Young Indonesian Musicians:
Making the Transition to Adulthood through
Entrepreneurial Activities and Mobility

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Declarations

Statement of Originality

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University’s Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

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Abstract

This thesis broadly explores the experiences of youth transition in the context of urban life in contemporary Indonesia. Specifically, the subject of this study is represented by young creative musicians who occupy a middle position between spectacular and ordinary young people. Located in Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali, this study applied qualitative methods, specifically using participant observation and in-depth interviews as strategies to collect data.

In order to address the key questions of this study, the theoretical perspectives of four social theorists: Karl Mannheim, Pierre Bourdieu, John Urry and Ulrich Beck were selected. Mannheim’s theory of the generations is useful for this study because the young musicians are located as a distinct generation in the post-reform era in Indonesia where the socio-cultural and political conditions are distinctive compared to the youth generations prior to 1998. Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts are useful as tools to investigate the specific fields in which the practices of young musicians unfold, the habitus they manifest within those fields, and their strategies in those fields. Bourdieu’s work is also useful for understanding the valuable forms of capital that young musicians have to accumulate in order to struggle and achieve a successful career. An important form of symbolic capital in the context of the network society is what Urry described as network capital.

Finally, the work of Ulrich Beck is useful. The changing socioeconomic context in the post-reform era means that young musicians have to deal with the shift into neo-liberalism as Indonesia becomes ever more closely aligned with the structural and cultural forces of globalization. These conditions make the concept of risk society and the individualization thesis of Beck seem relevant. Young musicians have to deal with new kinds of risk and they also have to actively negotiate as individuals in order to successfully make the transition to adulthood.
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Research Aims and Questions

This thesis project is framed in relation to two objectives:

1) To discover how young creative musicians seek and create jobs in three locations in Indonesia

2) To investigate how young creative musicians view the future.

Based on the research objectives, this project aims to answer the following research questions:

1) What are the most common employment seeking strategies of young creative musicians?

2) Does this differ between the three locations in Indonesia (Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Bali)?

3) What kinds of skills and entrepreneurial capacities do young creative musicians in the three locations develop through:
   a) Mobility
   b) Social networking

4) What are the hopes and ambitions of these young creative musicians?

1.1 Introduction

This thesis broadly explores the experiences of youth transition in the context of urban life in contemporary Indonesia. Specifically, the subject of this study is represented
by young creative musicians\(^1\) who occupy a middle position between spectacular and ordinary young people. This thesis applies a Bourdieusian framework as the primary theoretical source. The insight of Karl Mannheim, Ulrich Beck and John Urry are synthesised with the Bourdieusian framework to create a mode of theoretical interpretation that is relevant for the context of young people in Indonesia. This thesis also serves as an empirical exemplar for an agenda of bridging the gap between youth transition and youth culture (Furlong, Wyn and Woodman 2011; Woodman and Bennett 2015) in the context of the Global South (Nilan 2011). Youth as a subject of study is always in the process of contestation not only in terms of knowledge production but also in everyday life as experienced subjectively by young people themselves. Contestation arises from the plurality and multiple realities of young people’s lives in the Global North and the Global South. Furthermore, youth experience constant struggles of power that are not only manifested in the form of market and governmental control (Kelly 2006), generational conflict (Wyn and Woodman 2006), and global inequalities (Beck 1992) but also in the potentiality of resistance through youth culture (Blackman 2005) as well as the fluid identities of individuals (Bennett 1999). These complexities implicitly show that youth is really ‘just a word’ (Bourdieu 1993) and that the term youth has no fixed meaning. So it is important to position this study in the spirit of awareness of multiple narratives of youth based on their socio-cultural contexts. The following discussion outlines some key knowledge productions and debates in the field of youth studies in general and youth studies in Indonesia. Moreover, the discussion will explore the contextualization of these debates based on everyday experiences of youth transition in Indonesia.

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\(^1\) In this thesis, the term young creative musicians refer to young musicians who play both original music and covers interchangeably. They do this to remain creative while earning an income from gigs.
1.2 Youth Transitions

Youth as a product of knowledge contestation has various meanings as explored by many youth scholars. Jones (2009) identifies an ambiguity in his review of the concept of youth. Youth is both celebrated and deplored; young people are depicted as both heroes and villains. Nasikun (2005) picks up the contrasting themes of the tonic and toxic potentialities of youth. Bayat and Herrera (2010) point out that youth as an age category bears an essential biological attribute. Governments use this latter sense of youth. For example, the Indonesian youth law (Undang-Undang Kepemudaan No. 40 tahun 2009 pasal 1 ayat 1) defines youth as a person who is aged 16-30 years. However, the United Nations categorizes youth as persons aged 15-24 years. Other countries in Asia define different upper limits for the category of youth, for example, up to 25 years in Thailand, up to 30 years in India, and up to 40 years in Vietnam, Papua New Guinea and Malaysia (Naafs and White 2012). It seems that rather than a scientific category, the definition of youth depends on political reasons that governments use to make the categorization. According to White and Wyn (1998) age as an indicator to explain youth belongs in what they call a deterministic approach:

Deterministic approaches to study young people share one common assumption: that youth is primarily an age category and by that definition, young people have more in common with each other than they do with adults (White and Wyn 1998, p. 319).

In this approach, physiology and psychology are the main indicators that differentiate between youth and adulthood. The determinist approach does not highlight the
potentiality of youth in terms of agency. In fact, youth is often just viewed as an object of policy.

Bayat and Herrera’s (2010) second definition of youth is as a sociological or constructed category (see also Jones 2009). The term youth is often used to denote a person in the same way as ‘child or adult’ in the developmental stages from childhood to adulthood, yet youth is a modern category of person that did not exist in historical times when life spans were much shorter. Now though, there are three stages: child-youth-adult. A person moves through the three stages as they age. The move from youth to adult is defined as youth transition(s). There are three core domains of successful transition: education, work and marriage. Furlong and Cartmel (2007) define these as: school to work transitions, domestic transitions and housing transitions. However, Naafs and White (2012) explain transition as the move from child to adult, from education to employment, from family of origin to family of destination. This implies youth as a transitional stage in itself. To explain youth transitions, Arnett (2007) proposes emerging adulthood theory, where emerging adulthood is characterized by a period of identity exploration, self-focus, instability, optimism, and the feeling of in-between. In the process of identity exploration, young people exercise a measure of autonomy over their life choices, and which alternatives fit best for them. Arnett’s perspective bears comparison with the voluntaristic model (White and Wyn 1998) where transition is seen as simply a matter of individual choices. White and Wyn (2008), summarizing previous studies about youth transition, explain that it implicitly conceptualizes youth as simply a transitional stage of life. Many studies conflate youth developmental process with social process and generally assume a linear trajectory, while making normative assumptions about young people’s lives. However, the transitions approach fails to capture the complexity of youth transition
experiences in the context of rapid social changes (Wyn and Woodman 2006; Woodman and Wyn 2015).

According to France (2007), the major structural changes in labour markets and opportunities have brought about a restructuring of how young people move from school into work. Taking a transitions perspective should therefore not just analyse the micro aspect of youth development but relate it to the macro level of structural change. As explained by Saraswathi and Larson (2002) as well as Blossfield et al. (2007), there have been significant social and economic changes as a result of globalization that have largely influenced how most present-day youth are experiencing their transition to adulthood; they are facing multiple pathways into adulthood. Youth in the present day experience a different reality to previous generations, because life pathways are no longer as fixed as before. This is similar to the explanation from Galland (2007) who identifies external factors (such as the economic and institutional situation and the politics of company employment practices) which lead to a developing insecurity for this age group as a whole. It results in a cultural transformation of the entry mechanism to adult life that is specific to this age group. In other outcomes of various structural and cultural changes, young people’s transition experiences have been prolonged (Naafs and White 2012), have become protracted, increasingly fragmented and less predictable (Furlong and Cartmel 2007), and show increasing uncertainty and fragmentation (Threadgold and Nilan 2009). In short, the lives of young people in many Western countries now show ‘increasingly prolonged, decoupled transitions between education and work, dating and mating, and childhood and adulthood’ (Côté 2000). In Southeast Asia, according to Maria (2002) this same process began around the 1980s (see also Naafs and White 2012).

To understand youth transitions, it useful to locate youth within the dialectical relationship between structure and agency (Giddens 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant
1992), rather than treating youth as a human subject who is free to choose their future, such as in the voluntaristic model (White and Wyn 1998). To make the transition to adult life, young people develop strategies and tactics that are influenced by circumstances and power relations (France 2007), even while class and gender remain important influences (Jones 2009; Woodman and Wyn 2015; France and Roberts 2015). Young people themselves identify the importance of social locations, personal circumstances, family structures and personal relationships in influencing their journey to adulthood (France 2007). In the area of youth studies, previous debates have taken places between youth sociologists on the usefulness of Beck’s theoretical perspective for a choice biographies approach (see Woodman 2009; Roberts 2010, 2012). The debate has included the ‘middle ground’ approach which applies a Bourdieusian framework (Threadgold 2011). Youth as a part of society are always embedded in their socio-cultural context; in relation to generation (Mannheim 1952), in relation to state and market (Azca and Rahadianto 2011), in relation to late modernity (Giddens 1990) and relevant to the global power relations between the North/metropole and South/periphery countries (see Connell 2007). Different contexts give rise to different understandings and practices of transition (France 2007). Furthermore, the recent agenda of bridging the gap between youth transition and youth culture studies suggests the importance of a social generation perspective (Furlong, Wyn and Woodman 2011). It also encourages embeddedness in the broader conceptualization of the times and spaces of young live (Woodman and Bennett 2015, p. 187).

1.3 Youth Studies in Indonesia

Youth have been studied in Indonesia by Indonesian scholars, but not usually in their own right. As Azca and Rahadianto (2012) acknowledge, as a subject of study in
Indonesia, youth are in a uniquely marginal position. Even though youth as political subjects have always played an important role in the country, as an academic subject of study youth have been only accessories for population studies, development studies and studies of criminality, sexuality, and so on. Naafs and White (2012) confirm that youth studies in Indonesia has had a strong focus on youth ‘defectology’ – what’s wrong with the nation’s youth, what needs to be ‘fixed’ – or as an intended contribution to policy. This prior trend was confirmed in the speech of the previous Indonesian Youth and Sports Minister in 2011 (Azca et al. 2011) who stated that until now Indonesia has not had comprehensive studies of youth per se as the basis for creating youth policy. It is possible the New Order regime aimed to weaken youth as an active subject in politics, by treating them only as consumers (Trijono and Djalong 2011) and objects of development.

Previous studies of Indonesian youth in their own right have been conducted by social scientists from both Indonesia and outside Indonesia. Looking at political aspects, Ryter (2002) and Kadir (2011) investigated young gangsters in the national and local sphere. Suryadinata (1978) studied the pre-war youth movement, while Dhakidae (2011) studied youth and politics in the early independence movement (see also Achdian 2011; Anderson 1988; Shiraishi 1997). Control of the bodies of young people during the New Order regime has also been studied (Wiratma 2010). Youth and health issues have been researched by Holzner and Utomo (2004) and Purdy (2006). Elsewhere, youth language was studied by Loir and Collins (1984), as well as by Smith-Heffner (2007) who has written on youth and gaul sociability as a symbol of modernity. She also considered change of marriage patterns among Javanese youth (Smith-Heffner 2005). Nilan (2008) studied youth transitions in Indonesia, Nilan et al. (2011) studied the hopes, ambitions and obstacles of young people in Indonesian, and Parker and Nilan (2013) explained the situation of the adolescent in contemporary Indonesia.
The proposed project will add to this corpus of objective studies of youth in their own right by looking at the mobility and entrepreneurship of alternative under-employed youth in Indonesia who are creative musicians. Relevant studies here include Martin-Iverson (2012) on youth and underground music in Bandung, and also *Do It Yourself Culture* studied by Luvaas (2009). Paramaditha (2011) explored the cultural practices of the youth generation of 1998. Nilan (2006) has written on the hybrid popular cultures of Muslim youth in Indonesia. Minza (2011) explored the transition process among youth in Pontianak, Borneo, while the student researcher himself (Sutopo 2011) studied mobility among young jazz musicians in Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali. This current project expands on that earlier project to look at entrepreneurship and mobility together.

Azca et. al (2011) emphasize the importance of repositioning the perspective on youth in Indonesia from pathology to agency. This repositioning means that a young person can be treated as an active agent who can choose and act critically. This project is part of that repositioning endeavour. It aims to construct alternative knowledge to challenge the state dominant discourse of youth as a form of deviance. By ‘active agent’ it does not mean that youth can choose freely but they are in a dialectical relationship with the socio-cultural context surrounding them. Taking up both propositions, this project offers a comprehensive challenge to the conventional perspective of regarding youth transitions in Indonesia, as well as telling us much more about the potential of youth entrepreneurship.

1.4 Music and Musicians in Indonesia: A Brief Overview

Previous studies about music have been conducted by social scientists from both Indonesia and outside Indonesia, within various disciplines ranging from ethnomusicology to sociology. Studies have included diverse genres of music, for
example: *kroncong* (Becker 1975), *campursari* (Supanggah 2003), *dangdut* (Frederick 1982; Weintraub 2011), pop (Yampolsky 1989; Lockard 1998; Barendregt and Zanten 2002), death metal (Baulch 2003), underground (Wallach 2005, 2008; Martin-Iverson 2012), contemporary (Miller 2008), indie (Luvaas 2009), rap (Bodden 2005), rock (Mulyadi 1999) and jazz (Nugroho 2003; Sutopo 2010, 2011, 2012a and 2012b). Some of the previous studies are more concentrated on the music itself (Becker 1975; Supanggah 2003), while some of them are more focused on political aspects related to the state (Mulyadi 1999; Bodden 2005; Weintraub 2011). Other studies have examined the impact of globalization/social changes on music (Nugroho 2003; Barendregt and Zanten, 2002; Wallach 2005; Miller 2008; Sutopo 2012a) or have treated particular music genres as a sign of identity (Baulch 2003; Sutopo 2012b). However, even though the subject of music might be related to youth, youth have been mainly treated as a subsidiary topic in previous studies of music in Indonesia. Exceptions include studies by Luvaas (2009), Martin-Iverson (2012) and Sutopo (2011) who all treated young musicians as the main subject.

Notably, during the New Order, the practice of being a musician was under debate as to whether it was a hobby or a professional job (Mulyadi 1999). During the 1970s-1980s being a musician was considered as a hobby, so there were few financial gain implications (Mulyadi 1999). However, post-1980s the music industry grew progressively. There was increasing production of music albums and more music festivals. This period also saw an increasing role of national television (TVRI) to promote the music industry in Indonesia. More recently, private television channels and MTV have taken an important role in popularizing not just western music but also national music (for example MTV’s *Salam Dangdut*). Yet despite the music industry increasing rapidly, until now there has been no consensus about the status of musician as a profession. The
government acknowledges it as a labour sector of the creative industries. As a result, becoming a musician still means a ‘fragile’ position whether in the present or the future, compared with other professional careers. In summary, the academic study of musicians, especially young musicians, is still rare in Indonesia. There are some books about musicians but usually they deal with the popular biography of famous musician(s) with the content distorted by economic interest. This project tries to fill that space by conducting a doctoral study of young creative musicians who are moving through the transition to adulthood and trying to create viable livelihoods for themselves in cultural and creative industries.

1.5 Situating This Research in the Indonesian Context

1.5.1 The context of youth entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship itself is not a new word in the context of Indonesia. After the change of regime from Soekarno (the Old Order) to Soeharto (the New Order), the agenda of development in Indonesia was directed to development. This was based on an ideology of capitalism and modernization. This development plan adopted the non-communist manifesto by W.W Rostow about the stages of economic growth from traditional to high consumption and also implemented McLelland’s idea about the need for achievements (Sutopo 2012c). This concept of evolutionary stages of economic development became the momentum for an ethics of capitalism in modern Indonesia similar to that originally described by Weber (1958). That kind of capitalist ethics on the one side has a positive impact, especially in its capability to push economic activities. However, on the other side, the strengthening of social class division and dependence on close relations with powerful political leaders (patron and client relationship) become the main factors for success in business. To push economic growth, the New Order regime implemented
socio-cultural engineering to create national stability. A military-based violent approach was often used to maintain social order and remove political opposition.

