban.

Saya merujuk kepada orang-orang dalam penelitian ini sebagai musisi, seniman, kolektor musik, fans, kurator, dan aktivis budaya. Mereka dibesarkan oleh lingkungan sosial alternatif. Saya memperkenalkan orang-orang di penelitian ini sebagai, para figur skena, melalui elaborasi konsep indie dan alternatif. Saya menggunakan konsep-konsep organisasi swadaya, kolektivisme, dan pelembagaan produksi budaya, sebagai konsep-konsep yang berguna untuk mendefinisikan lingkungan sosial alternatif. Ia adalah lingkungan sosial, yang membentuk produksi perangkat dan cara untuk mengorganisir serangkaian aksi dalam mengelola musik, budaya, dan hidup.

Orang-orang di penelitian ini sering juga dirujuk sebagai tokoh skena, mengingat mereka mempunyai posisi penting di skena. Dalam beberapa hal, ruang lingkup penelitian ini menempati lingkungan musik indie. Meskipun demikian, penelitian ini tidak berfokus pada wilayah tekstual dan estetika dari musik indie. Orang-orang yang saya teliti di sini bergerak di dalam dan melintasi beragam jenis musik di saat yang bersamaan. Makna indie di penelitian ini dengan demikian adalah kesiapan untuk mengambil pendekatan-pendekatan alternatif untuk mengambil alih siklus produksi budaya dan untuk secara sadar membingkai aktivitas musik dalam kerangka sosial yang lebih besar.

Musik seringkali dipandang sebagai produk proses kreatif yang sudah jadi. Banyak hal tampaknya ditentukan dan dinilai lewat apa yang tampak—album, musisi, dan pertunjukan. Orang-orang dalam musik, atau orang musik, seringkali didefinisikan sesuai dengan bagaimana mereka berfungsi dalam industri. Makna musik sendiri terus-menerus dirombak ulang. Saya memilih beberapa poin *musicking*, yang memberi bentuk pada relasi dinamis terhadap musik. Saya meneliti perkembangan perhimpunan rekaman berbasis Internet, pengorganisasian pertunjukan musik, koleksi kaset, reparasi kaset, inisiatif untuk menyelamatkan perusahaan rekaman, dan pendirian perusahaan rekaman

yang memproduksi piringan hitam. Saya menaruh perhatian atas beragam dimensi musicking yang cenderung dianggap sebagai dimensi bukan musik. Mereka mendukung usaha-usaha yang dikeluarkan untuk membuat *sesuatu* terjadi. Saya meneliti tentang persahabatan, kebaikan, tegangan, dan dukungan-dukungan informal. Saya meneliti tentang kebiasaan-kebiasaan mengerjakan musik yang lama dan baru. Saya memperkenalkan mereka sebagai eksperimen-eksperimen inovatif dalam bidang musik dan budaya populer. Secara bersamaan, saya juga menunjukkan mengapa dan bagaimana beberapa dari mereka gagal dan tidak berjalan baik.

Saya mengajukan *commons* sebagai kerangka untuk berpikir tentang musik. Dalam serangkaian kasus yang dipresentasikan di disertasi ini, musik tidak muncul sebagai suatu faktor penentu dalam sebuah kasus. Musik dimasukkan sebagai bagian dari pertanyaan, atau rencana, untuk dieksekusi dalam proyek tertentu. Untuk mendefinisikan musik sebagai *commons* tampak sedikit aneh, dan memang, terdapat lebih dari satu cara untuk mendefinisikan commons. Dalam memikirkan musik sebagai *commons*, fokusnya bukan pada musik dalam pengertian jenis musiknya, atau *genre*. Musik, yang juga berfungsi sebagai *commons*, muncul sebagai cakrawala kemungkinan, atau sarana, untuk dikelola dan dipertahankan untuk tujuan yang berbeda-beda.

Saya menawarkan keberlanjutan sebagai imajinasi yang dibagi bersama atas apa artinya bermusik. Artikulasi atas imajinasi tersebut mempengaruhi struktur dari disertasi ini. Lebih jauh, struktur tersebut mengartikulasikan pertanyaan-pertanyaan lain yang muncul dari mengelola *commons*; mereka adalah pertanyaan-pertanyaan seputar rasa aman, keberlanjutan, dan dokumentasi. Ia menyediakan pandangan-pandangan mendalam tentang beragam aspek yang perlu dipertimbangkan oleh orang-orang ini ketika mereka memikirkan tentang musik.

Perkembangan ruang teknologi dan media sosial menyediakan lingkungan dimana kolaborasi, jaringan, dan berbagi, membentuk elemen-elemen yang membentuk relasi *peer to peer*, hubungan antar teman. Jogja (juga dikenal sebagai Yogyakarta) menyediakan ekosistem, dan meliputi orang-orang dan aktivitas-aktivitas yang dipresentasikan di penelitian ini dengan konteks. Ia menyediakan bahan bakar bagi orang-orang tersebut dalam bentuk semangat untuk membangun infrastruktur alternatif bagi seni dan budaya.

