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Commons people: managing music and culture in contemporary Yogyakarta

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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 privy 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.

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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,

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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

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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.

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Wok did not have a habit of watching television. Instead, he tended to work on his computer for long stretches 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*.

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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.

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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—Shenzhen, 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.

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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.

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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 *warnets*. 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 or Twitter, 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"

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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.

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In an era when television became increasingly diverse and attractive, offering a broader variety of programs, TVRI – as the government station – became increasingly undesirable 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 informasi tentang berita musik lokal. Media cetak lebih mulia karena memiliki porsi berita musik dunia lebih banyak.”

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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!”

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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 bertliontin pentagram, *Mini Metal Hai!* dan hari Selasa adalah ibadah! Beginilah dunia remaja headbanger era 80-an di kota kabupaten.”

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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

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[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

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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

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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.

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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

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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.

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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

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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 orisinal 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 orisinal, 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 orisinal. 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.”

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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

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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.

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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

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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 alterity." 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.