The New Order regime ruled for 32 years, but became unstable when a severe economic crisis occurred in Southeast Asia in early 1997. Unable to offer a solution and under pressure of mass protests, Soeharto stepped down in 1998. Over the next few years, democracy slowly emerged in Indonesia. In a global context, this trend of democratization did not just happen in Indonesia, but also in Latin America, Asia and several countries in the Global South. This is what Huntington (1992) calls the third wave of democratization.

Politically, Indonesia enjoyed more openness in public information, debates and freedom of expression. However, in the economic arena the era of reform saw a shift to neoliberalism, of which the keywords are deregulation, liberalization and privatization (Sutopo 2012c). According to Nasikun (2005) the main global neoliberal actors are what he called ‘The unholy trinity’ of the World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Trans/Multinational Corporations (TMCs). This trinity forced post-reform Indonesian governments to reduce protections, open the domestic market for investment of foreign capital, and reduce the role of the state in providing jobs for its citizens (Sutopo 2012c). This transformation in the economic landscape meant that entrepreneurship became a key tenet of a range of national policies, including the national youth policy. As explained by Naafs and White (2012):

Faced with these massive problems of youth un- and under-employment which in ‘youth governance’ terms are seen as threats to both economic development and political stability, the policy discourse has shifted increasingly from Keynesian strategies to ‘provide jobs’ for young people, to an emphasis on the promotion of
entrepreneurial skills among young people, that is, the neoliberal idea that they should create their own jobs (Naafs and White 2012, p. 11).

The notion of youth entrepreneurship is now popular in government discourse. In a global context, Bloustien and Peters (2011) study of youth and popular music worldwide highlights that the creative strategies of young people actually enhance their successful transitions to work and adulthood. The creative aspects of young people are represented through their initiatives of building social networks and acquiring relevant skills to work in the creative industries and develop their own music-based business. Moreover, around 25 years ago Cohen’s (1991) study of rock musicians in the UK highlighted national interest in the role of popular music in formulating educational and social policies. It is clear that policy discourse supports a productive linkage between creative young people and popular music in the era of neoliberalism.

1.5.2 Indonesian youth in the new millennium

In the new millennium, the general pattern shows that the younger generation in Indonesia is typically better educated than their parents (Naafs and White 2012; Nilan 2012). The development agenda of the previous New Order regime focused on economic growth and national stability thus creating a new Indonesian middle class of which a key indicator is tertiary education. As explained by Naafs and White (2012), the supply of tertiary graduates from the 1980s increased faster than the capability of the Indonesian government to create formal sector jobs. One of the reasons is because more support was given by the government to capital intensive industries (industri padat modal) rather than labour intensive industries (industri padat karya). The result was that during the economic crisis of 1998 when much of the formal sector collapsed, the informal sector
became the safety valve for the national economy (Effendi 2005). It was the source of economic sustainability for young people seeking employment.

Following the period of reformation (1998-2004), labour market conditions have altered but the problem of formal sector employment remains, and graduates can find it hard to get a job. In short, increasing educational standards has not been supported by government policies to facilitate entry to appropriate employment. In statistical data provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO 2010), the official rate of Indonesian youth unemployment (15-24 years) in urban areas is 23 per cent while in rural areas it is 33 per cent. The number of unemployed graduates from 2004-2011 according to Sakernas figures shows the same trend. According to the ILO (2010) several factors have influenced this trend: a mismatch of job skills and non-technical skills: low employment growth: and gaps in information and low access for entrepreneurship activities. The high rate of unemployed graduates suggests that there is a need to develop the entrepreneurial capabilities of young people so that youth not only network to find jobs but even create their own jobs.

Youth in Indonesia are about 35 per cent of the population (Inggriani 2010) and young people are the future of the country. A response from government has been the creation of a youth law (Undang-Undang Kepemudaan No 40 tahun 2009) that explains the definition of youth, the problem of youth and the government role for youth. Given that Indonesian youth are over one-third of the population, understanding youth transitions especially from education to work is very important. For the government, high rates of graduate unemployment can become a significant social problem, posing a potential threat to stability if the disaffected graduates become socially dysfunctional (Wirutomo 2012). Formally, the Ministry of Youth and Sports offers a program to develop the entrepreneurial abilities of youth. It consists of developing capacities and
capabilities, chances and access for entrepreneurship (Rencana Aksi Nasional Kepemudaan 2008). This government initiative shows how important it is to understand youth transitions from education to work, and the important role of entrepreneurship in the insecure but highly flexible Indonesian labour market. Harnessing the creative potency and entrepreneurship of graduates is now considered important for the next generation to create an economically sustainable future.

1.6 Graduate Unemployment in Indonesia

According to the Ministry of Youth and Sports (2010), the percentage of the Indonesian population\(^2\) aged 16-30 years is 57.81 per cent. The rate of open unemployment in February 2012 according to the National Bureau of Statistic (BPS 2013) was 7.6 million people (6.32%), although this only accounts for the formal labour sector. According to the Ministry of Youth and Sport the percentage of unemployed youth is up to 10.7 per cent. Based on educational background, in February 2012, the rates of graduate unemployment (diploma and undergraduate) were 7.5 and 6.95 per cent respectively. These rates were lower than for high school graduates which were 10.34 per cent. Once again these are only the official figures. The actual rates are probably much higher.

In general, youth work primarily in the agricultural sector (32.87%), the trade sector (21.42%) and the industrial/manufacturing sector (16.59%). However, if we consider the spatial indicator: urban/rural, then according to the National Bureau of Statistics (BPS 2013), the percentage of open unemployment is higher in urban (12.06%) areas than in rural (8.34%) areas. This may be due to high rates of youth rural-to-urban migration. The majority of youth in urban areas work in the trade sector (31.41%), industry (22.44%) and service (20.59%), while in rural areas the agricultural sector is still

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\(^2\) The Indonesian population is approximately 250 million.
dominant (53.68%), followed by trade (13.43%) and industry (11.49%). The statistical data indicate that the rate of youth unemployment in urban areas is high. From the statistical data, it seems probable that most are absorbed in the trade sector, and in fact much of the trade sector is actually the informal sector (Effendi 2005).

Besides the urban-rural indicator, educational background is also an important determinant of unemployment. As explained above, because of high rates of graduate unemployment, youth often have to accept jobs that are actually below their standard of education (Naafs and White 2012). It is very interesting to observe the comparison between graduate unemployment in three major Indonesian cities (Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Denpasar, Bali). The comparison based on BPS (2010) data is shown in Table 1 below:

Table.1.1
Comparison of Graduate Unemployment in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Denpasar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial Aspect (Urban)</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta</td>
<td>Diploma/Undergraduate Degree</td>
<td>16.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogyakarta</td>
<td>Diploma/Undergraduate Degree</td>
<td>20.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denpasar (Bali)</td>
<td>Diploma/Undergraduate Degree</td>
<td>9.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest percentage of graduate unemployment is in Yogyakarta (20.57%) followed by Jakarta (16.82%) and Denpasar (9.32%). Based on this data, it is important to understand the strategies of youth in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Bali in the transition from education to work. These are the three locations chosen for this study.
1.7 Youth Transition Experiences: Entrepreneurship, Mobility and Cultural Capital

The life journey of contemporary young people as explained by Wyn and Woodman (2007) can no longer be seen as a linear transition to adulthood, but requires wider consideration of the socio-cultural context. For example, Nilan (2008) and Nilan et al. (2011) show how social class is still an important factor that influences the ambitions of Indonesian youth in the future. As explained by Nilan et al:

Briefly, respondents in less privileged class locations anticipated material obstacles (e.g. lack of money and resources, lack of social network and job opportunities) while those in more comfortable economic circumstances anticipated non-material obstacles (e.g. laziness, lack of motivation, personal dilemmas) to the achievement of their dreams (Nilan et al. 2011, p. 722).

A similar argument is made by Jones (2009) about the importance of structural factors in youth transition. Jones divided the transition into two pathways: slow track and fast track transition. Slow track transitions (middle class) typically involve staying on in post-compulsory education and delaying entry into full-time employment and family formation. As explained by Nilan, Julian and Germov (2007), nowadays the transition from school to work is no longer direct. Young people spend much longer in education than ever before. In contrast, fast track transitions (lower SES youth) may involve leaving education at around the minimum age and entering a diminished youth labour market, risking unemployment or insecure and badly paid work (Jones 2009). Youth who leave school early, even for a job, face a definite risk of long term unemployment or underemployment (Nilan, Julian and Germov 2007).
In Indonesia, slow track transition is usually made by youth from the middle to upper classes. Because of the family supporting them they prolong the period of transition to adulthood by studying postgraduate degrees, for example, as a means to obtain the jobs that they want, usually in the professions. Fast track transition is usually made by insecure Indonesian youth from families on the margins of the labour market. They may pursue study with minimal family financial support and may accept jobs that offer a lower salary or status than their qualifications might suggest (Naafs and White 2012). For example, Artini, Nilan and Threadgold (2011) explain that Balinese senior secondary school graduates from poor families are attracted to training for work on cruise ships to get a high income as quickly as possible. Another group that demonstrates fast track transition is the group of marginal youth who pursue alternative means of supporting themselves. This ranges from the risky and illegal, eg. ojeg (motorcycle taxi), street parking, petty crime and prostitution (see Suyanto 2012) to small business enterprises. It can be argued that this group actively practices entrepreneurship strategies, although they do so in the informal and criminal economy. Elsewhere, some young people who are artistically inclined may develop their entrepreneurial skills based on the creative ethos of Do It Yourself (DIY) culture. For example, they may collectively create a distro\(^3\) (alternative hand-made youth clothing store), or develop an independent music recording agency (Luvaas 2009), or become a musician in a band (Sutopo 2011). In the flexible yet insecure labour markets of contemporary Indonesia, there is an increasing trend for young people to operate entrepreneurial strategies to gain jobs.

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\(^3\) In the Indonesian context, the term distro stands for a distribution outlet (shopfront or stall) which operates through Do It Yourself (DIY) ethos of its young operator/entrepreneur. The distro trend began in Bandung and then expanded to Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Bali and other cities in Indonesia. A distro usually sells clothing, accessories and DIY and/or indie music albums from local, national and international music scenes.
The process of youth transition at the current time is usually not straightforward but can be described as a long zigzag (Nilan, Julian and Germov 2007). The strategies that manifest in zigzag journeys for young people in transition may include mobility, such as moving to big cities far away from their hometown. While some move for education, Noveria and Rahartono (2005) point out that the main reason for such mobility is to get jobs. Indonesian scholars have already studied this phenomenon. For example, Itriyati and Aneurin (2011) researched the mobility of youth in Tangerang (outer Jakarta). Minza (2011, 2012) researched the same topic in Pontianak, Borneo, while Sutopo (2011) researched the temporary migration of Yogyakarta young jazz musicians for work in Jakarta and Bali. In the case of young musicians, they developed their cultural capital (see Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) by joining the music community and acquiring from their peers the elements of habitus that enabled them to struggle in the field.

My previous study (Sutopo 2011) showed that Yogyakarta, as a city based on education and culture, offered a productive field for jazz musicians to develop and accumulate their cultural and social capital. These capitals constituted both investment and resource when they moved to Jakarta or to Bali. Some young creative musicians who moved to Jakarta and Bali showed that they survived in the cultural industries by playing music in a well-known cafe, producing an indie jazz album with famous national/international musicians, holding a big music concert and even being invited to play music abroad. However, some of them failed to survive financially and decided to return to Yogyakarta. That Indonesian study implies that mobile youth not only develop their skill capabilities but also their entrepreneurial capacity. Access to information related to the jobs in different cities usually comes from informal social networks (friends, family) and is also based on ties of ethnicity, religion or similar life experiences (Minza 2011; Suyanto 2012). Yet in reality, many such jobs do not offer a good salary or work
conditions, sometimes it is just a non-permanent job/contract, and in some cases youth do not get paid because they are still at the stage of apprentice or trainee.

In Indonesia the development of information technology, infrastructure and means of transportation has made it easier for youth mobility (Effendi and Xin 2010). Easy access to mobility supports young people to develop their networks. As explained by John Urry in relation to ‘network capital’:

Networks seem central to many aspects of social life; people have to access networks if they are to participate in complex, multiply networked society (Urry 2007, p. 193).

By having more access to networks, young people gain more network capital (Urry 2007). In Indonesia, network capital helps young people to build and sustain relations with ‘strategic’ people in different cities. Sustaining social relations opens more opportunities for young people to get access to job information. They can hear gossip related to different jobs, find free accommodation, and learn the range of cultural tastes in different cities. Network capital as well as the other forms of symbolic capital suggested by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) are important resources for young people as active agents facing the transition to adult life in late modernity.

Getting a job is an important element in becoming an adult (Wyn and White 1997; Jones 2009), although Nilan (2008) shows that marriage and parenthood are also still important indicators that define a person as an adult in Indonesia. Young Indonesians have suffered most from the general unemployment problem in the country. As social actors in transition from education to work, from youth to adulthood, Indonesian youth have experienced hard times in the past 30 years (White 2011). Conditions of
under/unemployment have meant more risk, especially in relation to uncertainty about the future. This uncertainty about the future may mean that young people doubt their marriage prospects, and cannot save for housing and health. Furthermore, youth from Global South/periphery countries like Indonesia have not only a responsibility to themselves to prosper, but carry social responsibilities for extended family (parents, siblings, cousins), such as caring for aged parents and paying for the education of younger relatives (Nilan 2011). So sustainable employment is not just a personal strategy in the transition process to adulthood, but is connected to the economic viability of their families. Based on previous arguments, this study will offer productive insights by exploring the employment-seeking strategies of young creative musicians in three locations in Indonesia. The project will reveal the effect of mobility and entrepreneurial activities in seeking and creating jobs.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated some key issues and debates in the field of youth studies in general, and previous youth studies in Indonesia in particular. It has also taken the discussion further by contextualizing the experiences of youth transition in the post-reformation era. As argued in this chapter, there are gaps between what has been considered as a ‘normal’ pathway of youth transition in the western literature and the everyday experiences of youth transition in Indonesia as a part of the Global South. This is especially so for young creative musicians as they constantly struggle to keep the balance between the field of cultural production and day-to-day life. This three-way argument is the position of this thesis and will be explored throughout the following chapters. As this thesis focuses on the specific transition of young creative musicians in Indonesia, in chapter two the student researcher provides a relevant literature review on
youth and music in Indonesia. It considers material written both by Indonesian scholars and by scholars outside Indonesia.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review – Youth and Music in Indonesia

2.1 Introduction

This chapter critically maps previous studies relevant to young Indonesian musicians. In the Indonesian academic field, youth studies and also music studies remain in a marginal position. This is partly the result of the hegemonic discourse of development in research which prioritised economic and human capital studies under the New Order regime before 1998. Yet even during that period, there were several studies related to youth and music conducted by scholars from Indonesia and outside Indonesia. After 1998, in the era of reformation that accompanied democracy, academic research flourished in a much more open way. There were many more studies in disciplines such as history, ethnomusicology, cultural studies and sociology. Some of these focused on youth and music.

Social phenomena can be read from various different perspectives, as explained by Berger (1963). Berger proposed that social scientists who investigate a social phenomenon are like several blind people who try to explain what an elephant looks like. The one who touches its nose will explain the elephant as a long shape, while the one who touches its stomach will explain the elephant as a round shape. This metaphor is quite useful to frame several previous studies about young musicians and also musical worlds in Indonesia, since different explanations come from different fields of enquiry.

