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Musical worlds in Yogyakarta

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Musical worlds in Yogyakarta

Max M. Richter



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Glossary of special terms

abangan	an <i>aliran</i> social grouping, characterised by ‘village sensibilities’ and a syncretic or ‘nominal’ form of Islam (from the Arabic <i>aba’an</i> , a practicing but non-strict Muslim)
aliran	literally ‘stream’ or ‘current’, refers to the <i>abangan</i> , <i>priyayi</i> and <i>santri</i> social groupings in Java that Geertz (1960) identified based on occupational orientation and ‘world outlook’
anak jalanan	street child/‘street kid’
angkringan	portable tea and snack/meal stall
Astro Band	a <i>pengamen</i> group that performed regularly on Malioboro Street and elsewhere in downtown Yogyakarta
Bar Borobudur	a ranch-style pub near Sosrowijayan featuring loud live rock music
becak	two-seater tricycle pedicab
campursari	literally ‘mixed essences’, a musical genre that became very popular in central and east Java in the mid-1990s. <i>Campursari</i> combines gamelan ensembles with western diatonic instruments such as bass guitar, hi-tech keyboards and saxophone, and regional and national forms and instruments including <i>kroncong</i> ukuleles and <i>dangdut</i> drum.
dangdut	major Indonesian popular music genre variously associated with urban lower classes, nationalism and an Islamic ethic. Many of <i>dangdut</i> ’s musical elements grew out of <i>melayu</i> ensembles, but it broadly comprises Indian <i>kanerva</i> pattern rhythms on a tabla or a <i>kendang</i> drum; flutes and keyboards played with Hindustani-flavoured lilt; and heavy-metal guitar.
dangdut Jawa	<i>dangdut</i> music with Java-specific features, these most often being song lyrics in Javanese
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah; Regional Parliament

electone	hi-tech programmable keyboard, also sometimes called <i>organ tunggal</i> , named after the Yamaha trademarked electronic organs of the same name
gambus	a pear-shaped lute of Arabian origin; features in Malay/Islamic orchestras often known as <i>orkes gambus</i>
habitus	concept developed by Pierre Bourdieu that conveys the idea that people's dispositions, perceptions of life chances, and habituated physical movements are products of deeply embedded social structures formed through (especially early) life experiences
Islamic Institute	State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN, Institut Agama Islam Negeri) in Yogyakarta; became the State Islamic University (UIN, Universitas Islam Negeri) in 2003
jalanan	of the street; having the character of the streets
jatilan	a form of trance dance popular in Java
joged	popular dance form found throughout the Indonesian/Malay world; although most often performed in couples, <i>joged</i> can also refer to solo dancers doing the two-step characteristic of the form
kafe	term for a type of nightclub that can also function as a daytime café/restaurant
kampung	neighbourhood
karawitan	general term for gamelan music that includes singing
kendang	two-headed drum that features in gamelan ensembles and <i>dangdut</i> groups
KPJM	Kelompok Penyanyi Jalanan Malioboro; Malioboro Streetside Singing Group, also important to the formation of the Malioboro Arts Community
Kridosono	sports hall and stadium that houses many large-scale musical performances
kroncong	popular music genre featuring diasporic Portuguese mandolin; Sundanese/Betawi flute runs; a distinct guitar style; a nostalgic vocal style; and lyrical themes of love, loss and the Indonesian Independence struggle
langgam Jawa	literally 'Javanese custom/style', here a musical genre closely related to <i>kroncong</i> , but which tends to feature Javanese lyrics and <i>slendro</i> pentatonic-scale patterns

lesehan	street restaurants where customers sit on straw mats on the ground
Melayu	‘Malay’; in relation to music generally refers to elements or nuances characteristic of <i>melayu</i> ensembles
musical physicalisation	the manifested physical behaviours that arise around or through music
musik jalanan	street music; in Yogyakarta the term is sometimes applied to street buskers playing traditionalist genres, but more often applies to western-influenced, politically oppositional folk/rock music, with guitars being the most common instrument
Opposite Resto	a popular night-time ‘hangout’ for street guides and others by the Sosrowijayan Street roadside and opposite the Resto café/bar
pengamen	street busker
perek	‘experimental woman’, from <i>perempuan eksperimental</i> ; a term for women who often have sexual encounters with (especially western) men (the less stigmatised equivalent for local-based men is ‘gigolo’)
Prada	a late-night <i>lesehan</i> eatery on the corner of Malioboro and Sosrowijayan streets
preman priyayi	‘gangster’ or ‘thug’ (from the Dutch <i>vrij man</i> , ‘free man’) an <i>aliran</i> social grouping featuring high-status bureaucratic/Hindu-Javanese
Purawisata	a multi-function amusement park and ‘cultural arts centre’; the open-air Taman Ria venue within the complex regularly houses large-scale <i>dangdut</i> performances
qasidah	a form of Arabian-influenced lyric poetry, in Indonesia also associated with <i>rebana</i> frame drum accompaniment
Reformasi	term for the ‘reform era’ that gained momentum leading into President Soeharto’s downfall in 1998; Reformasi and <i>krismon</i> (<i>krisis moneter</i> , financial crisis) were key terms used across Indonesian society in efforts to characterise and institute social and political change during the early-post Soeharto years
Resto	a café/bar popular with backpackers and street guides, located toward the western end of Sosrowijayan Street

santri	an <i>aliran</i> social grouping based on market and purist-Islamic features (Geertz 1960), more recently set in contrast to <i>kejawen</i> (Javanism) (Beatty 1999)
Sekar Wuyung	Sosrowijayan-based group whose <i>dangdut Jawa</i> music included many <i>campursari</i> songs
sekaten	refers to both a commemoration of the prophet Muhammad and a fifteenth-century gamelan set; following the Javanese calendar, each year a month-long carnival culminates in a week of formal rituals at the Sultan's Palace
Shower Band	Sosrowijayan-based musical group featuring street guides connected to the Malioboro <i>jalanan</i> scene
Sosro Bahu	name of a <i>becak</i> driver organization and their stand/'hangout' located on Sosrowijayan Street
Sultan's Palace	<i>kraton</i> in Indonesian; both home to Sultan Hamengku Buwono X (also Provincial Governor) and seen as the centrepiece of Javanese culture
Tombo Sutris	a <i>campursari</i> orchestra who played at a wide range of functions in Yogyakarta, including those connected to state power
tongkrongan	Javanese term for 'hangout' (from <i>nongkrong</i> , 'to squat')
TransWeb	an Internet café and street guide 'hangout' located by a Sosrowijayan alleyway
UGM	Universitas Gadjah Mada; Gadjah Mada University
wayang kulit	shadow puppet theatre
Yayi	the name of a 17 year old female singer who was very adept at balancing polite deference and sexualised crowd rousing in a wide range of settings and contexts

Introduction

Approaching musical life in early post-Soeharto Yogyakarta

By four o'clock the midday heat has begun to mellow. Along kampung alleyways the raucous commotion of city life gives way to the occasional sounds of playing children, splashing water, cooing pigeons. Domestic life emanates crisply out of thin walls and open windows. Some people are freshening up with a *mandi* or cooking in their kitchens; others are watching television or quietly strumming guitars by their doorsteps. The sun, by now sunk behind buildings, has given way to the calm, mild air of early dusk. Islamic calls to prayer and a church choir echo faintly across the neighbourhood; a train whistle signals the next wave of newcomers and returnees from Jakarta.