Saya berargumentasi bahwa wacana musik Indonesia akan diperkaya lewat mempertimbangkan kondisi produksi budaya dan kenyamanan produsen

budaya dalam analisa. Pertunjukan aksi dalam musik dan budaya selalu terjalin dengan usaha untuk mencapai keberlanjutan dan ketahanan pribadi. Saya menunjukkan bahwa pertimbangan atas aspek-aspek tersebut akan mengarahkan studi musik untuk mengamati dimensi kolektif dari musik. Ia mengubah perspektif dari memandang individualitas sebagai bentuk paling utama dari elaborasi artistik ke memandang musik sebagai sumber kolaborasi. Untuk memandang musik sebagai sebuah proyek kolektif berarti memahaminya sebagai bagian dari strategi budaya jangka panjang. Ia terhubung kepada persoalan akses media, mekanisme distribusi alternatif, praktik-praktik keterlibatan sosial, pengarsipan, dan aktivisme budaya. Ia membongkar pertanyaan, visi, dan rencana, yang dialami bersama, dan akan tetap tersembunyi, seandainya musik tidak didekati sebagai bagian dari program strategi budaya jangka panjang. Ia mengarah kepada produksi kosa kata khusus yang menggambarkan karakter dari melakukan proyek musik dan budaya di konteks Yogyakarta terkini.

Bab satu mendiskusikan tentang orientasi material dari akses budaya. Ia merupakan kondisi yang harus dipenuhi bagi kemunculan *commons* yang ideal. Untuk terlibat dalam musik kontemporer dan budaya populer adalah untuk mempraktikkan beragam moda konsumsi—membeli, membajak, meminjam, menyewa, menyalin, dan mengunduh. Ia digabungkan dengan eksplorasi atas infrastruktur media urban darimana musik dan materi budaya lain diakses. Ia adalah bagian dari proses tentang bagaimana materi budaya dipandang sebagai suatu sumberdaya. Untuk memandang materi budaya sebagai sumberdaya artinya mengajukan pertanyaan-pertanyaan tentang ketersediaan dan keterbatasan. Internet berfungsi sebagai situs yang berguna untuk eksplorasi pengetahuan. Ia juga mengandaikan adanya pengetahuan tentang bagaimana untuk melakukan navigasi atas teritori (baik yang bisa dibagi maupun yang tidak) dan atas otoritas yang menjaganya. Untuk memandang materi budaya sebagai sumberdaya yang bisa dibagi artinya mengajukan pertanyaan atas makna mereka sebagai property intelektual.

Bab dua adalah tentang Indonesian Net Label Union. Net label adalah sebuah platform distribusi berbasis Internet dimana para musisi membagikan musik secara bebas. Perkembangan Indonesian Net Label Union merepresentasikan aksi pengorganisasian swadaya yang mengindikasikan usaha untuk bekerja bersama dan mengambil alih kembali ruang distribusi. Keputusan untuk membagi musik secara bebas menghasilkan sumberdaya publik. Distribusi juga sebuah ruang untuk memperteguh gagasan-gagasan seputar keberlanjutan bagi kerja-kerja masa depan dan kerentanan seniman.

Perhimpunan net label membentuk ruang untuk menciptakan *commons* dan melakukan commons. Dalam kasus ini, untuk melakukan commons adalah untuk menggunakan berbagi sebagai konsep pemersatu dan membayangkannya sebagai proyek kolektif untuk mencapai keberlangsungan kolektif.

Bab tiga berfokus pada Walk the Folk—sebuah pertunjukan musik partisipatoris. Lir Space, sebuah ruang alternatif untuk seni visual dan budaya menginisi pertunjukan tersebut. Keberlangsungan Lir Space mengindikasikan aksi membentuk ruang, sebuah elemen penting dari gerakan budaya pasca 1998, yang direntangkan kepada pengorganisasian Walk the Folk. Dimensi lingkungan dari pertunjukan ini direntangkan kepada niatan untuk membangun sebuah relasi yang lebih berarti kepada lingkungan sosial. Dengan menggunakan panggung, penonton, partisipan, dan moda interaksi antara musisi dan penonton, sebagai garis-garis imajiner, Walk the Folk memunculkan peluang untuk membayangkan ulang makna partisipasi dan kontribusi. Walk the Folk berkontribusi kepada perawatan momen-momen untuk memproduksi iklim partisipasi dalam produksi seni. Perkembangan commons mensyaratkan kebiasaan partisipasi.

Dua bab terakhir—bab empat dan lima—berfokus pada pengarsipan. Bab empat mengeksplorasi praktik koleksi di kalangan fans musik. Ia menggunakan eksplorasi atas kondisi pengarsipan sebagai titik pijakan awal untuk mengalisa tentang hal-hal apa yang terhitung sebagai berharga dalam membangun koleksi. Pengarsipan menjadi sarana untuk menghasilkan nilai sosial atas koleksi. Dengan menggunakan cerita-cerita atas koleksi kaset personal sebagai studi kasus, saya menganalisa beragam momen dalam proses koleksi dimana rasa dan kemampuan untuk penilaian diuji ulang. Saya menggunakannya untuk menarik sebuah narasi atas makna dari sesuatu yang dianggap penting dan nilai guna dari pengoleksian.