The literature review below recognises diversity of researcher standpoints. It consists of two layers according to relevance to the thesis topic. The first layer considers previous studies that investigate social changes (local, national, global) in Indonesia and their impact on music as a cultural product. The second layer of the literature review
considers previous studies that touch directly upon the lives of young Indonesian musicians. These accounts are written both by Indonesian scholars and by scholars outside Indonesia. After careful consideration of sources, the first layer consists of the work from various scholars about aspects of the Indonesian music scene. Among them are: Barendregt and Zanten (2002), Baulch (2003), Nugroho (2003), Bodden (2005), Wallach (2008), Mulyadi (2009), Weintraub (2011) and Richter (2012). The second layer consists of the work of Luvaas (2009), Martin-Iverson (2011) and Sutopo (2010, 2011, 2012a). It also includes work by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) on the creative labour of musicians in local UK music scenes, Cohen (1991) on the rock music making in Liverpool, Stith-Bennett (1980) on how individuals learn to be rock musicians in USA and France, and Fornas et.al (1995) on the functions of playing rock within three different peer groups in Sweden. After working through both layers of the literature review, this chapter will explain the sociological contribution of this thesis to the field of Indonesian youth and music studies.

2.2 Layer One: Changing Context; Diverse Musical Expressions

The first set of studies are not so directly related to the thesis topic, but nonetheless set the scene for understanding what is going on now in popular music communities across Indonesia. They all broadly pertain to the changed context from the Old Order of Soekarno, to the New Order regime of Soeharto, to the era of democratic reform after 1998. They all deal with implications of these changes for musical expression in Indonesia.
2.2.1 The Soekarno era

Mulyadi (2009) in his book *Industri Musik Indonesia: Suatu Sejarah* [A History of the Indonesian Music Industry] explains the flow of western music (pop, rock and so on) into Indonesia after independence in 1945. During the Soekarno era it was almost impossible to create forms of cultural expression based on western influences. Soekarno’s political orientation was allied to the Left during the Cold War and he was keen to protect national culture. For Soekarno, music was a political instrument,

In 1959 (just as some young Indonesian people began to respond to the availability of Elvis Presley records and began to form into rock and roll bands), Soekarno delivered a speech in which he espoused the need to take steps to protect national culture from foreign influences. Initially, this meant banning particular kinds of music on the national public radio station, *Radio Republik Indonesia* (RRI). Further steps to protect the national culture were taken in 1963 and a Presidential decision forbade any public airing of rock and roll (Baulch 2011, p. 134).

This political agenda became very serious when Soekarno imprisoned young musicians known as ’Koes Plus’ who covered Beatles songs. According to Soekarno their music was too ‘western’ and would result in moral decadence. Yet despite Soekarno seeming very ’anti-western’, he admired Marilyn Monroe (Mulyadi 1999). Soekarno’s ambiguity about popular culture is explained by Farram (2006):

> Although Soekarno maintained his opposition to *ngak ngik ngok*\(^4\) into the 1960s, members of his family may have been involved in creating it. Soekarno’s son

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\(^4\) Rock and roll.
Guntur was drummer of the band *Trio Bintang*, which recorded an album in 1965 on the Remaco label. Remaco’s owner later reflected that he did not know whether the music he produced in the 1960s was *ngak ngik ngok*, but as he was a friend of the president’s son, he faced no problems (p. 250).

In summary, during the Old Order era (*Orde Lama*), Soekarno demanded music which represented Indonesian national identity and supported the spirit of unfinished national revolution (*Revolusi Belum Usai*) as part of his political agenda.

2.2.2 The Soeharto era

After 1965, during the era of Soeharto’s New Order, the political mood changed. There was an increasing amount of western cultural products such as music consumed. This saw the growth of music industry infrastructure, including recording companies, sale of musical instruments, exposure on television, leasing of music retail outlets and so on. In general, Indonesian taste in western music tended towards two extremes: loud rock music at one end and sentimental love songs at the other (Wallach 2008, p. 30). Indonesian pop was produced in several categories: *pop nostalgia*, *pop kreatif*, *pop alternatif* and *pop kelas atas*.

*Pop nostalgia* (also called *pop memori*) was the affectionate label given to *pop Indonesia* songs that were recorded in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s by such artists as Broery Maranthika, Frankie Sahilatua, Leo Kristi, and Gombloh. *Pop kreatif* and *pop alternatif* were names given to newer styles that reflected contemporary global trends in rock and pop music and were usually ensemble rather than singer

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5 Upper-class.
based. While *pop kelas atas* (upper-class pop), was an urbane, R & B-influenced pop style that emphasized smooth instrumental timbres, polished production, and vocal expressiveness (Wallach 2008, p. 31).

Some previous studies (for example, Lockard 1998; Sen and Hill 2000; Wallach 2008) have argued that the increasing mass popularity of a pop band like *Koes Plus* - the Indonesian Beatles-influenced group - was a sign of the post-1965 western orientation within the New Order Regime. It should be noted that other western musical imitations also emerged at that time in the genre of rock, for example *God Bless* (Baulch 2011). Later in the 1980s it also happened in jazz music (Nugroho 2003). This tendency to imitate western popular music and to believe that it is superior to Indonesian musical forms indicates ‘xenocentricity’ (Wallach 2008), or being focused on the ‘other’. The western trend had an impact on the classification of national musical genres, influencing judgements of distinction about which genre is considered as a modern-elite form. The debate is over which genres are elite or *gedongan* (Baulch 2010), and which genres are *kampungan* - lower class. Some scholars (Wallach 2008; Baulch 2010) associate these social class distinctions with the struggle for *gengsi* (prestige). For example, in terms of common sense knowledge (Berger and Luckman 1966), western-style pop, rock and jazz came to be recognized as the representation of modern-elite culture, while local forms like *dangdut* and *musik tradisi* were recognized as *kampungan* - lower class.

Similar to the earlier Soekarno regime, the New Order regime took a dominant role in constructing a national identity suitable for its agenda of modernization and development. Through national television (TVRI) for example, the regime had the authority to select which singers/musicians/artists were appropriate to perform on the national television broadcaster. So, as pointed out by Mulyadi (2009), some rock bands
were not allowed to perform on TVRI because they had long hair and did not represent national identity. At the same time, Yampolsky (1989) and Lockard (1998) describe the banning of pop cengeng ('weepy' songs) by the New Order regime. This also happened to rap music during the 1990s because of its vulgar lyrics.

Apparently, having viewed a television program featuring American rap music, Minister Habibie raised objections to a plan to organize an Indonesian national rap festival. Speaking to media, Habibie blasted rap, claiming that there was no artistry in the genre and that it used disgusting and vulgar language without literary values (Bodden 2005, p. 4).

However, in the case of the local popular music form dangdut, the status of dangdut was raised when one of the former ministers in the New Order, building on the influence of the media (Weintraub 2011), declared dangdut to be the original music of Indonesia. Yet before that dangdut had a stigma as vulgar and was deemed to deserve no place on national television (Mulyadi 2009). However, raising the status of dangdut meant that popular dangdut singers and bands could be used in mass mobilization political campaigns at election times (Weintraub 2011). Mulyadi (2009) and Baulch (2011) explain the role of military in supporting music performances as long as they gave legitimacy to the New Order regime. It seems the military sponsored an intense program of daily musical events on the radio that showcased pop musicians performing all the officially forbidden genres. These broadcasts, known as 'soldier stages' were coordinated by an outfit called Body for Co-operation between Artists and the Army Strategic Command. The aim was to encourage support for the military (Baulch 2011, p. 134).
Besides the role of state and the role of the military, in the late 1970s there was a rise in the number of private recording companies and national music producers. Their distribution network was famously known as Harco Glodok (Mulyadi 2009). Furthermore, there were more music concerts on a massive scale and more space for musical performances (hotels, cafes, pubs). Universities also played significant roles in supporting the national music industry (Mulyadi 2009; Richter 2012).

In terms of music production, the national music industry found its momentum during the New Order Regime. During the 1980s, global capital investment played a role as well as the activities of national elite businessmen who had a close relationship with Soeharto’s family. Two national recording companies Dimita and Remaco came to prominence. There were music programmes broadcast on TVRI, for example Kamera Ria and Aneka Ria Safari. Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) broadcast music shows and was one of the important manifestations of the role of the state in supporting the music industry (Sen and Hill 2000; Mulyadi 2009). There was also an increasing number of locally-produced music cassettes sold in retail outlets (Wallach 2008).

Despite control that was almost total during the New Order regime, by the late 1990s cultural hegemony had begun to decline and fragment (Martin-Iverson 2011). In the context of globalization, the first steps towards deregulation and liberalization were taken in the late 1980s. During the 1990s, private television stations were created and became a main instrument in spreading the globalization of culture. Other media such as

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6 Denny Sakrie, an Indonesian music critic, has explained rise of private recording companies during the New Order regime as follows. They usually recorded music albums (pop, rock, jazz) which were covers from western countries. During the 1980s there were at least nine recording companies: Aquarius, King’s Records, Atlantic Records, Team Records, EGO Records, Hins Perfecta, Audio Master, Contessa, Golden Lion, Queen Records, Yess, Hidayat Connoisseur, Monalisa and Golden Rate. [http://dennysakrie63.wordpress.com/category/uncategorized/page/4/](http://dennysakrie63.wordpress.com/category/uncategorized/page/4/)
magazines and small-scale internet networks expanded rapidly. There was growth in pirated CDs and computer software (Luvaas 2009). In terms of music scenes, the period of the 1990s offered relatively more freedom which resulted in more diverse musical expressions. Some music genres became important tools with which to criticize the authoritarian control of the New Order and demand a democratic government, for example the rock band *Kantata Takwa*. A similar critical role was served by folk singer Franky Sahilatua (Sen and Hill 2000). Alternative political viewpoints were expressed in *musik alternatif* (Barendregt and Zanten 2002) and in underground music (Wallach 2005; Martin-Iverson 2011). Meanwhile some music genres became the medium of self-expression and freedom for urban youth, for example rap (Bodden 2005). According to Baulch (2002), the emergence of *musik alternatif* in the late period of the New Order regime shows the influence of foreign musical codes. It has been claimed that these codes ‘were indigenised into conscious political opposition to the New Order, and more frequently into disorganised, carnivalesque disorderliness that shows up the cracks in the New Order’s attempts to control cultural production and create cultural order and ordered culture’ (Sen and Hill 2000, p.169). In summary, during the New Order regime, musical expression was in the middle of ambivalent relations between authoritarian control, global capital investment and rapid westernization.

### 2.2.3 The Era of Reform

The demise of the Soeharto regime in 1998 and Indonesia’s subsequent democratic transition brought about a period of cultural dynamism and experimentation (Wallach 2008, p. 253). Indie music grew in popularity,
The changing political climate since 1998 has recently resulted in the emergence of a so-called alternative music scene (*musik alternatif*), or Indonesian underground music (*musik di tanah bawah*). Today, this scene is widely known as Indie, a collective designation by the music industry for various groups, genres and scenes that prioritise a do-it-yourself attitude and therefore prefer small independent labels (Barendregt and Zanten 2002, p. 81).

With the loosening of the government grip on culture and increasingly less expensive means of producing and distributing music, indie became the preferred genre of many young creative musicians.

Given the increase of local musical production based on do-it-yourself (DIY) principles among young people, after 1998 there was also increasing creative music production that allowed the expression of local identities, as well as religion (Barendregt and Zanten 2002). Music was produced that expressed contestation of global-local identities among young people as explained by Baulch (2003) in the case of death metal in Bali. Elsewhere, there was a trend of hybridization between global and local in the production of *musik kontemporer*/contemporary music. For example, Djadug Ferianto and Aminoto Kosin allowed new musical sounds to be expressed through the television programme *Dua Warna* (Miller 2008). There was also hybridization taking place in the *campursari* genre (Supanggah 2003) and in jazz (Sutopo 2010). Moreover, it has been claimed that hybridization of western and traditional music was part of a resistance against massive commercialization during the era of reformation:

Concern about the dominance of commercialism has thus become key to Western-oriented and traditionally-based Indonesian composers alike, cutting across and
even eclipsing previously preoccupying dichotomies of modern/traditional and foreign/indigenous. But rather than eschew popularity, they seek alternative populisms, along with alternative measures of artistic legitimacy as that of Western classical and Javanese court traditions wane (Miller 2008, p. 1).

The previous studies mentioned above show the importance of social, cultural, economic and political contexts for understanding the place of music and youth culture in each ‘generation’ - in the words of Karl Mannheim (1952). These studies help to position Indonesian music and youth culture in the contemporary context. This context will help in understanding the process of young creative musicians who are dealing with the transition to adulthood and try to keep the balance between field of ‘transition’ and ‘culture’ (Woodman and Bennett 2015) in the first decades of the new millennium.

2.3 Experiences of Young Indonesian Musicians

In Generation DIY: Youth, Class and the Culture of Indie Production in Digital-Age Indonesia (2009), Luvaas conducted an ethnographic study of indie scenes in Bandung and Yogyakarta, especially the growth of the Do-It-Yourself (DIY) ethic among young middle class people through the use of new media technologies, pirated software, copy machines, clothing lines and record labels outside commercial channels. He built his arguments from the work of previous scholars who perceived the growing ethos of consumerism among the young Indonesian middle class. Luvaas (2009) shows that rather than being passive consumers; young people also participate in the process of production, especially as it manifests in DIY in indie music scenes. He shows that young Indonesians actively use new media technologies, including pirating downloads, and they randomly experiment with clothing design, their own magazines and music compositions. They also
build networks among themselves or with friends from other cities, expand the
distribution area of their products, and cleverly commodify the values of DIY into the
accumulation of profit. Luvaas’ (2009) study of the music scene in Indonesia reported
experiences quite similar to the experience of becoming a rock musician in the USA and
France (Stith-Bennett 1980), especially in terms of a DIY ethos. According to Stith-
Bennett (1980), to be able to play rock, young people had to learn by themselves based
on trial and error principles. Young musicians had to be able to identify their needs as
rock musicians and practise their own ‘rock ecology’, such as getting access to musical
instruments, recruiting fellow musicians, forming a local rock band, booking gigs and
maintaining the solidity of the group. Their practical self-learning also included learning
how to use and apply technology to enhance their music quality, not only in recording but
also in live performance. They also had to be able to absorb different kinds of music styles
and mix them with their own style of rock (Stith-Bennett 1980, p. 190). Furthermore,
Luvaas asserts that use of the DIY ethos among young Indonesian middle class people in
the indie music scene is part of their efforts to redefine their position in rapidly changing
Indonesian society, so they are more oriented to the global world. He argues that DIY
movements both rework, and remain a part of, the logic of neo-liberalism:

They know they are capitalist, they know, in the final analysis, that what they do
is sell music, magazines and clothes. But they are also smart enough to know that
capitalism is not a fixed system. They hope to push capitalism in a new direction,
towards something more cooperative, more expressive and uplifting, which values
creativity and community as their own rewards (Luvaas 2009, p. 264-265).
In contrast, Martin-Iverson (2011), in his doctoral thesis, *The Politics of Cultural Production in the DIY Hardcore Scene in Bandung Indonesia*, reaches a different conclusion about a different group of musicians. In Martin-Iverson’s view the Bandung hard core punks are successful at maintaining a degree of autonomy from the cultural industries and resisting commodification through the values of *kemandirian* (autonomy) and *komunitas* (community). Martin-Iverson’s findings in Bandung in 2011 contrast with the findings of Fornas et.al (1995) in Sweden. They concluded that playing rock for young people in Sweden created expressive free space and served as a form of collective autonomy against the authority and control of adults in family and school (p. 251). Based on ethnographic study, Martin-Iverson finds that the local DIY movement expresses resistance inside the underground music scene, which he describes as having generally ‘sold out’ to commercialization. At the same time though, the hard core punks are a conscious part of global resistance against the capitalist system:

*Anak*⁷ DIY are most concerned with the dominance of capital accumulation within the underground itself, which they view as part of the global hegemony of the capitalist value system (Martin-Iverson 2011, p. 321).