In the evening, the tranquillity of our leafy open-plan homestay is punctuated only by the fleeting rustle and murmur of a guest, family member or friend. Only 50 metres away, thousands of people are re-converging onto Malioboro Street. The food stallholders have set up along the street; customers sit on straw mats under temporary awnings to eat and chat and listen to the passing busking groups. For a time a political campaign and then a rock concert dominate the soundscape. By midnight, social life has gravitated into smaller pockets, one being the Prada eatery. Individuals and groups pull in to the roadside eatery from nightclubs and elsewhere, eat a meal or drink tea, many then staying on to chat and sing along with the Astro Band and others until the five o'clock closing time.

By this time the sky is beginning to brighten, goods transporters are up and about, and soon breakfast stallholders have set up across the street, catering to truck drivers, students, government employees. By ten o'clock all the stalls and shops along Malioboro Street are open for business, and the road, slip-lanes and footpaths are again crammed with workers, commuters and strollers.

Yogyakarta (or 'Jogja') is often described as a palatial ancient city and the cultural heart of Java. It is both a Special Region within the Republic of Indonesia and the region's capital city, and is a major centre of education, cultural tourism and religious syncretism and

pluralism. The city has a vibrant arts scene and progressive student activism amidst its 'refined' (*halus*) Sultanate culture and numerous government institutions. The area has many famous attributes, including the eighth century Buddhist Borobudur and Hindu Prambanan temples, and the city's temporary role as Indonesia's national capital during the Independence era adds to its political credibility. In recent years a major earthquake and then a volcanic eruption in the region caught international attention, and at the same time signs of economic development have burgeoned across and beyond the city.

Malioboro Street is 'the centre of life for Yogyaans historically, religiously, politically, economically and socially' (Berman 1994:20). With its daily transformation from shopping strip to night market to, finally, a strip of eateries, it has been called 'the world's longest permanent open-air market' (Berman 1994:20). The city merges into villages in every direction, with the region around the city including some of the most densely populated rural areas in the world (*Damage earthquake* 2006). Inner-city congestion has intensified over recent decades, with workers, students and others almost doubling the population each workday (Sasongko 2001). This is the setting for this monograph, in which I will show how musical and related activities helped to promote peace and intergroup appreciation and tolerance during a period of great social and political change. I also schematize combinations of performance setting, social relation and power dynamic that facilitated these largely peaceful interactions.

In the final years of the twentieth century, Indonesia experienced and negotiated several major changes. The Asian economic crisis that began in 1997 had a significant impact in subsequent years; and politically, President Soeharto's downfall in May 1998 signalled both the end of the New Order government's 32 year rule and the start of the Reformasi era (Aspinall 1999; Aspinall, Van Klinken and Feith 1999). In the optimism of new political freedoms and opportunities among ongoing economic crises, social relations in Indonesia were marked by both occasional horrific violence and, given the immensity of change underway, exemplary moments of cooperation.

Between April and October 2001 alone, a new mayor was instated in Yogyakarta, Indonesia's President Abdurachman Wahid (Gus Dur) was impeached and replaced by Megawati Sukarnoputri, and the September 11 attacks in New York occurred. Large banners and roving campaigns often dominated the streetscape in political contests over public space. Meanwhile, neither completely removed from, nor wholly bound to these events, the midyear in Yogyakarta

remained highly active with major rituals and festivals such as Sekaten (May), the Yogyakarta Arts Festival (June), the Yogyakarta Gamelan Festival (July), and Independence Day (August). The public, street-based nature of these political and cultural events offered rich material for sensorial ethnography and social analysis.

I undertook a study of music in Yogyakarta during the early years of Reformasi (the Reform movement). The variety of musics I had encountered on previous visits there intrigued me, and I also felt that the topic might help to reconcile theories of Javanese dominance in Indonesia with the humble living conditions of most Javanese. Given that Indonesia was undergoing its biggest changes since the mid-1960s, I wanted to capture as much detail of the current period as possible. At the least, then, the study from the outset was intended to produce a record of social and musical life in the midst of the many transitions underway in Yogyakarta.

In what follows I seek to develop a set of concepts and approaches through which to construct an account of musical influences on social relations. In Yogyakarta, as to a large extent in wider Indonesia, popular music and social relations passed through two discernible phases during the study period. First, oppositional music gained increasing momentum in the late New Order period and through to the early euphoria of Reformasi. Second, the shocking reality of inter-ethnic/religious and anti-Chinese violence, along with ongoing economic hardship, compelled several social organizations and associated musicians to promote peace as their main priority. In Yogyakarta in 1999, these were manifested in various concerts, message T-shirts and the like. When I visited in 2000, a kind of Reformasi fatigue had set in. In 2001 music remained a vital part of many people's lives; however, while it sometimes served as a direct vehicle for people to enhance their stakes in power struggles, more pervasively it helped to maintain cooperative social relations during a period of great uncertainty.

Added to the multilayered changes occurring during the early post-Soeharto period, research on social relations and culture in Java must also consider the island's long and complex history. As Clifford Geertz (1960:7) pointed out several decades ago:

Java – which has been civilized longer than England; which over a period of more than fifteen hundred years has seen Indians, Arabs, Chinese, Portuguese and Dutch come and go; and which has today one of the world's densest populations, highest development of the arts, and most intensive agricultures – is not easily characterized under a single label or easily pictured in terms of a dominant theme.

Archaeological evidence shows that Hindu and early gamelan instruments have been in use in central Java since at least the eighth century (Kunst 1968), and many people in Yogyakarta have assured me that *lesung* music made with rice pounders existed before that. In the turbulent years between Indonesian Independence and Soeharto's New Order, Geertz (1960) developed the Javanese/Indonesian notion of *aliran* into an important tool for conceptualising Javanese society and culture. *Aliran*, meaning literally 'stream' or 'current', refers to three broad groups based on occupational orientation and 'world outlook', these being village/syncretic *abangan*, market/purest-Islamic *santri* (further divided into reformist *moderen* and traditionalist *kolot*) and bureaucratic/Hindu-Java *priyayi*.

A number of scholars have drawn attention to the need for Geertz's *aliran* concept to more accurately define the party-political, religious and occupational differences underpinning the three groups (Kahn 1988:182-4; Newland 2000). Others have reconceptualised the three *aliran* streams, classifying the cultural orientations of Javanese into the two broad categories of *kejawan* (Javanism) and *santri* (Beatty 1999). Nonetheless, viewed historically the concept of *aliran* helped to challenge the simplistic 'traditional/modern' dualisms that dominated emerging development discourses at the time (Gomes 2007:43). Additionally, the term still resonated among the people I spoke with in Yogyakarta in 2001, albeit modified to fit current times.