Bab lima mengeksplorasi tentang rasa komunal atas kehilangan dan kemunduran, yang bertransformasi menjadi kesadaran untuk mengoleksi arsip-arsip musik. Memori menciptakan landasan yang darinya kriteria atas arsip dibentuk dan rasa berbagi makna sejarah dibangun. Bagian awal dari bab lima berbicara tentang Nirmana Records, yang menggunakan produksi ulang sebagai strategi untuk menyelamatkan materi musik. Bagian kedua dari bab lima dipakai untuk menangkap usaha-usaha yang dikeluarkan untuk menyelamatkan arsip musik bersejarah di Lokananta Records. Mereka menarasikan inisiatif-inisiatif untuk membangun musik sebagai bagian dari

arsip publik. Dengan menggunakan produksi piringan hitam dari Nirmana Records dan kondisi terbaru dari Lokananta Records sebagai studi kasus, saya memeriksa tantangan-tantangan untuk mempertahankan komitmen untuk berbagi.

Pada bab kesimpulan, saya kembali kepada gagasan keberlanjutan sebagai cara untuk memeriksa pelaksanaan visi dan rencana dalam mengelola sumber daya musik. Saya berusaha memahami perkembangan yang terus menerus dari proses pembuatan *commons*. Saya merefleksikan tentang nilai-nilai yang dibagi lewat beragam proyek budaya yang saya teliti dan berusaha mendefinisikan makna mengelola *music commons*. Orang-orang di penelitian ini menciptakan beragam model pendekatan untuk praktik-praktik budaya. Format dari pendekatan tersebut tidak baru, tetapi mereka semua dibangun dengan kerangka yang berbeda. Dalam menunjukkan aksi untuk mengorganisir mereka, orang-orang yang dinarasikan di penelitian ini mengambil beragam takaran untuk memahami kondisi terkini, dan mengembangkan caranya sendiri atas membuat makna. Karakter dari pendekatan tersebut adalah umum, tapi ia adalah sesuatu yang bisa didayagunakan dan diimitasi dalam konteks sosial yang berbeda-beda.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Nuraini Juliastuti was born in Surabaya, on the 21st of July, 1975. From 1994 to 2001, she completed her Bachelor of Arts in Communication Studies at the Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. In 1999, she co-founded Kunci Cultural Studies Center in Yogyakarta. From 2007 to 2008, she attended the Contemporary Asian Studies master program in the International School for Humanities and Social Sciences, at the University of Amsterdam. After completing her master's thesis on knowledge performance through movie piracy, she resumed working for Kunci Cultural Studies Center. In 2011, Nuraini started her PhD program at the Institute of Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology, Leiden University. Many aspects of the research in Kunci's media and convergence project—remix culture, piracy, copying, collaboration, and technology infrastructure—informed Nuraini's early PhD proposal and research. Currently, Nuraini lives and works in Melbourne, Australia, while maintaining a trans-local work relationship with Kunci.

PROPOSITIONS

Accompanying the thesis

Commons People: Managing Music and Culture in Contemporary Yogyakarta

By

Nuraini Juliastuti

1. Making music always implies ethical work. You can't do music without positioning yourself in how art relates to the society.
2. Music as a commons is not music of a particular genre; it is about performing a connectedness with music and participation in everyday conversations through a range of relevant music practices.
3. Cultural activists create alternative spaces as a means to counter a lack in arts infrastructure, create networks, and to fulfill their visionary ideas. Alternative spaces emerged as safe spaces to nurture a sense of disobedience and critical thoughts in the times of uncertainty.
4. Indie music is a cultural practice which draws on the ethics of sustainability. It prioritizes long-term and participatory processes.
5. Sharing is an opportunistic act. To share is to establish one's existence in a fragile support system.
6. Piracy is a sticky business. It is part of an alternative knowledge infrastructure system. To support piracy is to explain the ambivalence about the ethics of cultural materials access that is always pragmatic.
7. The growing currency and relevance of participatory art projects represents a recognition of participation as a certain mannerism of doing art - but participation is hard to grip.
8. Archiving is a creative process which targets cultural material or practices that are regarded as 'precarious' or 'vulnerable.'

9. To think about the future is to negotiate a longing for certain archival materials, and transform it into a useful practice.
10. To engage in art and cultural activities in Indonesia is to take on different roles and responsibilities and fill in certain holes. Efforts to fill these holes, provoke more questions, and feelings of incompleteness.
11. To commit to care is to be ready with tiredness; commitment to care needs something that is binding.
12. *Seni juga butuh istirahat;* art needs some rest too (Ace House Collective, 2017). Doing art is to show care towards various aspects of our social environment, and to learn about how it implicates our well-being.

These propositions are regarded as opposable and defendable and have been approved as such by the supervisors Prof. dr. P. E. Spyer and Dr. B. A. Barendregt.