It is the authenticity of the DIY product that they want to share. In other words, it is social values that they offer as the antithesis of commodification. The cultural politics of DIY production is not seen as a politics of identity or recognition, but as a politics of value (Martin-Iverson 2011, p. 322). However, the struggle of young men in the DIY hard core punk scene in Bandung to be critical and produce authenticity in their cultural production

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⁷ Youth – thus DIY youth.
remained fragmented and marginal due to their simultaneous struggle for survival in other aspects of their lives.

Indonesian researcher, Sutopo⁸ (2010, 2012a) investigated the dynamics of jazz communities in Yogyakarta. He explains the contestation and transformation from fusion jazz (late 1990s) towards a more standardized form more oriented to American Jazz (2002-2007). This was followed by the emergence of hybrid jazz which was synthesized with local cultural music forms (2007-2011). Later, jazz in Yogyakarta moved closer towards jazz as spectacle, and the tendency to popularize jazz for a broader field of consumers. That study offered a detailed local narrative from within the Yogyakarta jazz community as a response to previous studies which generalized Indonesian jazz phenomena. For example, Nugroho (2003) explained some changes as the ‘McDonaldization’ of jazz. He concluded that there had been a reduction of the original jazz spirit in Indonesia as an outcome of commodification and homogenization. Sutopo (2010, 2012a) did not explicitly focus on young musicians, but in a broader frame described the contestation between older musicians to maintain their position and younger musicians to reach better positions in the field of local jazz.

In a more directly relevant study, Masih Ada Alternatif Lain: Musisi Jazz Sebagai Jalan Hidup Pemuda [We still have alternatives: Young jazz musicians and life pathways], Sutopo (2011) further explored the dynamics of the Yogyakarta jazz community by looking at the survival strategies of five young jazz musicians. He explained a number of different survival strategies based on an analysis of: the musical instrument, the role of family, the educational background and nature of participation in the jazz community. The analysis was framed in a structure-agency approach. The study found that the main means of survival was to get as many gigs as possible and convert

⁸ The student researcher and author of this thesis.
them into money. This was the way to prove to their families that they could make a living from their music. One of their main strategies was to connect with the dominant jazz community and show off their musical skills in jam sessions. Overall, the young musicians were seen to negotiate their choice to be a musician as an operation of agency within the structural constraints of poverty, the local labour force and family expectations. Sutopo’s study reported similar findings to the study conducted by Fornas et. al in Sweden (1995) in terms of youth involvement in the music community and the learning process as a form of ‘serious play’ that reflected complex links existing between and within youth cultures, the life conditions of youth and late modernity (p. 255). The study concluded that in the post-reform era there are some very different creative alternatives to a professional career being pursued by some educated young Indonesians.

Another important previous study about young musicians was conducted by Cohen (1991), based on rock communities situated within the particular socio-economic, political and cultural contexts in Liverpool, UK. Music, especially rock, was considered as a way of life. However, musicians often had to handle pressure and manipulation from mass media and other institutions that support the operations of a capitalist society. This was manifested in the tension between the fantasy of a glamorous image of rock musicians and real life, which was often far from what was expected. Rock musicians had to negotiate with both realities constantly. However, according to Cohen (1991, p. 224), rock musicians were able to creatively deal with the pressures and could transform positively to enhance their personal development progress. The pressures from the music industry unexpectedly created a sense of ‘community’ among many fragmented rock music scenes in Liverpool. On the other hand, Cohen (1991, p. 225) explained that despite a dynamic local rock music culture, the region’s music industries badly needed support
and improvement from the government. The same is true in many regions in Indonesia including Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali.

Another highly relevant previous study is Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011). This was conducted in the UK. The researchers explored various aspects of being creative in three major cultural industries, television, magazines and music. One of their case studies was of musicians in the contemporary British context. Using interviews and participant observation, and focusing on subjective experience, Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) posed several questions such as Is it possible to do good work in the cultural industries? And also What kinds of experiences do jobs and occupations in the cultural industries offer their workers?

One of their important findings concerned insecurity and risk in relation to creative work. As explained by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011), insecurity for the creative worker is worse than in other sectors because of labour market uncertainty and the short-term nature of job contracts. As a result, musicians as creative workers have to accept that they are lower paid and have longer working hours. Uncertainty forces musicians to do other jobs to supplement their income. As explained by one of jazz musicians, the reality is you are not earning your living from gigs (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011, p.118). So in order to survive and get regular income the jazz musician had to teach. Accordingly,

If you don’t mind a bit of risk in your life you do a certain kind of job and if you like a very stable regular life you do another kind of job (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011, p. 121).
Despite the uncertainty and risk, some musicians found that being a creative worker offered them a satisfying sense of autonomy and freedom. Doing gigs and having a good time working with other musicians, expressing themselves in music improvisations, feeling right on the stage (pleasurable absorption) and getting the groove on stage (experience of timeless time) were some of the joys of being a musician. Yet Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) suggest that experiences of creative labour are highly ambivalent due to career insecurity and risk.

They report that for some musicians who take their music work seriously, a job in creative labour can mean a lifelong career. Some of them find that this experience gives them self-realization, fulfils their potential and develops their talents, but some of them also feel fragile and the career is difficult to sustain over an entire life. This is related to the job conditions, especially income, as explained above. Yet it is also about subjective interpretation of the creative labour itself, as well as age and gender. For some creative workers, doing the same thing every time means ‘boring shitless jobs’ (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011, p. 146). While for others, even though the job is enjoyable they are worried about the sustainability of their careers after they have a family later. For example, a woman who is a creative worker finds it is hard to get maternity leave or raise a child because her job is full time with a long working hours’ commitment. In general, there is a trend among musicians to leave creative jobs mid-career.

Another aspect explored by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) was how creative labourers define their creative products as good or bad, and with whom they negotiate to decide the quality of their creative products. For musicians, there are always negotiations with artist managers, with A&R (artist and repertoire) staff as well as record labels. Each has their own interests in the cultural industry. Often the musician feels satisfied and defines a creative product as good both in aesthetic quality and ethical values but then
when they send it off to record labels, they all say ‘no’ (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011, p. 183). Negotiations also take place with A&R staff who are only concerned with the commercial aspects of their songs and represent the interests of the record label. For record labels and A&R staff, positive response from audiences is the most important thing that defines good quality of creative products. However, for most musicians the creative product must satisfy them aesthetically as well as serve as an expression of their subjectivity. The same is true for young DIY musicians in Indonesia.

The findings of Luvaas (2009) and Martin-Iverson (2011) about DIY music in Indonesia are directly relevant to this study. However, the student researcher will build upon these previous studies to take investigation in a different direction. The focus of the thesis project is more on strategies to survive in the transition process for young musicians. This aspect was missing from both the previous studies. In my own previous work (Sutopo 2011), I considered some strategies to survive in the transition to adulthood but that initial analysis needs to be expanded more widely. The UK studies by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011) and Cohen (1991), the USA and France study by Stith-Bennett (1980), and the Sweden study by Fornas et.al (1995) serve as a comparison about the conditions of cultural industries, however, the research subjects are in the very different context of Indonesia, a so-called ‘developing’ country.

2.4 Conclusion: Contribution of This Thesis

This thesis differs from previous studies which have mainly analysed contemporary Indonesian popular music from the perspectives of cultural studies, ethnomusicology, or history. In contrast, the thesis will use an approach drawn from the field of youth studies as well as sociology. Previous directly relevant studies by Luvaas (2009), Martin-Iverson (2011), Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011), Cohen (1991), Fornas
et.al (1995) and Stith- Bennett (1980) did not specifically focus on youth as such. Yet this thesis will utilise a youth transitions perspective. The argument of the thesis will locate youth in the process of transition to adulthood, which means that creative music can be identified as an alternative profession and means of economic survival in that process of transition. Being a musician can be seen not only as an expression of creativity but as a manifestation of entrepreneurial activities among young people. The thesis will also explore the strategies of young musicians through mobility and social networking, neither of which have been fully explored in previous studies as discussed above. This thesis is located within the framework of bridging the gap between youth transition and youth culture.

In terms of a broader context, the creative music career phenomenon will be acknowledged as taking place in the post-reformation period as Indonesian youth experience it. The post-reformation period in democratically-governed Indonesia over the past ten years has been characterized by a shift to neo-liberalism. The country is much more open and integrated into global culture. However, this is contradictory in the sense that young people face much more choice yet much more risk in the process of transition to adulthood. Theoretically, the analysis of data in the thesis will use an eclectic framework of interpretation drawing on the theoretical concepts of Mannheim, Bourdieu, Urry and Beck to explain youth culture and youth transitions phenomena and contextualize them in the Indonesian experience. This is also an important contribution of the thesis compared to previous studies. The theoretical framework is outlined in the next chapter.
CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Perspectives

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the theoretical perspectives relevant to analysing career and survival strategies of young creative musicians in Indonesia. In order to address the key questions of this study, the theoretical perspectives of four social theorists: Karl Mannheim, Pierre Bourdieu, John Urry and Ulrich Beck, have been selected by the student researcher. However, Bourdieu is the main theoretical source in this thesis. Mannheim’s theory of the generations is useful for this study because the young musicians are located as a distinct generation in the post-reform era in Indonesia where the socio-cultural and political conditions are distinctive compared to the youth generations prior to 1998. Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts are useful as tools to investigate the specific fields in which the practices of young musicians unfold, the habitus they manifest within those fields, and their strategies in those fields. Bourdieu’s work is also useful for understanding the valuable forms of capital that young musicians have to accumulate in order to struggle and achieve a successful career. An important form of symbolic capital in the context of the network society (Castells 1996) is what Urry (2007) described as network capital. Finally, the work of Ulrich Beck is useful. The changing socioeconomic context in the post-reform era means that young musicians have to deal with the shift into neo-liberalism as Indonesia becomes ever more closely aligned with the structural and cultural forces of globalization. These conditions make the concept of risk society and the individualization thesis of Beck seem relevant. Young musicians have to deal with new kinds of risk and they also have to actively negotiate as individuals in order to successfully make the transition to adulthood.
It is intended to use key aspects of the frameworks above critically as tools of analysis. The challenge is to try to contextualize those analytical tools relevant to contemporary youth in Indonesia. These theoretical perspectives were selected based on previous participant observation of young people’s everyday life in Indonesia. It is hoped they will assist in the bridging the gap; the limited dialogue between the Global North and Global South in youth studies (Nilan 2011), and the traditional gap between youth transitions and youth culture studies (Furlong, Woodman and Wyn 2011; Woodman and Bennett 2015). The chosen theoretical perspectives are treated as a lens to raise rather than to drown the voices of young people in Indonesia.

3.2 Reading Youth Transitions in Indonesia through the Lens of Mannheim, Bourdieu, Urry and Beck

3.2.1 The Generational Perspective

As one proponent of the sociology of knowledge, Mannheim (1925; 1936) continued the classical debate between superstructure versus infrastructure (economic base) as previously conducted by Marx and Weber in the field of sociology. Mannheim agreed with Marx’s thesis that infrastructure was the main factor affecting change in the superstructure. Using knowledge as the entry point, Mannheim proposed that the production of knowledge is related to its socio-historical context. Knowledge according to Mannheim means big ideas, not every form of knowledge in everyday life; a topic later explored by Berger and Luckman (1966). Mannheim’s proposition about the relation between knowledge production and socio-historical context then becomes an early version of the sociology of knowledge. Later, Mannheim developed this idea further. He mapped the production of knowledge in relation to class by proposing the distinction
between ideology and utopia. He recognised the emergence of a free-floating intelligentsia who think and produce knowledge beyond class borders (Dant 1991). In brief, Mannheim (1925; 1936) believed that the construction of knowledge is related to the socio-historical context.

Mannheim’s essay about the problem of generations (1952) has to be located within this context. He was interested in how specific historical circumstances shaped generational knowledge, values and beliefs, and how they contributed to social reproduction (France 2007, p. 42). He wanted to talk about social change in society, and generation is one entry point:

Its importance [generation] becomes clear as one tries to obtain a more exact understanding of the accelerated pace of social change characteristic of our time (Mannheim 1952, p. 287).

Mannheim did not want the concept of generation being trapped in small scale objective criteria such as family, community or groups. Rather, social location can be used to understand the phenomena of generation:

Similarity of location can be defined only by specifying the structure within which, and through which location, groups emerge in historical-social reality (Mannheim 1952, p. 290).

The influence of Marx is clear when Mannheim proposes that it is primarily through class consciousness that a generation can be defined as a social phenomenon. Class is defined
as a formation of economic and power structure in the society. If people belong in the same class location, they will share common class consciousness.

Mannheim explained the significant contribution of biological rhythm in human existence (life and death, span of life and ageing). People who were born around the same time share a historical dimension of social process:

Generation represents nothing more than a particular kind of identity of location, embracing related ‘age groups’ embedded in a historical-social process… generation location is determined by the way in which certain patterns of experience and thought tend to be brought into existence by the natural data of the transition from one generation to another (Mannheim 1993, p. 367).

Similarity in age group in a particular country means people may share a similar sense of social and historical process. This impacts on how they think, how they share experiences and interpret them and also the social actions which they choose. Above all, Mannheim proposed the importance of participation in the common destiny of a historical and social unit to show the dynamic aspect of relations of generation. Mannheim’s framing of the concept of generation is important for analysing relations of generation in Indonesia. According to Jones (2009) Mannheim emphasised that members of age generations were differentiated by their social location into differentiated, sometimes antagonistic, generational units.

Wyn and Woodman (2006) applied Mannheim’s concept of generations to the phenomenon of youth in Australia. They propose an explanation of youth transition beyond psychosocial and biological approaches. Youth itself is not just a concept based on age and the linear developmental process but is shaped by social conditions, including
the operations of the state (Wyn and Woodman 2006, p. 497). By using the generations approach as a tool of analysis, they explore the material history of youth in Australia and their social position. They also explore the changing relationship of youth to modes of production both objective and subjective. They look at the context of youth and offer a broad view related to state policy and discourse (Wyn and Woodman 2006), including global discourses.

Parker and Nilan (2013) in the second chapter of their book on young people in Indonesia also use Mannheim’s generations approach to explain the progression of youth in Indonesia from pemuda\textsuperscript{9} to remaja\textsuperscript{10}. The term for generation is angkatan. They argue that in each crisis period of the nation’s history, the youth activist cohorts of angkatan ’45 (1945), angkatan ’66 (1966), and angkatan ’98 (1998) played a vital role in bringing about change. The concept of angkatan is important to explain the phenomenon of generational shift in Indonesia. Every angkatan experienced specific historical and social conditions that shaped their consciousness as youth. These two examples show the important contribution of Mannheim’s generational approach to understanding changes in the phenomena of youth and youth culture over time.

Young musicians as a generation are located in the post-reform era. In other words, they are part of the generation that has experienced an environment of freedom of expression even during the strong neoliberal economic discourse. So as a generation they are different from youth generations in the thirty years of the New Order who had to deal with the authoritarian control of the state that restricted freedom of expression. The younger generation now experiences more openness in terms of internalization of global culture. The post-reform generation is also more familiar with new technology, especially

\textsuperscript{9} Youth in the political sense.
\textsuperscript{10} Teenagers – emphasising consumption.
the internet and other social media, which give them easier access to various flows of information from around the world.

Furthermore, the post-reform era in Indonesia is characterized by the strength of local youth identity synthesized with global identity - creating what Nilan and Feixa (2006) call hybrid cultures of youth. Despite relatively loose control by the state, the post-reform generation is partly the subject of state creation through formal policy as explained in the national youth law (Undang-Undang Kepemudaan No 40 tahun 2009). Through the national youth law, the state supports the active participation of young people in creating their own livelihoods, for example through entrepreneurial activities. Any cursory examination of post-reform generation youth shows how different they are to their predecessors in the era of the New Order. In particular, the different context of this current generation influences how young people deal with the transition process to adulthood.