Several other studies of Javanese culture and society inform the following analysis.¹ A few Javanese/Indonesian terms were central to the street life and intergroup relations I encountered. *Tongkrongan*, or 'hangout' (Echols and Shadily 1982), tended to carry the same mixed connotations as its English counterpart. Depending on speaker and context, a *tongkrongan* could be a place where layabouts laze around with nothing better to do, or a 'hip' place where real life happens. A popular *tongkrongan* site was the *angkringan*, a portable tea and snack stall. Most *angkringan* workers set their ready-stocked stalls strategically close to trading areas. By catering to basic needs, they facilitated interactions between street workers, civil servants, and others who otherwise generally remained separate, especially on and near Malioboro Street.

Other *tongkrongan* settings included *warung*, these being more permanent tea stall/shops; and *lesehan*, street restaurants featuring straw mats spread out on the ground. People would regularly gather and *ngobrol* at these hangouts. *Ngobrol* can be translated as 'chat'

1 Anderson 1990; Guinness 1986; Sullivan 1994; Siegel 1986; Robson 2003.

and, as with *tongkrongan*, was perceived variously as light and trivial, or as code for matters of real importance. In Part One, I attempt to problematise too straightforward a reading of these hangouts as exemplars of intergroup harmony. Nevertheless, overwhelmingly these hangouts and eateries were important sites in which amiable intergroup relations were maintained daily among diverse occupational, ethnic, and other affiliations.

Despite Yogyakarta's reputation as a 'traditional' city, several changes were occurring during the main research period. The city area was inhabited by people with a wide range of livelihoods and lifestyles, one indicator of which was the myriad uses of technology. Thousands of motorcycles crammed the roads, along with pedicabs (*becak*), horse and carts, old buses and bicycles. Garbage collectors pulled heavy carts by hand, while increasing numbers of aeroplanes flew overhead. Countless government administration offices and education institutions each featured cumbersome filing cabinets and manual typewriters. The only high technology cinema had burnt down years earlier, leaving only others built decades ago. At the same time, dozens of internet cafés and VCD libraries enjoyed high levels of business, and mobile phones numbered in their thousands (Hill and Sen 2005). It seemed clear to me that text messaging became widespread in Yogyakarta before 'modern' cities such as Melbourne.

Referring to its multi-ethnic character, several people told me Malioboro Street was the 'real mini Indonesia', unlike the fabricated 'Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park' (known as Taman Mini) in Jakarta. During my fieldwork, Malioboro Street was blocked to traffic by the railway line crossing its northern end, with Malioboro itself a smooth double-lane, one-way road leading southbound on a slight downhill slope. Starting from its northern end, large establishments included Hotel Garuda, the Regional Parliament and Malioboro Mall, government offices, the large, traditional Beringharjo Market, Fort Vredeburg and the Central Post Office. South again, less than two kilometres from Malioboro Mall, are the highly symbolic Sultan's Palace and its ceremonial grounds.

Malioboro Street was flanked by hundreds of stalls and shops catering to various classes, needs, and interests. Particularly from around ten am until eight pm each day, the street was chiefly characterised by the stalls cramming both sides of the pedestrian walkway under the archways. Stall items were predominantly 'commoditised culture' crafts and cheap clothing made mostly from batik off-cuts and seconds. Each morning at around nine o'clock, traders and their assistants wheeled out large trolleys from side-street depots, opened them, and set up their stalls. With a flick of the wrist, they



Becak line the slip lane on Maliboro Street



The Malioboro walkway flanked by street stalls and a brightly-lit department store



Inside Malioboro Mall

unrolled shirts ten at a time, each previously set on coat hangers, and then swung them onto bars they had strung up and balanced between pylons. By this time, traffic had built up on the road, with the flow on to and off the main thoroughfare generally characterised by patience and courtesy. For example, motorcyclists often helped *becak* drivers across to the slip lane by bracing one foot on the *becak's* mudguard and pushing them along.

The crowded and relatively gritty street level of Malioboro contrasted with the bright lights illuminating the evening skyline. Dazzling neons emanated from shopping malls and from department stores specialising in carpets, plastic ware, or clothing. Malioboro Mall, built in 1994, is open plan and four levels high, in many senses typical of suburban shopping malls throughout the world. But the 'Mal' was also illustrative of social relations in Yogyakarta. Hundreds of motorcycles crammed the parking bays at the main entrance, each coordinated and monitored by attendants in orange overalls. Several sellers of cigarettes and newspapers waited for incoming and outgoing customers at the bottom of the steps, as did *becak* drivers whose vehicles sat parked in the slip lane on the other side of road. The inside of the mall featured department stores and smaller specialty shops and stalls, although the main activities here

were arguably not those of shoppers but rather those ‘hanging out’ chatting, or simply looking about, while leaning on the silver-plated rails. Many of these were students and youth, while families ambled past the shop fronts. ‘Village folk’ (*orang desa*) could also be seen enthralled by the novelty of hi-tech escalators and shiny surfaces.

In this light, three broad groups or classes gravitated around the Mal: the wealthy, who were able to purchase expensive coffee and goods from the various stores (see also Mundayat 2005:128-9); the middle- to lower/middle-classes, such as students and visitors from elsewhere in Indonesia, who spent little or no money at the Mal but hung out or did some of their grocery shopping there; and a section of the urban poor, who sought to carry out their trade from the entrance but rarely if ever entered the Mal proper.²

The highly congested and diverse setting of Malioboro Street serves as the focal point for this study. Some people regarded life here as highly agreeable and pleasant, while others saw the area as overrun with problems and stressful. Of the former, many spoke of enjoying Yogyakarta’s laidback, *‘santai aja’* (take it easy) lifestyle, as well as its relative affordability, with many Indonesian university graduates choosing to stay on in the city long after completing their studies. Hundreds of foreign travellers and students were drawn there by an interest in the arts and/or activism, and many rural-oriented locals spoke with great reverence of Yogyakarta’s Sultan. As well as being characterised by polite ‘high’ culture, the region also has a reputation for inter-ethnic, -class and -religious tolerance. Exemplary in this regard was the regular socialising between shoe shiners, professors and others at tea stalls, as mentioned above. Whenever I arrived by train from Jakarta, I was struck by the air of youthful vitality around Malioboro Street. Talking with passersby on the street, I often felt that, as with the popular saying about New York, Yogyakarta had as many interesting life stories as it did people.

At the same time, tension and conflict were by no means absent from Yogyakarta in the early post-Soeharto years. The movement of pedestrians along Malioboro Street was severely hampered, forcing many to take the slip lane only to then experience repeated near misses by bicycles, *becak* and horse and carts, especially those travelling northbound against the legal flow rather than take the impractically long route via Joyonegaran Street or through narrow residential alleyways. Many people treated crossing Malioboro as an adventure, but the absence of traffic lights and zebra crossings made this an even more perilous task. The recent economic cri-

2 On shopping malls and social differentiation in Southeast Asia, see Young 1999; Van Leeuwen 2011; on Yogyakarta specifically, see Wibawanta 1998.

sis had played a role in exacerbating the strained conditions on Malioboro Street, but there were other factors involved. In the mid-1970s, a long-time resident told me, Malioboro became the site of battles among *becak* drivers, resulting in the deaths of a number of ethnic Batak drivers from North Sumatra. He added that something similar could well happen again.

