Commons people: managing music and culture in contemporary Yogyakarta
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The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/73550 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

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Title: Commons people: managing music and culture in contemporary Yogyakarta
Issue Date: 2019-05-21

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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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

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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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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

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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.