3.3 Bourdieu

3.3.1 Taking a Bourdieusian Perspective

The thesis project deals not only with youth transitions but with an aspect of youth culture: the alternative music scene in Yogyakarta, and beyond that music cultures in Jakarta and Bali. Culture can be understood as both a means of connecting and communicating between people who share common history and space, and as a means and source of domination. This is the entry point through which Bourdieu (1984) differentiated his shaping concept of distinction against the economic determinist approach to social class reproduction proposed by Marx. For Bourdieu (1993), cultural practices should be analytically located in a relatively autonomous field of struggle with
their own rules of the game that are continuously contested between the dominant and subordinate. Viewing culture as a site of struggle means that it is co-related with power. Culture happens in everyday life; so people are in the process of making culture and contesting power all the time. Every social action is then a process of producing and contesting power to create distinction from others (Bourdieu 1984). By saying this, it means that taken-for-granted knowledge as proposed by Berger and Luckman (1966) cannot be described as a neutral process of sharing knowledge. For Bourdieu (1998), the concept of taken-for-granted knowledge is better understood as doxa working in everyday life. It means cultural distinction will keep reproducing all the time unless people consciously construct alternative forms of knowledge and culture to counter the doxic (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1992).

By treating culture as a source of domination, Bourdieu positioned himself as a critical sociologist:

By exposing those underlying interests that bind individuals and groups into unequal power relations, sociology becomes an instrument of struggle capable of offering a measure of freedom from the constraints of domination (Swartz 1997, p.10).

Critical sociologists assume that there are no value free positions since every position is value laden, as explained by Horkheimer in his essay *Traditional and Critical Theory* (1972). Habermas (1971) posed the question, which position does a sociologist choose when they produce knowledge, is it pro status quo or pro marginal people? We could say then that Bourdieu as a sociologist produces knowledge that encodes an emancipatory interest (see Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Following Bourdieu’s intellectual position,
in this thesis the student researcher will produce knowledge that allows space for the voices of young Indonesians to be heard in order to challenge the dominant discourse in the country which primarily constructs them as deviant subjects.

Bourdieu published widely and on different topics including: education (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), traditional societies (Bourdieu 1962), art (Bourdieu 1993), culture and class (Bourdieu 1984), gender (Bourdieu 2001) and the university (Bourdieu 1988). He was also a critic of neoliberalism (Bourdieu 2008). However, Bourdieu consistently developed several key concepts to apply in different fields. Bourdieu’s main concepts are based on empirical research. He did not write abstract theoretical treatises summarizing his theories (Calhoun 2003). In this regard he can be differentiated from many other theorists who propose meta-theories of sociology. In terms of theory, Bourdieu’s agenda is to overcome the dominance of theoretical knowledge of possible social worlds as constructed by outside observers and elevate the knowledge used by those who possess a practical mastery of their world (Postone, Lipuma and Calhoun 1993, p. 3). The next section will talk about Bourdieu’s theory of practice (1998). Here some of his important concepts are: habitus, field, illusio, doxa, symbolic violence, capital, especially cultural capital, also strategy and struggle for position. All of these concepts are related to each other.

3.3.2 Field

Bourdieu proposed the field of practice as a space which relatively speaking has its own autonomy and rules of the game, claiming ‘there are…as many fields of preferences as there are fields of stylistic possibilities’ (1984, p. 226). For Bourdieu, the development of relatively autonomous fields is an outcome of modern societies becoming more differentiated and complex. Field as a concept is useful for generating a detailed
picture of the cultural spheres of contemporary social life. Not only does the concept of field facilitate empirical research and analysis of topics typically studied by sociologists, it is also useful for mapping the social agents who are playing in the game, and recognizing the rules of the game. As an interpretive concept, field allows sociologists to develop more specific explanations rather than being trapped in generalized abstract explanations of phenomena. The autonomic character of field is further explained by Calhoun as follows:

Autonomy means that the field can be engaged in the play of its own distinctive game, can produce its own distinctive capital, and cannot be reduced to immediate dependency on any other field (Calhoun 2003, p. 295).

Field is a concept which illustrates the objective structures that are faced by social agents. Any field consists of static structures which are continuously reconstructed and on the other hand offers improvisation opportunities for social agents. As it consists of objective structures, there are always conditions of dominant and subordinate in the field that depend on the distribution of power (capital) relevant to social agents. The nature and range of different positions in a field varies naturally and historically (Postone, Lipuma and Calhoun 1993). The different positions of social agents in a field result in the conflict and competition characteristic of that field. Actions are associated with the maximizing of material and symbolic profit (Bourdieu 1990), or in other words, field is the arena of struggle for legitimacy. As explained by Bourdieu and Wacquant:

A field is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition, the analogy here being with a battlefield, in which participants vie to establish monopoly over the
species of capital effective in it—cultural authority in the artistic field, scientific authority in the scientific field, sacerdotal authority in the religious field, and so forth (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 17-18).

Moreover, not only is it characterized by unequal power relations between social agents, field also can be defined as ‘a patterned system of objective forces, relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity which it imposes on all the objects and agents which enter in it’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 17).

For Bourdieu (2000), the field of struggle (the game) is related to *illusio*. Bourdieu uses the concept to explain basic investment in meaning which constructs the effect that everything that takes place in the field seems sensible (Farrugia and Woodman 2015, p. 8). In other words, social agents who struggle in the field share a fundamental belief in the interest of the game and the value of the stakes (Bourdieu 2000, p. 11). Bourdieu explains *illusio* as follows:

Taking part in the *illusio* - scientific, literary, philosophical or other - means taking seriously (sometimes to the point of making them questions of life and death) stakes which, arising from the logic of the game itself, establish its seriousness, even if they may escape or appear ‘disinterested’ or ‘gratuitous’ [to those in other fields] (Bourdieu 2000, p. 11).

Through the analogy of players of the game, Bourdieu further explained *illusio*:

Players are taken by the game, they oppose one another, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that they concur in their belief in the game and its stakes; they
grant these a recognition that escapes questioning. Players agree, by the mere fact of playing, and not by way of a ‘contract’, that the game is worth playing, that it is ‘worth the candle’, and this collusion is the very basis of their competition (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 98).

Furthermore, as a site of struggle, every social agent has to develop their own strategy in the field. This may be to struggle for a better position or just strive to maintain their dominant position. Swartz considers that:

In general, Bourdieu sees this opposition occurring between the established agents and the new arrival in the field. Established agents tend to pursue conservation strategies while challengers opt for subversive strategies (Swartz 1997, p. 124).

The strategies of social agents will be different depending on their temporal and spatial positions in the field as they dialectically relate to each other. So, ‘strategies of agents depend on their position in the field, that is, in the distribution of the specific capital’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 101). As such, there are three basic strategies for struggle in the field: conservation, succession and subversion (Swartz 1997, p. 125). Conservation is a strategy used by agents who are in dominant positions or who, in terms of age, might be termed paternalistically as a senior. The strategy of succession is used by new members who want to obtain dominant positions. Subversion is pursued by those who expect to gain little from the dominant group (Swartz 1997, p. 125).

Strategy is also related to the rules of the game in each field, so the question then becomes, who maintains the rules of the game? For Bourdieu, as a process of social reproduction, this is the effect of doxa, which becomes a taken-for-granted recipe for
social agents playing the game. As Bourdieu notes, ‘doxa is a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view’ (Bourdieu 1998, p. 57). Furthermore, social agents who are in dominant positions maintain the rules of the game – doxa - through exercising symbolic violence. In detail, Bourdieu explained symbolic violence as follows:

Symbolic violence is the coercion which is set up only through the consent that the dominated cannot fail to give to the dominator (and therefore to the domination) when their understanding of the situation and relation can only use instruments of knowledge that they have in common with the dominator, which, being merely the incorporated form of the structure of the relation of domination, make this relation appear as natural (Bourdieu 2000, p. 170).

However, there is a chance of improvisation to modify the rules of the game previously constructed as doxa and continuously reproduced through mechanisms of symbolic violence, even if it is just a small chance. Yet the concept of field captures struggles within the logic of social reproduction, so fields only seldom become sites of social transformation (Swartz 1997, p. 121).

Young musicians as the subject of this thesis are located within specific fields, especially the field of cultural industries. Given their status position as youth in this field, some of them will be positioned as ‘new players’ or ‘beginners’ who try to struggle for a better position. While some of them who enter the field might find their position relatively safe, they still have to struggle to maintain their position or elevate it to get sustainable income in the future.
Young musicians as subjects also have to learn to understand the ‘feel of the game’ as explained by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), and slowly create their own strategy for that game to get a better position in the field of the cultural industry of music. This thesis deals with young musicians in different parts of Indonesia (Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali). As previously experienced by the author of this thesis, those three places have quite a different feel for the game as well differences in the objective structures within the field of the local music industry, and these differences are later explored. It is noted that the application of practical logic in terms of the field is influenced by local places and spaces (Bottrell and France 2015). Thus, actual locality shapes the young musicians’ strategies to survive in the relevant field of cultural production. Furthermore, this thesis deals with the mobility of young musicians between the different locations. So they have to learn the different feel of the game in each place as well as in each sub-field of the music industry there. This gives rise to different strategies of struggle in the different places, strategies that are crucial factors in smoothing their transition to adulthood through economic sustainability.

3.3.3 Capital

The concept of field as a site of struggle means that there are limited and valuable resources that social agents want to obtain. Bourdieu proposed capital as the source of power that is unequally distributed in the field. What Bourdieu means by capital is:

Accumulated labour (in its materialised form or its ‘incorporated’, embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour (Bourdieu 1986, p. 241).
Depending on the field in which it functions, capital can present itself in different forms. Economic capital is directly convertible into money or property rights. Cultural capital is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital. Social capital means social obligations and connections that are convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital (Bourdieu 1986). As a relational concept, capital itself does not exist or function except in relation to the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and the types of capital also cannot be isolated from each other (Reay 2004). One of the characteristics of capital is that it can be converted into different forms of capital and be transposed to the next successors. As explained by Calhoun (2003) there are two senses in which capital is converted from one form to another. One sense is intergenerational and the other is immediate.

The accumulation of capital decides the different positions of social agents in the field. Social agents who obtain or own the most accumulation of capital will be in the dominant position, while social agents who have less of the relevant form of capital will be in dominated positions. The most valuable capital is different for every field, since it depends on the rules of the game (Calhoun 2003). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain further using the analogy of a card game:

There are cards (capital) that are valid and efficacious in all fields, but their relative value as trump cards is determined by each field and even by successive states of the same field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 98).

Of the three forms of capital, economic capital is easier to manage rationally, to conserve, transmit and calculate (Swartz 1997, p. 80). This is because economic capital has a
relatively stable and universal currency and also a lower risk when it is transmitted from predecessors. In contrast, social capital is the aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu 1986, p. 256). The volume of social capital depends on the capabilities of social agents to effectively mobilize social networks and also other forms of capital that they have.

As explained above, culture for Bourdieu is a possible source of domination. This proposition explains the logic of the concept of cultural capital. It is different from economic capital which social agents can easily identify such as money and property:

[Cultural capital] covers a wide variety of resources including such things as verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information about school system and educational credentials (Swartz 1997, p. 75).

As a capital that does not have a stable currency, its value is related to the cultural mechanisms in each field. For Bourdieu, cultural capital has to be introduced or socialized to the social agents and maintained as a valuable resource in the field. To maximize cultural capital, social agents need ‘special’ cultural abilities which they acquire through the mechanism of habitus. The transmission process of cultural capital happens primarily through the family. As explained by Reay:

It is from family that children derive modes of thinking, types of dispositions, sets of meaning and qualities of style. These are then assigned as a specific social value and status in accordance with what the dominant classes label as the most valued cultural capital (Reay 2004, p. 58).
For Bourdieu, the institution which gives legitimation to the value of cultural capital is education. Later this educational credential system tends to reproduce inequality in the society. In other words, academic success is not purely related to student ability but is also related to the habitus that is reproduced both by education as well as by the family (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

As part of their strategies of struggle in the field of the creative music industry, young musicians have to accumulate various kinds of capital (cultural, social, economic), as explained by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), and convert them to gain more control and authority. As each field has its own criteria for which forms of capital are more valuable, young musicians have to carefully note these details and manifest appropriate practice in the social action of capital conversion. Young musicians have to discover which fields demand which forms of capital. For example, certain music communities require a certain type of capital accumulation. For example, in Yogyakarta and Bali, it is cultural capital in terms of education, especially skill in reading music, as well as creative production of original music albums, that can be converted into economic capital as well as social capital. However, in the context of music communities in Jakarta, the feel of the game is different, and so is the form of required cultural capital. The Jakarta music scene is more oriented to popular demand and the production of commercial music. In summary, appropriate capital accumulation and smart strategies to convert various forms of symbolic capital into economic capital, enable young musicians to gain power in the field of the music industry. This is one of the important factors in making an effective transition to independent adult life.
3.3.4 Habitus

Bourdieu tried to move sociology beyond the structure/agency debate. He attempted to move beyond the antinomy of social physics (external and objective facts) and social phenomenology (looking at social life through subjective experience) (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). As explained by Postone, Lipuma and Calhoun:

Social life must be understood in terms that do justice both to objective material, social and cultural structures and to the constituting practices of individual and groups (Postone, Lipuma and Calhoun 1993, p. 3).

It is through the concept of habitus that Bourdieu tried to move beyond this antinomy. Habitus, field and capital are relational, so not only is habitus produced and reproduced through the operation of cultural capital in the field, but different positions of social agents produce different habitus. Bourdieu in his book *The Logic of Practice* (1990) defined habitus as composed of ‘principles which generate and organize practice and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them’ (Bourdieu 1990, p. 53).

There are two important phrases in Bourdieu’s explanation about habitus. They are ‘structured structures’ and ‘structuring structure’. Structured structures describe how habitus is the product of history, the product of social reproduction in its static form. It exists in terms of power relations between social agents, whether objectively or subjectively experienced by them. As explained by Bourdieu and Wacquant:
Habitus consist of a set of historical relations deposited within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation and action (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 16).

Structuring structures on the other hand deals with the dynamic and improvisational aspect of habitus. Habitus is understood as a process which provides maps for social agents to respond, create and innovate but still in terms of the rules of the game established by the dominant. Structuring structures are manifested in the strategy and social action of agents in the field. Despite its promise for active agency in the concept of habitus, it does not mean that social agents are in total freedom to act.

Habitus is the strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever changing situations, a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciation and action, and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 18).

In summary, it means that habitus both constitutes the world and is constituted by it (Fowler 1996). Habitus concerns a dynamic intersection of structure and action; it both generates and shapes action (Adkins 2003, p. 23). Cultural capital is central to the workings of habitus.

Relevant to this project, the habitus of young musicians develops in relation to several institutions beyond the family and neighborhood. It is shaped not only by social class but by the social space that they interact in and belong to. For example, young musicians who have a family background of music usually get full support from their
families as well as benefiting from the social capital that their predecessors developed (Sutopo 2011). It also seems that young musicians from higher economic backgrounds are more confident about their career as a musician. This is related to the habitus of their family as well as the family’s ability to support their career economically. It has been shown (Sutopo 2010) that the university and the music community itself are important spaces shaping the habitus of young musicians. Sutopo (2010) shows how young musicians in Yogyakarta who had a music university background and who joined the ‘standard’ jazz community were usually more oriented to a future career as a session player. They seldom produced their own albums and tended to imitate standard jazz, which they saw as the ‘real jazz’. In contrast, young musicians who did not have a music education background and who joined the relatively more open creative music community were usually more oriented to producing their own albums; hybridizing jazz with traditional music and favouring the fusion jazz genre.