Another source of resentment stemmed from the early 1980s, when the then Sultan gave away Malioboro pavement spaces to petty traders. Yogyakartaans, for the most part being irresolute in business matters, did not take up the offer. However, other groups did, in particular 'immigrants' from the island of Madura off the northeast coast of Java. Nowadays, the argument ran, these same groups were selling the spaces back to long-term residents at exorbitant prices, causing tensions and arguments over trading rights. Finally, resentment on Malioboro Street towards Malioboro Mall's profiteering managers was such that it would only take someone to walk down the main street with a megaphone calling for street traders to mobilise against this injustice, and within an hour, it was said, the mall would be ablaze.

Social tensions and conflict also extended beyond Malioboro Street. Longstanding hierarchies continued to be exercised through subtle but effective language use and physical gestures. Although prior to September 11 and the Bali Bombings, militant wings of organizations such as Laskar Jihad were certainly active in Indonesia. Political campaigns by the Gerakan Pemuda Ka'bah (GPK, Ka'bah Youth Movement) and others sometimes menaced the streets. Finally, nature and 'human error' sometimes combined to inflict suffering in Yogyakarta. Transport accidents and power blackouts were commonplace, and the more recent earthquake and volcanic eruption caused indescribable trauma and devastation.

In the heavily congested Malioboro Street area of Yogyakarta in 2001, the friendly and tranquil interweaved with the exclusivist and occasionally violent. Relatively wealthy, footloose visitors could easily romanticise the quality of life there, particularly given the jovial bearing of many materially poor locals. On the other hand, while focusing on the numerous social problems in and around the city reveals underlying issues and realities that such a view ignores or avoids, much commentary on Indonesia concentrates only on problems and conflict. This view is blind to signs of contentment, pleasure or acts of goodwill and cooperation, and also the roles that these can play in progressive politics. During the eight months in which I spent most waking hours in the crowded Malioboro area, gestures of kindness were always evident. In light of the heightened political, economic and inter-ethnic tensions of

the time, the incidence of public conflict was remarkably low. As I will seek to demonstrate, musical practices played an active role in facilitating these relatively peaceful social relations.

MUSICAL WORLDS AND THEIR GENRES

The following chapters present an ethnographic account of a number of musics and social situations in Yogyakarta.³ Amidst the explosion of musical diversity across much of early post-Soeharto Indonesia (Barendregt and Van Zanten 2002), in Yogyakarta gamelan ensembles, Islamic choirs and punk bands could all perform at the same event. Single acts combined classical (gamelan), folk (*rakyat*) and western pop instrumentation and playing styles. The ethnic-Chinese *barongsai* lion dance re-emerged in street parades and began to influence other musical performance styles. Islamic a-cappella groups, known as *nasyid*, were gaining popularity.

This monograph takes these hybridized musical realities as a primary focus, rather than any single genre, subculture or artist. Arguably, analysing a broad range of public performances and genres can produce different understandings of social and musical groups and connections to those possible through a singularly focussed study. To that end, this study begins and concludes with the street workers I conversed with on a daily basis, and who subsequently became central to the research.

I seek to minimise a reliance on high/popular, traditional/modern and other established classifications of cultural practice. Instead I analyse music by considering the variables of event theme, physical setting, social context and behaviours, and musical genre. The setting, function and content of musical events tell us a great deal about the social and political factors that underpin them, and furthermore allow for the incorporation of all of the musical phenomena involved. In turn, musical dimensions affect and are affected by participants and their social relations. While opinions vary as to the academic and political significance of these kinds of interplays, most important for my current aims are the studies of

3 In relation to contrasts and commonalities of popular music trends such as these across wider Indonesia, a prominent Indonesian musician told me that the country has four main centres, each with their own characteristics: 1. East Java has those who praise and commemorate nationalism and its heroes, such as Gombloh and Leo Kriste; 2. in Yogyakarta musicians tend to focus on social concerns through mixing poetic lyrics with traditional musical forms; 3. Bandung leads in national and international fashion and trends; and 4. Jakarta, despite being home of *krongcong* and *dangdut*, is 'the big toilet'.

music and social relations that identify social and cultural contestation but then go on to examine how music also helps to bridge social divisions.⁴

Relatively objective musical genre characteristics and subjective pronouncements of taste intersect and combine in particular contexts to form musical identities. The clusters of these mutually constitutive variables are what I wish to call ‘musical worlds’. I borrow the term ‘musical worlds’ from Ruth Finnegan’s ethnography (1989) of music making in an English town, which she in turn derives from Howard Becker’s *Art worlds* (1982). Approaching musical practices through the concept of ‘worlds’ is arguably less problematic than through a notion of ‘culture’. Joel Kahn (1995) and others have pointed out how scholars too often seek to separate examples of ‘culture’ from their socio-historical contexts. By contrast, it may be said that people move in and between socially-situated musical worlds, rather than simply belonging to one or another culture.

A focus on musical worlds also calls attention to the often overlooked regularity of musical events, and highlights the extra-musical organizational work involved in planning and carrying out these events. The term ‘worlds’ in this context emphasises the ‘local social contexts of arts production’ (DeNora 2000:4). This in turn prevents the analysis from being restricted to ‘the “reading” of works or styles’ (DeNora 2000:1), and facilitates the identification of signs of local-level cooperative relations in the works that are produced (Howard Becker 1982). As Tia DeNora (2000:5) points out, studies of ‘art worlds’ in this sense parallel the studies of scientific laboratories that reveal the social production of scientific ‘facts’ (Latour and Woolgar 1979). More generally, the idea of musical worlds can be seen as a variant of new heuristic uses of terms such as ‘scene’ (Williams 2006; Straw 1991) and ‘gathering’ (Simpson 2000), also keeping the ‘text’ of the music itself firmly in the picture.

Analysing the social production of events informs rather than replaces the music itself, which is approached here through the concept of genre. Arguments abound over what constitute particular musical genres (Indonesian *jenis*).⁵ The framework for the current study has been influenced by Finnegan, who categorises ‘musical worlds’ by genres such as classical, folk, brass bands, and pop and rock, and discusses the organizational aspects of performance settings such as clubs, pubs, and schools. Musical genres

4 Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Martin 1999; Epstein 2000; Wong 1995; Wallach 2008.

5 Yampolsky 2001; Frith 1987; Pachet, Roy and Cazaly 2000; Zorn 1999.

are not clearly demarcated categories that exist in a power vacuum. Instead, they involve articulations of taste that serve to mark social boundaries (Bourdieu 1984). At the same time, the pleasures that people draw from music cannot be reduced entirely to contests for status. I would argue that a credible study of the roles of music in peaceful and tolerant intergroup relations requires that attention be paid to both contestations over social boundaries and the relatively straightforward enjoyment derived from musical practices.

As will be addressed later on, this monograph touches on musical genres ranging from indigenist *jatilan* and Islamic *gambus* to western-style pop and metal. However, of foremost importance are the genres of *campursari* and *jalanan*. In my field experience, *campursari* and *jalanan* often featured in discussions and events around the inner-city streets, and can therefore be seen as pervasive musical identities in Yogyakarta. In order to gain an understanding of *campursari* and *jalanan*, however, it is firstly necessary to consider the genres of gamelan, *langgam Jawa*, *kroncong* and *dangdut*.

The first of these, gamelan (from *gamel*, or ‘hammer; to beat’), refers to world-famous percussion ensembles found predominantly in Bali and Java, and in combination with singing is termed *karawitan*. Gamelan ensembles vary greatly in size, but generally consist of several kinds of ‘metal slab instruments and [tuned] knobbed gongs’ (Sutton 2009:232), and in central Java often include *suling* (flute), *rebab* (Muslim spike fiddle) and *pesinden* (female singers). Most ensembles are tuned broadly to either the ‘slendro’ or ‘pelog’ tonal systems (Lindsay 1992). This reflects a richness of musical variety in Indonesia, but also a constraint on individual villagers who might wish to collaborate musically with someone from another village. The development of *campursari* has been one means of standardising gamelan tunings, in turn both facilitating new intergroup syntheses and causing concern over cultural homogenisation (Mrázek 1999:49).

Langgam Jawa means Javanese custom or style (Echols and Shadily 1982) and, unlike gamelan, has received little scholarly attention. Generally, *langgam Jawa* is played by a soloist or in small groups, usually with pentatonic scale patterns. A major related musical genre is *kroncong* (Judith Becker 1975; Harmunah 1987; Kartomi 1998), the name being onomatopoeic of the strumming of the *cak* and *cuk* (higher and lower pitched three-string ukuleles). *Kroncong* can be seen as a variant of what Steven Feld (2003:235) terms ‘Pan-Pacific acoustic string band popular music’, but more broadly draws on five centuries of East/West interactions and influences from western Java, the former Portuguese empire,

eastern Indonesia and Hawai'i. As is the case with many forms of popular music, *kroncong* grew out of the cultural expressions of the urban poor to become an emblem of national pride (Manuel 1988). Among its most recognisable features are diasporic Portuguese mandolin, Sundanese/Betawi flute runs, a distinct guitar style, a nostalgic vocal style, and lyrical themes of love, loss and the Indonesian Independence struggle. Additionally, in Yogyakarta *kroncong* instruments and songs are often blended with *langgam Jawa* melodies and scales, and both of these are variously played on the street and included in *campursari* orchestras.⁶

Dangdut is variously associated with urban lower classes, nationalism, and an Islamic ethic.⁷ *Dangdut* arguably vies with *kroncong* as the nation's internationally best known musical genre after gamelan. Many musical elements of *dangdut* grew out of *orkestra melayu* ensembles, but broadly comprise Indian *kanerva* pattern rhythms; a tabla or a *kendang* drum (and the onomatopoeic 'ndangdut' sound of the rhythm); flutes and keyboards played with Hindu-stani-flavoured lilt, particularly as heard in Hindi film music; and heavy metal guitar.

Examining the many twists and turns of *dangdut* in the public perception is beyond the scope of this monograph, but a couple of comments are necessary. Firstly, many Indonesians have referred to *dangdut*, generally derogatorily, as 'musik kampung', meaning roughly 'hick music', in an attempt to distance themselves from the urban lower classes. On Malioboro Street, most moving cigarette and sweets traders became physically engaged each time a street group performed *dangdut* music, whereas middle-class people made a point of disparaging the genre. Yet *dangdut* was also enjoyed by an increasingly broad spectrum of Indonesian society (Perlman 1999:3), even if only in certain circumstances.

Second, many female *dangdut* singers performed with overt and at times controversial eroticism. Ceres Pioquinto (1995) has discussed this in relation to Sekaten in Surakarta, and as I witnessed in 2001, organizers of Yogyakarta's Sekaten Night Fair banned *dangdut* music, costumes, and dance styles, only for some music groups to slip sexual display back into the proceedings through *dangdut* music and mannerisms. *Dangdut* in these ways has given rise to heated public debate over Islam, gender politics, and the state. Female superstar Inul Daratista became the focal point of these

6 Philip Yampolsky (cited in Mrázek 1999:47-8) asserts that *langgam Jawa* has come to mean any *kroncong* music sung in Javanese. My interpretation here is based primarily on discussions in Yogyakarta in 2001.

7 Frederick 1982; Simatupang 1996; Lockard 1998. For an in-depth study of *dangdut* combining historical, ethnographic and musicological approaches, see Weintraub 2010.

debates across and beyond Indonesia (Heryanto 2008), and subsequent debates over a proposed anti-pornography bill brought new factors into issues of public sexuality.

Gamelan, *kroncong*, *langgam Jawa* and *dangdut* all feature in this study, especially in relation to *campursari* and *jalan-an*. *Campursari*, or ‘mixed essences’, combines gamelan ensembles with western diatonic instruments such as bass guitar, hi-tech keyboards and saxophone, and regional and national forms and instruments including *kroncong* ukuleles and *dangdut* drum (see also Mrázek 1999; Supanggah 2003; Perlman 1999). *Campursari* took central Java by storm after the release of Manthous’ first album in 1994. Manthous, who was later debilitated by a stroke and passed away in early 2012, talked about his life and explained many aspects of *campursari* to me when I stayed at his Gunung Kidul studio for a week in 2001. In addition to the largely Javanese and Indonesian aspects of his musical life, Manthous had performed in Japan several times in the early 1990s, where he met and befriended Chaka Khan, Tina Arena and others. He enjoyed a wide array of musical styles, including those of jazz musicians such as Chick Corea, but said that his number one musical idol was David Foster of the band Chicago.



Manthous in his Gunung Kidul recording studio



Manthous' Campur Sari Gunung Kidul (CSGK) orchestra



Campursari orchestra at a kampung Independence Day event

Manthous contended that, while several people had experimented with gamelan and western diatonic scales (compare Supanggah 2003:1-3), he was the first to do so successfully. He also explained that a *campursari* composer remixed existing melodies, often drawing strongly on *kroncong*, *dangdut* and other genres. He suggested that as far back as the 1930s *langgam Jawa* lyrics contained love themes, and that *kroncong* lyrics celebrated the beauty of flowers and of love. These were ‘the seniors’ of *campursari*, he said, but *campursari* also added humour. By 2001, according to Manthous, there were around 400 *campursari* orchestras in the region. In the same period, I noticed that many people less familiar with the *campursari* genre used the term as a catchword to denote the combining of any otherwise largely discrete genres. While the experts generally associated *campursari* with the numerous orchestras in the region, the label was nonetheless complicated by the fact that many *campursari* songs were slightly modified versions of earlier *langgam Jawa* and related folk tunes. Quite often, enthusiasts called such a song *campursari* even if it was played on solo guitar.