In other words, different music fields shape different habitus. This is the reality in Jakarta, Bali and Yogyakarta. So for Jakarta, the sense of a music community might not be as strong as Yogyakarta and Bali, and the output orientation of the music is more attuned to the commercial music industry. Thus a young musician who moves to Jakarta will have to adapt his or her habitus, in order to strategize in the different music field.

3.5 Mobility and Network Capital

John Urry in his book *Mobilities* (2007) criticized and developed Bourdieu’s concept of capital, by proposing network capital as another form of symbolic capital to supplement economic, social and cultural capital. Urry explained network capital as,
The capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit (Urry 2007, p. 197).

In contrast to Bourdieu who used the nation state as a focus of analysis, Urry analysed the complexity of society in terms beyond the nation state. As a result, Urry takes into account the increasing interconnectedness between different parts of the world in conditions of time/space compression (Harvey 1989) and time-space distanciation (Giddens 1990). The development of technology in both information and transportation, as well as the expansion of transnational capitalism, facilitates wider communication, mobility and networks around the world. This development makes the world smaller by affording long bridges and fast connections between geographically dispersed people, and between people and places (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen 2006, p. 19). This means that mobility and networks flow between local, national and global.

In the contemporary age, social agents do not just exercise mobility to visit a neighbour in the same village but in principle, social agents from the Global North can visit their family in the Global South without leaving home. They do not necessarily have to be mobile physically since information technology can facilitate their communication even from different parts of the world. In the network society access to the network is important (see Castells 1996). Urry (2007) explained that there are four components of access: economic, physical, organizational and temporal. All of them are important for social agents to take the action of mobility. Physical, organizational and temporal connections are all components of network capital. Lack of access to mobility means that some social agents are excluded from the new network system.
Complex mobilities mean complex networks, so if social agents still use old ways to sustain their networks they will be left behind and there will be a strong chance of losing their networks. The concept of network capital describes the bridge by which social agents can form and sustain legitimation in the complex network society. Network capital has a different characteristic from social capital as defined by Bourdieu (1986) and by Putnam (2000), which depends more or less on proximity or ties of history. For Bourdieu (1986), social capital is treated as a limited set of resources that social agents struggle to obtain in order to survive in the field through relations with others. For Putnam it is about social bonds and trust. In his book *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) proposed the importance of traditional institutions such as the neighbourhood and the church to increase social bonds among members. It is face-to-face interaction, reciprocity and trust among members that defines good communities. For Putnam, the influence of advanced technology and the increasing quantity of travel results in the decline of social capital among community members:

[Our predecessors] spent less time travelling and more time connecting with our neighbours than we do today and the design of our communities and the availability of public space will encourage more casual socializing with friends and neighbours (Putnam 2000, p. 407-408).

In contrast to Putnam, the concept of network capital suggests that co-presence and trust can be generated at a distance, even with strangers, and not just by face-to-face contact in small communities (Urry 2007).

There are eight elements of network capital. The first refers to ‘documents of travel’ (Urry 2007, p. 197-198). In relation to the mobility of young musicians between
three different locations in Indonesia, their travel can be permanent or just temporary. Permanent mobility means that they move from one city to another to build a career. In that case they need to have, and be able to use, their citizen card and family card to access their new place to stay or to access public transport. As for young musicians who conduct temporary mobility, they just need to arrange for train and flight tickets.

The second element of network capital is ‘others’ - workmates, friends and family members at a distance. For the young musicians in this study, the existence of acquaintances, especially fellow young musicians in another city, is one of the main strategic factors enabling mobility. They usually help each other in terms of job information, accommodation and so on, not just for musicians who visit temporarily but for those who conduct permanent mobility. The third element refers to ‘movement capacities’, especially being able to access computerized information, to arrange and re-arrange connections and meetings, the ability, competence and interest to use mobile phones, text messaging, email, internet, Skype and so on. The post-reform youth generation in Indonesia are very familiar with new technology, and prosperity has seen more progress in the development of transportation. In terms of technology, young musicians were found to be using various kinds of communication technology as well as new social media from Facebook, Twitter, Blackberry messenger, WhatsApp and so on. They effectively used them to arrange meetings, to build connections and to give information about new gigs and albums.

The fourth element of network capital is ‘location-free information and contact points’. Although young musicians have certain physical places for meeting, including the local community, cafes, malls as well as jam sessions for exchanging valuable information with each other, they also make contact and exchange information in the digital space through Facebook groups, Blackberry messenger groups, Twitter and so on.
This is their main tool for maintaining networks with musicians from the same city as well as different cities. For this they need the fifth element: ‘communication devices’. All of the young musicians have sophisticated mobile phones which help them to make and remake arrangements as well as to access the newest information while on the move. The sixth element is ‘appropriate, safe and secure meeting places’. As explained above, the young musicians meet in cafés, jam sessions, malls, and at university if relevant. As a seventh element they need ‘access to transport’ such as vehicles, buses and trains. The majority of young musicians use public transport (train, bus, taxis) as well as personal motorcycles and cars. In Jakarta, the use of public transport as well as the car is dominant, while in Yogyakarta and Bali motorcycles are used more often. They seldom use planes unless they get a big gig in a different city. Finally, time is an essential element of network capital, especially the time to co-ordinate all of the other elements of network capital. Young musicians have this time and use it efficiently, overcoming all kinds of difficulties, including public transport delays.

3.6 Risk Society and Individualisation

In contemporary sociological discourse, globalization has become an important subject since the 1980s (for example, Robertson 1992). For Wallerstein (2004) globalization is a long duree process; it is as old as human civilization itself. It was around 1990 that the term globalization was picked up by a group of sociological theorists including Beck (1992) and later Castells (1996), mainly in Britain and the USA. The term globalization means a process of change that has spread across all nations, bringing all countries to a great level of similarity: culturally and economically, especially since the start of the internet and flows of information (see Beck 2000; Castells 1996). Since then globalisation has become a central topic in sociology (Connell 2007). Sociological works
about globalization have increased in significant amounts, for example: globalization/glocalization as well as ‘grobalization’ (Ritzer 2004); the difference between globalism, globality and globalization (Beck 2000); the mapping of globalization actors such as Davos Culture, Yuppie Internationale and Faculty Club Culture (Berger and Huntington 2002); the transnational capitalist class (Sklair 1997); and criticisms of globalization (Heertz 2001; Connell 2007). Some points of recognition include the observations that: in economics there is increasing power of market and transnational corporations; in politics there is a reduction in the role of the nation state; in the social sphere everything is interconnected through the facilities of technology, capital and transportation; and in the sphere of culture there is interconnectedness between different cultures that produce homogenization, heterogenization and hybridization.

As one of the proponents of globalization theory, Beck (2000) argued for recognising the difference between globalism, globalization and globality. Globalism deals with economic aspects, especially the rise of neoliberalism which preaches market wisdom as the only alternative to create better world. A main idea of this neo-liberal ethos is the need for the state to conduct deregulation in the name of efficiency. Globalization for Beck (2000) means a multidimensional reconstruction and domination process which includes social, cultural and political aspects. Beck’s concept of globality points to the interconnection between every part of the world, so that nothing which happens on the globe is a limited local phenomenon. However, it is the case that globality is experienced very differently depending on where people live (Beck and Willms 2004, p. 36). This recent change into a global society had an impact on doing sociological analysis,

A new kind of capitalism, a new kind of economy, a new kind of global order, a new kind of personal life are coming into being, all of which differ from earlier
phases of social development. Thus sociologically and politically, we need a paradigm shift, a new frame of reference (Beck 1992, p. 2).

Beck (1992) suggested a shift from methodological nationalism to a cosmopolitan perspective. Beck saw classical and modern sociology as a science that was born in the context of the nation state, and its core concepts were built on assumptions about the scope of the nation state (Beck and Willms 2004). While sociologists continue to imagine society as an internal system of the nation state, this assumption excludes the contemporary reality of global society. Yet this could be questionable:

Methodological nationalism seems to imply that there is an ethical problem doing research on inequality within nation states, rather than focusing on how global forces engender larger relative inequalities between them (Threadgold 2011, p. 383).

In his influential book *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (1992), Beck argues that there has been an epochal shift from late industrial to risk societies. The late industrial period was an era when the state was the main actor that organized and distributed social welfare to its citizens. The central role of the state then best describes the experience of welfare states in Australia, Scandinavia, the UK and some European countries. However, for some countries in the Global South during this period, rather than experiencing a welfare state, it is more relevant to say that they experienced authoritarian regimes. Indonesia itself as a postcolonial state experienced a shift from the Soekarno regime which was focused on politics and nation building, to the New Order regime which focused on economic growth, using hegemonic military control in every aspect of life in
order to create national stability. Since the end of the New Order and the birth of full
democracy in 1998, Indonesia has been more oriented to neoliberal policy.

The shift from industrial to risk society means that it is no longer a matter of
dealing with distribution of welfare or benefits but with distributions of risk that move
beyond national borders. While in classical industrial society the logic of wealth
production dominated the logic of risk production, in risk society this relationship is
reversed (Beck 1992, p. 12). For Beck, it seems that there are no more boundaries for the
distribution of risk. However, it is obvious that the inequality between the Global North
and the Global South means that the distribution of risk has greater consequences in the
Global South. Since the majority of Global South countries do not have a welfare system,
it is obvious that risk is greater there. They lack social services to support vulnerable
people in the fields of education, unemployment and health care.

Risk is defined as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities
induced and introduced by modernization itself (Beck 1992, p. 21) in the era of
globalisation. Rather than abandoning the idea of modernity, Beck proposes risk as a
consequence of first modernity. In other words, social agents now are dealing with second
modernity in the various fields of their operations. This means that social agents now
need to be personally aware of risk and reflexively carry out actions to minimize the
impacts of risk that face them. In terms of time, risk can be divided between its already
destructive consequences and the potential elements of risk. In the first sense, action that
social agents need to do is in terms of curative action, while the second sense implies the
future aspect of risk, which needs a preventive action to minimize its impact:

The centre of risk consciousness lies not in the present, but in the future. The past
loses the power to determine the present. Its place is taken by the future, thus,
something non-existent, invented, fictive as the cause of current experience and action (Beck 1992, p. 34).

As mentioned above, risk, like wealth is an object of distribution that is relatively distributed in relation to social position, especially social class:

The history of risk distribution shows that, like wealth, risks adhere to the class pattern, only inversely: wealth accumulates at the top, risk at the bottom. As an impact, the wealthy can purchase safety and freedom of risk rather than the poor (Beck 1992, p. 35).

Beck (1992) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) explained that the shift to second modernity within the context of a globalised world had an impact on how the individual has to deal with their life as well as plan to create a future. These processes become more individualised. As explained by Threadgold (2011, p. 383), much of Beck’s work is an analysis of social change where social relations and responsibility have been individualised whilst economic relations and the production of risk have been globalised. However, living in individualised conditions does not mean that individuals are ‘free to choose’ (Roberts 2010, p. 139) even though choice is abundantly apparent as an option in young people’s lives in the contemporary era. According to Threadgold (2011), Roberts (2010) and others, it is incorrect to maintain that Beck is claiming contemporary subjects have more choice. In fact, individuals have to negotiate with the contradiction of apparent broad choice in changing socioeconomic structures that have not been experienced before.

Individualization is,
A social condition which is not arrived at by free decisions of individuals. Rather it is a compulsion to create and stage manage not only one’s own biography but the bonds and networks surrounding it and to do this amid changing preferences and at successive stages of life while constantly adapting to the conditions of the labour market and the education system (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, p. 4).

In other words, it is not just a matter of managing social networks, the individual also has to actively negotiate with the external structures which consist of, and produce, risk. In that way, second modernity is relatively different from first modernity where some aspects of individual life were pre-given and pre-defined by traditional institutions such as the family or community. The individualisation thesis explains how individuals have to reflexively interpret, decide and process into social action ways of minimizing risk,

Opportunities, dangers, biographical uncertainties that were earlier predefined within the family association, the village community, or by recourse to the rules of social estates or classes, must now be perceived, interpreted, decided and processed by individuals themselves (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, p. 4).

Similarly, in the interview with Beck about individualisation, Johannes Willms explained:

Each person now has to construct his own biography from a much wider selection of elements, nothing is pre-given and everything has to be negotiated (Beck and Willms 2004, p. 65).
Not only do individuals have to actively construct their own biography and negotiate it, individuals also have to be ready for the consequences of the decisions that they made before, and often the consequences are unpredictable, giving rise to uncertainty and enhanced perceptions of risk.

Some previous youth studies have applied the concept of risk. For example, Threadgold and Nilan (2009) synthesized the concepts of risk, cultural capital and reflexivity in the habitus. Based on an Australian high school study they concluded that the reflexive ability of young people to negotiate with risk is still related to their socioeconomic or class positions. Similarly, Nilan (2012) in her study based on a survey of several provinces in Indonesia, found that young people from less privileged backgrounds defined the obstacles to future prosperity in terms of structural and material factors (money, networks, chance), while young people from more privileged backgrounds defined obstacles to prosperity in terms of non-material, personal qualities such as being lazy and lack of motivation. Both studies imply the relevance of socioeconomic positions related to the distribution of risk.

In the context of contemporary Indonesia, it is worthwhile to quote an important insight from Beck, Bonss and Lau (2003) relevant to reflexive modernization theory:

Since this theory posits first modern society as a prerequisite for second modern society, there are groups of countries it does not apply to, for example, parts of Africa or Asia. These areas never experienced a first modern society, despite the fact that they are now enduring several of the same destabilizing forces as regions that did. Routes to and through second modernity still have to be described, discovered, compared and analysed (p. 7).
It is quite difficult to find a shifting moment from first modernity to second modernity in Indonesia. Rather than an organic process of institutional change, historically Indonesia was more influenced by forces such as Dutch colonialism, Japanese occupation, a war of independence and a 30-year modernization/development program under military control. Since the latter half of the twentieth century there has been increasing influence of globalization and neoliberalism. So there is not only difficulty in defining a shifting moment to the second phase of modernity; there is also a fundamental difference in several aspects of institutional change. Related to institutional changes, Beck (1992) explained:

The individual is indeed removed from traditional commitments and support relationships, but exchanges them for the constraints of existence in the labour market and as a consumer, with the standardization and controls they contain. Class differences and family connections recede into the background relative to the newly emerging centre of the biographical life plan. Status influenced, class cultural or familial biographical rhythms overlap with or are replaced by institutional biographical patterns: entry into and exit from the educational system, entry into and exit from work etc. (p.131-132).

In regard to this quote, there are some relevant elements to the Indonesian context such as the dominant role of labour markets and the system of education. However, it is important to note that in contrast to modern western history, Indonesia never experienced a welfare state. In the era of the New Order, the state had a dominant controlling role, based on physical and symbolic violence, but was not a provider of welfare support for its citizens. In terms of education, the state did not subsidize equal access to the full range
of public education so it meant that access to even late primary education was dependent on the class background of the family unit. On the other hand, the job market demands higher educational credentials even for the purpose of training internships. In reality, the state did not support the provision of jobs for its citizens, so many of them survived in the informal economy based on social networks. As a result of neo-liberalism, the majority of private companies as well as state owned companies started practising the concept of flexibility in their management system, which implicitly meant insecurity, uncertainty and precariousness for workers. In a micro context, this logic of flexibility resulted in more outsourced contracts for workers. This strongly affected the prospect of jobs and thus the future for young people. Furthermore, youth policy made by the Indonesian government, rather than trying to protect younger citizens, suggested solutions that accommodated the agenda of neo-liberalism.

In neoliberal times, the prescription instead is to help youth to help themselves, through providing the skills of employability. Public policy needs to improve the climate for young people, with the support of their families, to invest in themselves (Sukarieh and Tannock 2008, p. 309).

Young musicians experience a strong sense of risk as Beck defined it. Several risks are mentioned above. The career of a young musician is different from the profession of a civil servant for example, which offers certainty in terms of income, so being a musician is not the safest job to choose to smooth the transition to adulthood. They have to deal with uncertainty in terms of income, job contract and social insurance. Being a musician is totally dependent on market demands. This often results in extreme conditions where at one time a young musician can be a star but then popularity fades quickly when
market demands change. On the other hand, there is minimum intervention from the state for this career. The state only acknowledges the career of a musician as one sector of the creative industries. Nothing is done to guarantee the livelihood or the welfare of young musicians. They have to create their own sustainable income through mobility and maintaining social networks with strategically-located fellow musicians. This uncertainty forces young musicians to actively negotiate and take social action to protect themselves from the risks that surround them. This means that they have to construct their own biography as well as being ready for unpredictable consequences in the future. These are the objective conditions within which young musicians negotiate their life transition stage to adulthood.

3.7 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, Mannheim’s theory of the generations is useful to explain the economic, socio-cultural and political context for young musicians as members of the youth generation in post-reform Indonesia. However, Mannheim’s theory does not provide analytical tools to explain risk in relation to this generation. Beck’s theory of risk society is helpful for considering the perceptions of risk that influence the choices and strategies of young musicians in neoliberal Indonesia. Furthermore, the individualisation thesis advanced by Beck is useful for understanding how young musicians have to negotiate and build their own biographies in the new risk society.

The insights made possible by the individualization thesis are complemented by Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and the forms of capital, especially cultural capital. The ability of young musicians to negotiate with structural forces and build their own biographies is related to their habitus which tends to be reproduced in the field where they belong and operate. As a generative disposition, habitus is manifested in strategies that
young musicians create both objectively in social action, as well as subjectively in their struggles to negotiate with risk and make a successful career in the music industry. This reflexive capability as explained by Threadgold and Nilan (2009) can be defined as a form of cultural capital. Cultural capital is one of important elements, as well as social capital, synthesized by Urry into what he called network capital. This is most relevant because this study deals with aspects of mobility in the context of multiple, hierarchical and constantly changing fields of struggle. In summary, there are four distinct sets of theories that contribute to the analytical framework for understanding young musicians’ strategies to build music career potentials during the transition to adulthood. Research methodology is outlined in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains research methods and research techniques relevant to obtaining data. As explained elsewhere, this study has two main objectives for looking at youth transition in the Indonesian locations of Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali:

1) To discover how young creative musicians seek and create jobs in three locations in Indonesia
2) To investigate how young creative musicians view the future.

In total, 29 young musicians were recruited for the study using snowballing recruitment techniques in the three locations. Please see Appendix One for informant details.

4.1.1 Background to Data Collection

The study focuses on common employment seeking strategies, as well as strategies to develop entrepreneurial skills through social networking and mobility. It looks at hopes and ambitions for the future. The study recognises young creative musicians as active social agents who are always in the process of negotiation with the social cultural contexts that surround them locally, nationally and globally. The theoretical perspectives explained in the previous chapter support acknowledgement of them as reflexive social actors who map out their own life trajectories.
A researcher standpoint which views young creative musicians as active social actors in the process of negotiation means that the research design must allow this to emerge in the data. Methodologically the dialectical relationship between subjective and objective meanings constructed by them as research subjects must be foregrounded. It was judged that qualitative methods were best suited to this task. Through participant observation, in-depth interviews and the collection of documents (Bryman 2008), the researcher actively engaged with the socio cultural setting of the research subjects in order to understand them. However, by taking this position, the researcher does not follow a ‘naïve’ phenomenological approach but regards young creative musicians from within a Bourdieusian perspective which can recognise them as reflexive social actors. The researcher does not bracket off his own experiences and try to apply a value free position (Berger and Kellner 1981; Creswell 2003), but reflexively considers his own position biographically and historically as well as the issue of power relations related to the research subjects.

4.2 Research Methods

Previous studies about youth transitions in Indonesia have sometimes used quantitative methods to investigate the lives of young people (see Nilan, Parker, Bennett and Robinson 2011). The danger here is viewing young people as objects, or allowing the point of view of the researcher to construct the production of knowledge from young people as static objects (Bryman 2008). Another danger of using quantitative methods to study youth is that in terms of political knowledge young people have often been viewed as objects that need to be controlled in order to preserve the existing status quo, so this method can hide a technical interest.
In claiming to be ‘scientific’, quantitative research on youth usually marginalizes the voices of the research subjects: young people themselves. In the context of social science research in Indonesia, over-application of quantitative methods meant tools of legitimacy for the state through the technocrats to control its citizens. This was scientization of politics and public opinion (Habermas 1971). The same thing has happened in the context of youth studies in Indonesia (Azca et al. 2011). However, some previous studies of youth transition (Threadgold and Nilan 2009; Nilan 2012) tried to bridge the gap by combining qualitative and quantitative approaches in mixed methods studies which resulted in more comprehensive explanations of the youth transition process. However, this study has a different goal that requires emphasis on the voices of young people themselves. It upholds the principle that young people should be studied in their own right and from their own point of view (Jones 2009). In order to address that principle a qualitative study of youth transition is needed (see Naafs 2012).

As well as setting out to increase knowledge about the youth transition process in Indonesia, this study also deals with youth culture. In the tradition of youth culture research, there has been a shift towards empirical work on music and youth cultures since the 1990s (Bennett et.al 2003). This shift is a response to previous studies in the tradition of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies which were more oriented towards abstract theoretical explanation. So this shift to empirical work represents an effort to understand how young people construct themselves and their relation to broader society. Some previous studies of youth culture based on empirical work include: club culture (Thornton 1995; Malbon 1999), the gothic scene (Hodkinson 2002) and creative labour (Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2011). This study about young creative musicians in Indonesia is an empirical work of the kind suggested by Bennett et.al (2003), specifically a study employing qualitative methods.
The other reason why qualitative methods allowing the voice of youth were chosen for this study is based on a critical appraisal of a previous study of young musicians in Indonesia (Luvaas 2009). Although Luvaas conducted empirical research and collected data from informants, his analysis seemed like a conversation between Luvaas the researcher and an imagined theorist. Luvaas’ arguments remained at an abstract level and did not allow the voices of his informants to tell their own stories. Reading the work of Luvaas (2009), reminds me of Muggleton’s experience (2000) as a former punk enthusiast when reading the work of Hebdige (1979). Muggleton (2000, p. 2) says that ‘I took it home, began to read, and could hardly understand a word of it, ... was left feeling that it had absolutely nothing to say about my life as I had once experienced it!’ Based on my personal experiences as a professional musician in Indonesia, Luvaas’ account lacks narratives of ‘real’ struggle in multiple and hierarchical music fields. In contrast, this thesis project uses a qualitative approach in order to keep the analysis based on lived experience and to give more space to the voices of young creative musicians.

The qualitative approach for this study used in-depth interviews and participant observation as instruments to gather primary data. These qualitative methods both assume that,

1. Meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting.
2. Human beings engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspectives.
3. The basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with the human community (Creswell 2003, p. 9).
Young creative musicians are still in the process of transition. They have to deal with change and uncertainty related to their socio-cultural context as well as their own constructions of meaning in the music field. This condition is best addressed through qualitative methods (Bryman 2008, p. 388) that view social life in terms of processes. This approach can capture a strong sense of change and flux. A similar argument is advanced by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2011). In their view, qualitative methods can investigate how processes work in a number of different cases, allowing explanation of the production of certain objects, events and experiences. Below I explain in detail the qualitative approach, including: selection of research informants, research locations, in-depth interviews and participant observation. The dilemma of the embedded researcher’s role is also addressed.

4.3 Research Subjects

In methodentsreit (debate over methods) Max Weber proposed verstehen as one way to understand human action and how the exchange of meaning happens (Gerth and Mills 1958). This approach assumes the human being as subject rather than object of research. This study follows the same path by treating young creative musicians as subjects. However, treating a young creative musician as a subject does not assume that he/she chooses rationally to maximize profit as proposed by exchange theory (Ritzer 1992). Rather, he or she is assumed to be a subject who actively negotiates with internal issues and structural forces. This is an assumption within the constructivist tradition (Creswell 2003).

Researching youth means acknowledging that their lives are framed by age specific policies (Heath et.al 2009). These criteria shape selection of research subjects for
this study. According to the Indonesian Youth Law (*Undang–Undang Kepemudaan No 40. Tahun 2009*), the youth age range is 16-30 years old. Besides young creative musicians, the study is supported by data from senior musicians and music managers as well as organizers of events, who are usually older.

### 4.4 Young Creative Musicians: Who Are They?

As explained previously, young creative musicians are the main research subjects. So who are these young creative musicians? In the context of Indonesia, a taste for jazz and indie music is a phenomenon of the young middle class (Nugroho 2003; Sutopo 2010, 2012; Barendregt and Zanten 2002; Luvaas 2009). My previous study about the jazz community in Yogyakarta (Sutopo 2010) shows how they construct their own identities, values and lifestyle to create a strong style distinction (Bourdieu 1984) from other forms of popular music-based youth culture. In the indie scene they also develop their own identities and values as indie musicians. The overt DIY ethos they engage is proposed by Luvaas (2009) and also by Martin-Iverson (2011) to demonstrate their distinctiveness as a spectacular youth culture.

The young creative musicians in this study are in the process of transition to becoming adults and so they are concerned with the sustainability of income. Moreover, they are heavily burdened by the demand from their family as well as society to become a person in the full sense of the word (*menjadi orang*), in other words a legitimate adult. To satisfy this expectation they need to get more income, and save money to get married and buy a house (see Parker and Nilan 2013, p. 165). So as they try to become adult professional musicians, cultural aspects of the music field are used as tools to create the sustainability of their career in the future. Research subjects were selected to show aspects of this process.
4.5 Research Location

Qualitative research should best take place in a natural setting. This enables the researcher to develop a level of detail about the individual or place and to be highly involved in actual experiences of the participants (Creswell 2003, p. 181). The research locations in this study are three different places in Indonesia; Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali. The decision was partly based on previous studies made by the researcher (Sutopo 2011) which found that there are continuous mobilities of young musicians between the three locations. Many contemporary youth researchers have used their own direct experience of, and familiarity with, particular youth cultural groups as a way in, that is to say, as a means of negotiating access to research settings, establishing field relations and collecting data (Bennett 2003, p. 189). I also follow this trend, as I have had direct experience with groups of young creative musicians in the jazz and indie scenes in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Bali music scenes are less familiar. However, I have visited Bali several times and became familiar with some junior and senior jazz musicians living in Bali who come from Yogyakarta. Finally, having three different research locations is useful for some comparative analysis of how young creative musicians develop strategies to deal with the transition process in different contexts. It has been acknowledged that conducting qualitative research in more than one setting can be helpful in identifying the significance of the context, and the ways in which it influences behaviour and ways of thinking (Bryman 2008, p. 387).

Below some brief snapshots of the three locations are given to show these slightly different contexts.
4.5.1 Yogyakarta

Yogyakarta is famous as a city of education as well as for culture. Historically, Yogyakarta played an important role in the independence struggle, the formation of Indonesia as a nation state and political reformation back in 1998. An autonomous region in Central Java, Yogyakarta is led by Sultan Hamengkubuwono XII. Some associate Yogyakarta with authentic Javanese culture based on the agrarian tradition as well as the role of the royal palace in conserving high culture (kesenian adiluhung). However, modern Yogyakarta is characterised by complex contestation between a rationally based world view supported by people who typically have university backgrounds, and traditionally-oriented grassroots people (rakyat biasa) who try to conserve the authenticity of Yogyakarta. Many well-educated people in the city are moderate in their views and readily synthesise modern and local culture.

As a city of education, every year young people from different provinces in Indonesia come to Yogyakarta to study. They may choose the city as their future life destiny or just see it as a stepping stone to pursue a career in another city. For young people who are interested in music, Yogyakarta offers various music communities such as jazz, indie, reggae, underground and so on. Here a young person can learn about playing music and socialize informally. On the other hand, the tertiary Indonesian Institute of Arts (ISI) is a place to study music formally and perform. For young people who are serious about music, both the community context and the Institute offer a chance to accumulate initial forms of capital (social, cultural and network capital) in their chosen field of music. Yet Yogyakarta does not offer good wages for musicians. There is also a strong hierarchy among musicians based on seniority. The local music industry is not very well established and it is hard for musicians to become known and gain popularity.
My previous study (Sutopo 2010) showed that the Yogyakarta economy is still dominated by spaces of production (*tempat produksi*). People from Yogyakarta do not easily gain a national reputation. For jazz musicians this had an impact in terms of access to national media as well as wider exposure, so some of them moved away to get a better chance of making a music career. However, some musicians preferred to stay in Yogyakarta while broadening their contact network to Jakarta and Bali.

4.5.2 Jakarta

Ke Jakarta aku ‘kan kembali...apapun yang ‘kan terjadi.

[I will come back to Jakarta ... whatever happens in the future].


These lyrics from *Koes Plus*, one of the legendary bands in the Indonesian music industry, reflects how some people treat Jakarta as the main destination in life, no matter what happens for them. The capital of Indonesia, Jakarta is the centre of commerce, industry and politics. Jakarta is the main destination for people to become successful in economic terms as well as in every other field, including the creative music field.

Jakarta offers the dream of becoming a superstar to young creative musicians aiming for a career as a professional musician. The music industry in Jakarta is better-developed than other Indonesian cities in terms of scope of production and distribution. Big music label companies, major music festivals, famous musicians, and *cool* places for gigs as well as national television broadcasting are all found in Jakarta. This readiness of infrastructure is supported by the reasonable fees charged by professional musicians, giving them a wider chance to develop their professional career. To explain it briefly, in
Jakarta, young creative musicians can become a successful person (*menjadi orang sukses*).

However, as of the main site of the music industry, Jakarta is also more competitive. There is more risk of unscrupulous business practices, as well as lifestyle temptations such as drugs. In Jakarta, the logic of cultural production is based on the logic of industry. So young creative musicians may have to give up their creative idealism to succeed in the music industry.

### 4.5.3 Bali

Denpasar is the capital city of Bali and the location of the formal side of the local music industry. Bali is a tourist destination for national and global travellers, and it is arguably more famous on the world stage than Indonesia. As such, music entertainment both traditional and modern is one element that attracts tourist. Music performances are commonly available in almost every tourist place in Bali, for example Kuta, Legian, Seminyak, Sanur and Ubud. Music is performed in cafés, hotels, restaurants and at music festivals. The music industry in Bali is influenced by the tourism industry. Demand comes from local and global tourists with different music tastes and preferences, from traditional to modern.

Taking the example of the jazz scene, young jazz musicians have more opportunities in Bali to play both modern and hybrid jazz. In terms of payment for gigs, Bali offers better payment for young creative musicians, as well as relatively steady gigs, especially in places that are main tourist sites. In other words, it offers both well-paid wages and an element of freedom for idealist musicians to play their music. It is a much more cosmopolitan setting for creative music than Yogyakarta and Jakarta. However, the
cultural industry in Bali is based on tourism. This means that it is competitive and also it offers less chance to become famous nationally.

4.6 Strategies to Collect Data

For this study, primary data was obtained using in-depth interviews and participant observation. However, considering the position of the student researcher as an insider to the creative music scene, participant observation was an important strategy to gather data in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Youth researchers who have focused on young people’s music-based culture have often used their own familiarity with the setting as a way in; a basis on which to secure relatively straightforward access and establish easy rapport with the informants (Heath et al. 2009, p. 108). In Bali the researcher used in-depth interviews as the main strategy, since the insider status is not so well established. The important thing is to obtain sufficient detail in the data so as to understand the context (Bryman 2008, p. 387).

4.6.1 Participant Observation

Kawulich (2005) defines participant observation as the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in a natural setting through observing and participating in those activities. Bryman broadened the definition in his book Social Research Methods (2008, p. 402). He defined participant observation as an activity to gather data where the researcher participates in a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversation, asking questions as well as taking field notes. As a strategy of data collection, participant observation has several advantages,
1. The researcher has a firsthand experience with participants
2. The researcher can record information as it is revealed
3. Unusual aspects can be noticed during observation

(Creswell 2003, p. 186).