Of particular significance to this study, it is difficult to exaggerate the levels of enthusiasm for all things *campursari* exhibited by the *becak* drivers I encountered in Yogyakarta. By contrast, urban-based tourist street guides and university students generally had little time for *campursari*, instead favouring more westernised popular music and, in some cases, *wayang kulit* (Javanese shadow puppets). I take up this divergence of musical tastes in the following chapters. A variation on this divergence was the occasional elderly street worker who lamented that *campursari* was promoting boisterous audience participation, and then harked back to days when audiences apparently sat still and watched the wayang while listening to the gamelan ensemble. These examples provide clear evidence of links between musical taste and social groupings. More ambiguously, *campursari* gave rise to interesting tensions and accommodations with *dangdut* at kampung events, particularly when increasing *dangdut*-isation signalled a shift into more sexualised lead performance and audience participation.

Finally, *musik jalanan* (street music) was, according to many of its affiliates, any music played on the street that was relatively free from rules and regulations. In practice however, many people did not apply the term *jalanan* to the *campursari* subgenres that buskers often played on the streets. Instead, in their usage the term referred to the urban-oriented, western-influenced and often politically oppositional folk/rock developed by Iwan Fals, Sawung Jabo, the Kelompok Penyanyi Jalanan (Streetside Singing Group) and

others. *Jalanan* music can therefore be conceptualised along a spectrum, as follows.

At one end, borrowing from Craig Lockard (1998), is what I would call folk/rock. In particular, figures such as Iwan Fals had long raised the profile of the politically oppositional guitar-playing balladeer, such that this form and style of playing became very popular through the 1980s and 1990s (see also Baulch 2007). But so-called ‘photocopy’ cover versions of songs such as Pink Floyd’s ‘Another brick in the wall’ could also be considered *musik jalanan* if played on the street. In this study, it is the street guides, and to some extent university students, who identified with, played, sang and listened to various strands of folk/rock, in contrast to other street workers such as *becak* drivers, who expressed little interest in it. At the other end of the spectrum, the *musik jalanan* term was occasionally applied to music of the street buskers, much of which was *kroncong*, *langgam Jawa*, *karawitan* and related genres constitutive of *campursari*.

A number of *musik jalanan* groups on Malioboro Street drew on yet other musical elements and cultural influences. Members of the Malioboro Arts Community were not openly disparaging of the *kroncong*- and *langgam*-playing buskers, but they rarely played these musics themselves. Although they sometimes played heavy metal or rock classics, the music that enjoyed greatest prominence in this circle constituted a distinct category. Like *campursari* players, many *jalanan* performers combined ‘Javanese’, ‘western’ and other elements and associations, but they did so in markedly different ways. Guitars were more prominent, for example, yet some of the scales,



Folk/rock-influenced *jalanan*; roaming buskers (*pengamen*) (1988)



Iwan Fals fans



KPJM (Kelompok Penyanyi Jalanan Malioboro)

rhythms, instruments and/or lyrical themes employed were consciously Javanese and/or Indonesian.⁸

There were also street groups such as Jagongan, who played in the Islamic *qasidah* format that usually involves singing in Arabic to the accompaniment of a *gambus* orchestra but here drew on Indonesian language and 'Javanised' percussion. Finally, the *jalanan* performer most popular among street children and guides – but less so among *becak* drivers – was Pak Sujud Sutrisno, a wandering *kendang* (drum) player who had been singing humorous and topical lyrics since the mid-1960s (Body 1982).

Jalanan, as with 'street' in English, is an adjective applied not only to music but also to homeless people, especially children and youth (*anak jalanan*; street child). The numbers of homeless children in urban Java rose sharply after the onset of the economic crisis in 1997 (*Street children* 2005). Street music legend Sawung Jabo told me that people on the street in Yogyakarta freely shared their knowledge and possessions. Owning a guitar was a privilege beyond the reach of many people, he added, but 'open house, open mind' attitudes meant that music was a unifying and mutually supportive activity. The term *musik jalanan* generally applied to the politically conscious musics that arose from these street-based social groups. Like *campursari*, the term was used around Malioboro Street with such frequency that it could be said to signify a subcultural identity. My main respondent explained the rise of *musik jalanan* as follows:

In the early 1980s, the formation of a group named the Streetside Singing Group (KPJ) shifted the *jalanan* term away from applying solely to the homeless. KPJ first arose in Jakarta, inspired by the pop novel series *Ali Topan anak jalanan*. Ali Topan was a young man from a broken home. Although his parents were very wealthy, he chose life on the street with stallholders, street vendors and buskers. He was very heroic, defended the weak, and sometimes when weary would lean against his trail bike on the roadside just to play harmonica with the few street musicians around at the time.

KPJM (KPJ Malioboro) formed in Yogyakarta some years later, and is credited with having formed a creative umbrella organization for friends on the street who needed an escape from family stress and other problems. For these people, socialising together on the street built a strong sense of unity. Sometimes they made

8 Some of the senior proponents of these Java-inflected variants of *musik jalanan* were former members of the Bengkel theatre group (Curtis 1997). See also M. Dwi Mariantio 2001.

their own rules, which many people valued highly. These were the roots of gangsterism (*premanisme*), but fortunately KPJM had something positive: the public performance of music. Even now, the wider community still consider the street arts as second rate – this is because of the prevailing image that street life is rough. People on the street are often determined to do almost anything, without fear of consequences!

KPJM are able to resolve most intergroup problems that arise around the arts on Malioboro. Our organization was initially considered a nightmare to society. However, step by step KPJM's good work of helping people to share each other's burdens and cares, and of helping those around them struck by difficulties, these efforts gradually increased the community's sympathies. Nowadays many groups readily queue up to become part of KPJM. Because of this, KPJM has formed a more flexible umbrella organization, one able to harness community energies toward the street arts. This is the Malioboro Arts Community, which to this day is still running strong.

Musik jalanan was therefore derived as much from a quest for public solidarity as from sympathy for, or expression by, the homeless. The Pajeksan area near Malioboro Street was the Malioboro Arts Community's main base. Here the Community and friends and associates socialised and organized musical events and welfare activities, often in cooperation with Humana (Girli) and other organizations (Berman 1994). Malioboro Arts Community members such as Tyas, Kenyeot and Jasmati, who were central to the organization of many of the performances to be discussed, held formal roles such as 'coordination', 'research and development' and 'culture'. It is these members, and a number of their associates, that I sometimes refer to generically as 'street-arts leaders'. By contrast, other figures such as Yanto and Visnu were friends with some of the Malioboro Arts Community leaders, but they were influential in politicised manifestations of the largely separate world of *campursari*.

Musical genres can never be determined solely by objective criteria, even with the use of digital-precision measurements (Pachet, Roy and Cazaly 2000). In the case of Indonesia, Geertz (1960:304) noted that 'many Mojokerto people refer to all popular songs as "*krontjongs*". I also noticed a similar tendency around Indonesian Independence Day in Yogyakarta, indicating that the naming of a genre sometimes had more to do with the broader social and political context than its specific musical elements. At the same time,

while the musical dimensions and lyrical themes of mainstream *dangdut* had not shifted significantly over the recent decades, by many accounts the status of being associated with it certainly had. In other words, in the Independence period each year, many people expanded the term *kroncong* to draw numerous musics into the history of the nationalist struggle; on the other hand, while arguably the concert and recorded versions of most *dangdut* music remained relatively static over the course of two decades, the class base of its followers shifted.

In addition to these shifting and ambiguous articulations of musical taste and social affiliation, more often than not the music itself was a combination of recognisable parts of the various genres. To cite a few examples, *dangdut* songs were performed street style, pop songs in the *dangdut* style, *kroncong* songs played as *karawitan*. These various forms were some combination of conscious style decision, response to audience requests, and other factors such as instrument availability and shared repertoire. In the following chapters I refer to these cases and to published works on popular music in Indonesia, and use Bourdieu and alternative perspectives I have devised as a means to better understand the roles of music in peaceful social relations in early post-Soeharto Yogyakarta.

THEORY AND CONCEPTS

This monograph draws on social identity issues and concepts modified from those of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and seeks to critically engage these with specifically Javanese/Indonesian and musical ones. A number of social scientists have formulated understandings of identification and social identity, each of which in varying ways helps to locate living social interactions within the power structures that influence them. Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979) for example have theorized group formation and conflict in social-psychological terms, and Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (1984), somewhat like Bourdieu's *habitus*, seeks to conceptualise ways in which social structures and rules both govern and are influenced by human actions. In this study, I discuss social identity by relating three of Bourdieu's key concepts to interplays between spatially defined cultural spheres, musical genres and social relations such as class, gender and nation.

Loïc Wacquant notes that researchers using Bourdieu's work have tended to concentrate on the concept or work associated with their own discipline, and as a result often misread his

wider logic (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:4-5). In response to this, I engage with his concepts of capital, *habitus* and fields in a 'traditional city'. As will be further discussed, Bourdieu sees capital as a source of power and domination that includes but is not restricted to its economic dimensions; *habitus* as a means to identify connections between social structure and habituated behaviour; and fields as the arenas where struggles over particular stakes (or capital) take place. These concepts, as mobilised by Bourdieu, provide helpful tools for understanding musical identities. They focus attention on seemingly disparate phenomena such as everyday social strategising, bodily movements and socially embedded power structures.

However, in order to conceptualise how music helps to promote intergroup appreciation and tolerance in the midst of power struggles and contestation, for a number of reasons I have felt it necessary to modify Bourdieu's theories. Firstly, while his work serves to dispel romantic notions of the peaceful benevolence of phenomena such as music and of intergroup relations in countries such as Indonesia, it fails to adequately capture the simple acts of cooperation that also coexist with or challenge relations of domination. Second, Bourdieu's approach does not adequately allow for the debates that centre on cultural globalisation, popular culture, cosmopolitanism and hybridity, each of which encourage greater attention to cross-cultural interaction and domination than allowed by Bourdieu.⁹ Inda and Rosaldo (2002) highlight how cultural imperialism proponents tend to see consumers as passive; globalisation as simply culture flows from 'the West' to 'the rest'; and they neglect culture flows that circumnavigate the West. And discussions of hybridity can challenge essentialist categories on both sides of the cultural imperialism debate (Bhabha 1994; Nederveen Pieterse 2004). While Bourdieu remains useful for maintaining focus on the often-disguised power dimensions that influence social life, his concepts are arguably of limited use in light of such post-colonial and anthropology of globalisation arguments.

Third, while Craig Calhoun (2002) points out that Bourdieu's writing style presents special difficulties for English readers, it remains the case that most of his writing is especially dense and his means of drawing on particular individuals and situations stilted.¹⁰ At the other extreme, the texts of adventurers, travellers, pilgrims, artists and reporters are in many cases lively and widely accessible,

9 Palumbo-Liu and Gumbrecht 1997; Couldry 2004; Craig and King 2002.

10 Notable exceptions to this include Bourdieu 1977:97-109, 1979, 1998; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:62-260.

but on ethical or epistemological grounds have long troubled anthropologists and social theorists (MacClancy and McDonough 1996). Sitting somewhere in the middle, ethnographic narrative as a mode of representation can arguably provide a relatively accessible and appealing means of discussing academic ideas. Several examples in the areas of urban, Indonesian and/or musical youth cultures provide useful models in this regard.¹¹

Finally, while Bourdieu has been instrumental in bringing ‘the body’ into social science research, developments in sensorial ethnography provide additional scope for conceptualising contest and cooperation. This is a matter I explore in relation to *habitus* in Part Two. As David Howes (1990) notes, debates over the status and credibility of ethnographic knowledge have been premised on the shift from Geertz’s ‘culture as texts’ (for example, 1973:412-53) to the ‘interplay of voices’ as exemplified by James Clifford and George Marcus (1986) and many post-colonial theorists. As far back as 1990, Howes argued that this shift from ‘text-centred’ to ‘speech-centred’ anthropology remained fixed within a ‘verbocentric’ framework, thus reinforcing anthropologists’ engagements with literary conventions while downplaying ‘bodily modes of knowing, and the place of the body in the mind’ (Howes 1990:3-4). Related research on hearing is especially relevant for the current study (Bull and Back 2003; Erlmann 2004).

The modified and/or alternative concepts I seek to develop in the following chapters are intended to problematise the reduction of all social interaction to contests over capital, which is a tendency of Bourdieu’s approach. These alternative concepts are: inter-group social capital, which includes the community resources generated through social activities that facilitate cooperation between groups; musical physicalisation, this being the physical movements that arise through music and their influences on gender relations; and grounded cosmopolitanism, an openness to cultural difference reinforced by both a sense of place and a resistance to bureaucratic forces. I use these alternative concepts to better allow for human motivation that includes, but is not restricted to, quests for gain in arenas of contestation. At the same time, I have taken Bourdieu as integral to the process of producing depictions of social and musical life in Yogyakarta that incorporate tension and harmony, out of which a richer understanding of social relations and identity in Indonesia might be reached.

11 Zorbaugh 1929; Whyte 1943; Geertz 1960; Cowan 1990; Murray 1991; Diehl 2002; Meintjes 2003; Nayak 2003.

RESEARCH METHODS

On a visit to Yogyakarta in mid-2000 I made and renewed social contacts and attended as many performances as I could. During this period I established most of the relationships that were to guide my research the following year. A chain of people, from linguist Laine Berman to her tattooist partner and on to the founder of an education centre for street children, led me to leaders of the Malioboro Arts Community and music groups such as KPJM, Kubro Glow, and Tombo Sutris. In particular, Tyas was to become both a close friend and a vital source of local insight and contacts. Separate to the Malioboro community, Indonesian scholar Umar Muslim suggested I visit Sanggar Olah Seni Indonesia music school, where I subsequently took guitar lessons over several months with a son of the late nationalist composer Koesbini. University contacts at Gadjah Mada and elsewhere were also important in terms of learning about musical performances and sharing experiences and ideas.

During the main fieldwork period, from April to October 2001, I talked about music with hundreds of people, mostly in Indonesian. These discussions took place incidentally at tea stalls and elsewhere, and through interviews with band managers, musicians, radio announcers and others. I also gathered written literature from universities, newspaper and government offices, and around the street, and bought or was given cassettes from shops and stalls. Through the assistance of the Malioboro Arts Community and other bodies and individuals, I also met and spent time with prominent musicians such as Sawung Jabo, Manthous and Iwan Fals, along with their lesser-known colleagues Untung Basuki, Amien Kamil and Bram Makahekum.

While discussion about music was important to the research, more generally I sought to keep an ear attuned to the sounds of daily life and the music of street buskers. More central still were the dozens of musical events that I attended. These took place in a range of settings and with various themes, often with several acts at each. I learned of events through inquiring, being informed or chancing across sound or signage, and then observed musical acts and audience characteristics, recorded samples, talked with people and gathered paraphernalia.

In a small 'manbag' I carried a notebook, basic camera, wallet and room key (but not a hand phone), and also a minidisc recorder on which I recorded around a thousand minutes on hundreds of tracks. In each case I held the small microphone high into the air,

both to maximise sound quality and for the ethical reason of not wishing to record secretly. Back in my room, I wrote my notes and recollections in prose form onto a laptop and edited and logged the recordings. The recordings helped me to analyse sonic dimensions of events and settings. I also participated as a musician in group rehearsals and performances, and gave and received music lessons of varying formality.

I resided in a comfortable homestay in the inner-city Sosrowijayan kampung, a highly concentrated and culturally diverse but quiet neighbourhood next to Malioboro Street. Most of the tourist street guides and *becak* drivers that I came to know were based here, as were many restaurant workers, domestic tourists, and others. Often after retiring for the night in Sosrowijayan, only to wake up a few hours later, I took the short walk to the nearby Prada eatery. This produced late-night musical data, and involved me in the 'stay up all night' (*begadang*) lifestyle of musicians and others. I had a bicycle, and generally travelled beyond the inner city on the back of fellow music enthusiasts' motorcycles. In mid-2005, I returned to Yogyakarta for a couple of weeks, and have visited a number of times since then. This has enabled me to revisit and reflect on many of the people, places and events that were central to the fieldwork in 2000-2001.

In practically all cases during the field research, music proved to be an agreeable topic of conversation or activity, and to my knowledge rarely became a source of displeasure or delicate cultural sensitivity among respondents and participants. As I discuss further in relation to particular cases, the presence of a westerner undoubtedly exerted an influence on some performances. However, residing in a backpacker area and focusing on guitars and a range of popular musics also enabled me to blend into the general landscape.¹² In addition, being a musician meant that I could both observe and participate in musical events as performer, teacher, student, and audience member. Participating in musical activities around the city streets seemed to facilitate the kind of common ground and experience that might have been difficult if the focus was, for example, religion and politics, or even traditional theatre.

In the process of mapping out and attempting to schematize all of the recordings and field notes, patterns began to form in terms of correlations between where events took place, who was involved, the stated and actual themes dominating proceedings, the genres

¹² 'The performance and reception of guitar music exemplifies the interplay between local and global cultures' (Dawe and Bennett 2001:2).

that featured and when, and so on. At the same time, Bourdieu's central ideas, while at first difficult to penetrate, proved a most useful way to relate the empirical material to wider issues and debates. As mentioned above, the modified versions of capital, *habitus* and fields in turn emerged from a felt need to understand Indonesian social relations through a framework that addresses questions of power and domination and at the same time identifies pleasure and goodwill.

OVERVIEW

The mode of presentation in this book combines what Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) term analytic arguments and thematic narratives. I introduce and conclude the three parts with analytical arguments (at times with vignettes from the field), while in the chapters I present the various cases through thematic narratives. The musical performances I discuss begin with impromptu, informal, non-stage music making, and then move through to planned, large-scale events that involved numerous performers, audiences, organizers and sponsors. Part One focuses on neighbourhood relations and informal performances, particularly among street guides and *becak* drivers, while Parts Two and Three focus on larger-scale performances, most of which were open to the public, and analyse their organizational and thematic aspects.¹³ The settings for the large-scale music performances range from neighbourhoods and commercial venues to the state institutions of the regional parliament, military institutions, universities and the Sultan's Palace. Event themes range from routine evening entertainment, to birthdays and circumcision rituals, through to those of national commemoration or regional religious significance. In this framework, discussion of musical performances moves broadly from street-level sociality to cultural representations and the institutions of power.

The analysis begins with the musical tastes and practices of two occupational groups: firstly, *becak* drivers and *campursari* music; and second, street guides and *musik jalanan*. I then investigate a wide range of music performances in the context of all of the above

13 A number of musical events that I documented during the research are not included in this study, as I was not able to fit them into the analytical model I developed. These include the Yogyakarta Gamelan Festival, the launching of Java Tattoo Club, and (to be discussed elsewhere) several events at the Sultan's Palace.

variables, and in the Conclusion return to variations on these two groups, this time through music performances at the Sultan's Palace. I begin the study with a discussion of how each group orientated themselves around and acted on ideas of the local, regional, national and global. I return to this at the end, and confirm the sense that the groups indeed diverged in significant respects. Both supported, identified with, and had expertise on the region, Yogyakarta, as exemplified by their attendance at, and commentary on, events at the Sultan's Palace. However, the groups most closely identified with what might be called 'self-sustaining regionalism' and 'grounded cosmopolitanism' respectively. These characteristics can to some extent be seen as variants of traditionalism and modernism, but my more central aim is to explain the two groups' divergent yet peaceful coexistence through the interplay of the main variables discussed in the conclusion: the Sultan's Palace, the bureaucratic field, and grounded cosmopolitanism.

In the table below, the three parts are represented in rows, with two sets of variables in columns. The first of these variables is the performance setting; the second set combines aspects of identity and power with musical and social dimensions characterised by pleasure, cooperation, and appreciation that emerged amidst, or even in opposition to, prevailing hierarchies and relations of domination. I identify correlations between, on the one hand, these setting/context and power/identity variables, and on the other the musical genres and social groups that weaved horizontally through them.

	Setting(s)	Aspect of identity	Power dimension (Bourdieu)	Other dimension
Part One >	Street	Class / Status	Capital	Inter-group Social capital (Cooperation)
Part Two >	Commercial Venue / Neighbourhood	Gender	Habitus	Physicalisation (Pleasure / Agency)
Part Three >	State institutions	Nation	Bureaucratic field	Grounded Cosmopolitanism (Intercultural appreciation)

Table 1. Overview of the book

In Part One, I focus on the musical tastes and practices of street-based workers, and analyse how these influence connections and boundaries among and between the workers. Bourdieu's concept of social capital is modified in order to identify in- and inter-group social capital and spatial variants of cultural capital that underpin the everyday roles of music in nonviolent cooperation. In Part Two, I analyse physical manifestations at musical events in neighbourhoods and commercial venues, and discuss how these reflect and influence gender and class differentiations in these settings. Here Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* helps to identify the influential role of patriarchal social structures on habituated physical movements, but this is also problematised in light of the ways in which gender and other social boundaries are negotiated and contested in situations of intensified musical physicality. In Part Three, I discuss music performances at state institutions, engage Bourdieu's concept of the bureaucratic field with that of grounded cosmopolitanism, and through these seek to demonstrate how much of the populace was both caught up in political forces and continued to interact with openness and goodwill. Through this framework, I attempt to construct a model that identifies and schematizes links between music, social identity and power in the maintenance of peaceful intergroup relations in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.