Participant observation suited this study. I was an insider in the Yogyakarta jazz music scene from 2004 on, involvement that continues today. While in Jakarta I was an insider in the indie music scene from 2008-2011 and after 2011 I was involved in the indie scene in Yogyakarta. As an insider, I can fulfil the advantages of participant observation (Creswell 2003). In this study I applied a participant-as-observer role. As the researcher I was actively engaged in regular interaction with informants and participated in their daily lives. This works well where the researcher is a fully functioning member of the social setting, but members of the social setting are aware of that insider’s status as a researcher (Bryman 2008, p. 410). In my case, I was still recognised by the informants as a fellow musician but I played a bigger role as a researcher.

Since I had been away in Australia, I had to rebuild trust with the research subjects. An effective strategy to rebuild trust is to attend regular jam sessions because they are meeting points (see Urry 2007) where senior and junior musicians, as well as managers and event organizers, gather regularly. Also I have maintained contact with some potential informants through social media especially Facebook and Twitter.

Kawulich (2005, p. 15) describes three kinds of participant observation:

1. Descriptive observation, in which one observes anything and everything, assuming that the researcher knows nothing; the disadvantage of this type of
participant observation is that it can lead to the collection of data that may or may not be relevant to the study.

2. Focused observation, emphasizes observation supported by interviews, in which the participants' insights guide the researcher's decisions about what to observe.

3. Selective observation, in which the researcher focuses on different types of activities to help delineate the differences in those activities.

Using this taxonomy, focused and selective observation was applied in the Yogyakarta and Jakarta music scenes. In Bali, I started doing descriptive observation later followed by focused and selective observations. This was helped by re-establishing contact with previous band mates from Yogyakarta who moved to Bali in 2007 and play regularly as well as producing music albums in Denpasar and Ubud.

The act of participant observation that was applied did not position young creative musician as objects of research. The research was done with them, not on them. I applied contextual participant observation, developing the Javanese socialising convention of nongkrong to interact with and observe the young creative musicians. A study of youth environmental organisations by Crosby (2013) nominated nongkrong as her successful strategy to participate in the community in Salatiga in Central Java. Nongkrong can be roughly translated as long informal conversation between friends while hanging out together. It is usually practised while seated or squatting in a loose group formation. In the music community nongkrong often involves playing some music as well. Young creative musicians play around informally on various music instruments ranging from guitar to percussion, sometimes resulting in new compositions. Nongkrong sometimes can seem like a time-wasting activity. However, in the experience of the researcher this ‘nothingness’ is actually the content and essence of nongkrong because implicitly it is an
activity to build chemistry between friends and peers. Through *nongkrong* in the music scene, young musicians learn the feel for the game, they reflexively modify their habitus and also map themselves against strategic social actors in the music field. At a personal level, *nongkrong* between peers can involve *curhat* (heart-to-heart conversation) between young creative musicians. Topics can range from musical ability, conflict with fellow musicians, music managers, unequal payment, private romances and plans for the future.

For young creative musicians *nongkrong* takes place in different places. To make it more systematised, based on previous experiences as an insider, places for *nongkrong* can be mapped as five main sites:

1. **Music community gathering places**

   This is the daily place of *nongkrong* for young creative musicians. It is somewhere to meet and talk and is not pre-determined. The gathering is a random activity characterized by spontaneity but may be planned. The general purpose is to hang out together and it plays an important role in maintaining social networks.

2. **Jam sessions**

   This is the place to learn musical attitudes as well as show off musicianship to other fellow musicians. *Nongkrong* in the jam session includes mapping positions in the music field, such as who is the leader and who are favourites.

3. **Gig venues**

   In gig venues, musicians and their followers are usually given a space by the hotel/cafe owner to prepare and talk. *Nongkrong* here involves learning the real skills to perform in public, and is somewhere to exchange information about forthcoming gigs.

4. **After gigs**
It is very seldom that after gigs the young creative musicians just go straight back home. They usually conduct nongkrong after gigs. The place can be very random; in front of the cafe, in front of a Circle-K store, at a food stall (angkringan) or just around where they live. Nongkrong after gigs is more private because it is usually related to evaluation of the performances. This is crucial for whether musicians will be asked to play again or not. It is a private space to distribute gig payment. It is a ‘backstage’ mechanism in the gig cycle.

5. Musician’s house

Referring to the backstage mechanism after gigs, nongkrong activity in a musician’s house represents a deeper layer of this. It establishes who ‘real’ friends (sahabat sejati) are among the young creative musicians. For some, even though they play in the same band in the same music community they are not really friends.

To record data from nongkrong activity, field notes were the main method. Field notes consisted of detailed summaries of events or interaction with research subjects as well as the researcher’s reflections on them (Bryman 2008). The researcher wrote up the full field notes at the end of the day.

4.6.2 Interviews

An interview is a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). It intended to produce understanding deeply related to the situation as well as the socio-historical context of the research subjects. Marvasti (2004, p. 18) divided the interview into two types, structured interviewing and unstructured interviewing. The fundamentals of structured interviewing include: asking the same question with no
variation, pre-established response categories (closed questions), and strict control of the interview protocol using a script (or a very specific description of how the dialogue should proceed). Unstructured interviews, referred to elsewhere as open-ended or semi-structured (Bryman 2008), allow more fluid interaction between the researcher and the respondent.

In this study, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews to complement participant observation and "nongkrong" with young creative musicians and to collect data from senior musicians, managers and event organisers. Semi-structured interviews in youth research allow narratives to be told. A narrative gives a chance for informants to reflect and tell stories about themselves to expose critical moments in the transition process (Heath et al 2009). Further it is also a method which sits comfortably with recent engagement by youth researchers with Beck’s individualization thesis (Heath et al 2009, p. 84).

Marvasti (2004) considers in-depth interviewing provides deeper self-understanding from the informant’s point of view while the interviewer gains an empathic appreciation of the world of the informant, allowing a multi-perspective understanding of the topic. In short, in-depth interviewing has the potential to reveal multiple, and sometimes conflicting, attitudes about a given topic (Marvasti 2004, p. 21). For this study, in-depth interviews asked about the historical-social cultural background, negotiation with families, strategies, mobility, different music fields and different generations, as well as changes in forms of capital needed to survive in cultural industries. Before doing the interviews, the researcher gained permission from the informants to record the interview process.

Despite the role of the researcher as insider, in this study the researcher used key informants (Bryman 2008) as a bridge to the new generation of creative musicians in
Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali. In Jakarta, the use of key informants was to broaden the network to potential informants in jazz and indie scenes, while in Bali key informants were crucial because the researcher is less familiar with the music scene. All key informants were fellow musicians who were interested in the world of music and in this study. It has been established that key informants develop an appreciation of the research and can direct the researcher to situations, events, or people likely to be helpful to the progress of the investigation (Bryman 2008, p. 409)

For this project, location of the interview depended on negotiation between the researcher and informants. Locations should be comfortable for both and allow conversational flow (Mcleod and Malone 2000). Each place was different in the choice of location for doing interviews. In Yogyakarta and Bali, the interview took place in the music community meeting place, after gigs and in musician’s houses. In Jakarta locations also included shopping malls and gig venues.

The in-depth interviews were either in Indonesian or Javanese language (bahasa jawa ngoko) depending on the place and informants. In Yogyakarta, interviewees mostly used Javanese language as it is the bahasa sehari-hari (everyday language) among young musicians. In Jakarta, the in-depth interviews were in Indonesian language since not all informants came from Java. In Bali, because I do not speak Balinese, the interview was in Indonesian. The student researcher selected 29 young musicians in total as subjects of analysis for this thesis. 16 informants were from Yogyakarta, eight informants were from Jakarta and five informants were from Bali (see Appendix One).

4.7 Secondary data

To obtain secondary data, the researcher used available resources supplied by the government such as figures from the National Bureau of Statistics (BPS) and statistical
data released by the Ministry of Youth and Sport, Indonesia. Other secondary data sources include social networking sites, blogs, newspapers, magazines and internet articles. As part of nongkrong and participant observation, photos were collected from gigs and from everyday nongkrong activity (see Appendix 2). Other sources were music CDs produced by creative musicians as well as gig posters and t-shirt logos.

4.8 To be Honest: Double Identities as a Researcher and Musician

Bennett (2003) in the book Researching Youth exposed the dilemma of being an insider. It needs to be questioned whether knowledge of particular music genres is sufficient to secure a researcher’s acceptance into a particular youth group to which he once belonged. This is because the researcher himself has experienced a transformation of identity from practitioner in the youth culture to the relatively detached academic researcher (Bennett 2003; Thornton 1995; Malbon 1999; Hodkinson 2002).

The student researcher in this case was also dealing with this dilemma. I have been involved in the music scene since junior high school in Solo, Central Java. After finishing high school, I moved to Yogyakarta for my undergraduate degree and continued to play music in Yogyakarta music scenes between 2003 and 2008. I played jazz (groove), top 40 hits and later indie music. It was my part time job while studying. I played jazz regularly in hotels and restaurants, in jazz festivals, as a session player for national singers and on local television. Throughout my undergraduate degree I was actively engaged in jam sessions. I briefly became a full time musician after graduating from University.

From 2008 to 2011, I studied in Jakarta for a Masters degree and continued my music career in the Jakarta indie scene and produced three indie albums with the same band. The indie scene in Jakarta is associated with the upper middle class. So I played in high class clubs around South Jakarta and Central Jakarta as well as at expatriate parties.
Although I was not playing jazz in Jakarta I still built relationships with fellow musicians in the jazz scene. In this period, I studied the jazz community in Yogyakarta so the contact with fellow musicians in Yogyakarta was maintained. The Master’s thesis was about dynamics of power in the Yogyakarta Jazz community. It was written from the position of the marginal jazz community during that time and reflexively applied the concept of culture as a source of domination.

In late 2010, I gained a contract as a sociology lecturer in Yogyakarta and was thereafter acknowledged both as a musician and as a lecturer in Yogyakarta. From 2011, I did not play regularly in a cafe or restaurant but played jazz in the music festivals and produced my own independent music album. This supported a trend in the Yogyakarta jazz community to produce original work rather than keep on playing standard jazz (Sutopo 2010). My double identity is made clear when I join a jam session there because they always introduce me as a lecturer.

This double identity is reflexively acknowledged by the student researcher both in terms of collecting data as well as the act of producing knowledge about young creative musicians. In the field, my identity as a musician was of benefit in facilitating a fluid interaction with fellow musicians who are still in Yogyakarta as well as with those who moved to Jakarta and Bali. However, my identity as a lecturer might have been problematic in creating a fluid interaction with the younger generation of musicians in the Yogyakarta and Jakarta jazz and indie scenes. As explained by Bennett et al (2003), the youth researcher has to deal with the issue of an unequal power relationship between the researched and the researcher. Furthermore, in terms of knowledge production, the researcher has to actively reflect on his double identity in order to produce a balanced analysis, to both represent the experience of young musicians as well being recognised in the academic world.
4.9 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, this study applied qualitative methods, specifically using participant observation and in-depth interviews as the strategy to collect data. The project was supported by secondary data from related resources. The choice of qualitative methods in this study is based on the research topic and research questions which deal with the process of youth transition among young creative musicians. The research locations are Yogyakarta, Jakarta and Bali. A previous study had already shown the mobility of young creative musicians through these three locations. The choice was also compatible with the principle of qualitative methods which suggests that more than one site of data collection is a way to make comparisons. Finally, the researcher considered his own position as an insider in the music field; this was critically examined. Young musicians’ class backgrounds are outlined in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE

Young Musicians’ Class Backgrounds

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the 29 young musicians’ class backgrounds and strategies to improve and maintain their class position in society. There are three groups; they are lower-middle, middle-middle or upper-middle class (see Gerke 2000). Each young musician has his or her own strategies of intra-generational investment. The general pattern is investment in institutional cultural capital, especially educational credentials. However, difference of composition and total volume of capital in each class grouping produces slightly different strategies of investment. The interpretations and arguments in the chapter are developed from previous studies on Indonesian youth by Martin-Iverson (2011), Luvaas (2009) and other relevant studies such as Barendregt and Zanten (2002), Bodden (2005), Baulch (2003) and Richter (2012). The comparisons to previous studies are explained below.

Martin-Iverson (2011) did not clearly explain the class position of his Indonesian youth culture research subjects either in terms of economic or cultural capital. He did point out that the underground music scene is often identified as a middle class phenomenon in Indonesia. In this regard he echoes the findings of Barendregt and Zanten (2002) about musik alternatif (the alternative music scene) as a phenomenon of middle class Indonesia. A similar inference is made by Bodden (2005) on rap music, and Baulch (2003) on the death metal scene during the late New Order in Indonesia; that it is a primarily middle class phenomenon. Martin-Iverson claims the underground music style
in Bandung to be located somewhere between middle class music style and the stigmatised *kampungan* styles of the urban poor. It is logical then that:

Underground youth come from mixed class backgrounds, from street kids to the children of the elite, though most fall somewhere between these extremes. Many are students or recent graduates; those who are employed tend to work in white collar service, clerical, professional, or cultural industries, though a significant number also engage in semi-formal or informal economic activities associated with the scene itself. In general, underground youth tend to have relatively high levels of education and modern consumption tastes, but also tend to be rather income poor (Martin-Iverson 2011, p.60).

Rather than focusing on class background and tastes, Martin-Iverson (2011) views underground music youth as a group which shares a form of precarious independence. Put in the national and global context, he defines this form of precarity as:

A concept that emphasises the insecurity and precariousness of labour under post-Fordism or neoliberal capitalism. Precarity is associated with newly ascendant forms of exploitation, precarious independence, and the erosion of the boundary between life and work experienced by those subject to flexible labour regimes, particularly young, casual, and informal workers in the service, cultural and information industries (Martin-Iverson 2011, p. 61).

Another study specifically focusing on various forms of musical sound in Yogyakarta was conducted by Richter (2012). His study mapped various musical forms in Yogyakarta
using Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, cultural capital and social capital. He also stressed the importance of space. Richter (2012) did not specifically mention the class background of his research subjects, but it seemed to range from lower class youth to more class-privileged youth in Yogyakarta. This is shown in contrasting examples of street musicians (*musisi jalanan*), traditional *jathilan* performers and *campursari* singers compared to university-trained musicians. Rather than focusing on class, his main focus was on how different spaces affected the production of musical sound and cultural capital.

In contrast, Luvaas (2009) emphasised social class as one of the main foundations for his analysis of the indie music scene in Indonesia. His understanding of class is drawn from Marx, Gramsci and Raymond Williams as well as Weber and Bourdieu. He defines social class as:

A sociological category, defined by its relationship with economic production, whose members share a common set of ideas, values and lifestyles that both unites them together as a group and sets them apart from everyone else. It is as much a cultural distinction as an economic one, although in reality, its cultural components are inseparable from its material conditions. The boundaries between class groups lie in their differential access to social, cultural and material resources (Luvaas 2009, p.32).

Class according to Luvaas is not a stable entity but always in continual process of maintenance and redefinition. The majority of his research subjects were from the middle class, yet for him the Indonesian middle class is not a stable social grouping, but is dynamic and changes over time. In order to consider class in relation to a DIY ethos, he made the following assertions:
For me being in the middle is the defining feature of middle class-ness in Indonesia today. It is an existential and ontological orientation as much as it is an economic condition or sociological category, an orientation of stuck-ness and between-ness that goes a long way in explaining the distinctly middle-class character of so many forms of contemporary DIY expression. DIY seems to promise a way out of this stuck position, a way of connecting beyond class distinction, national borders, and the officially sanctioned boundaries of Indonesian culture (Luvaas 2009, p. 35).

For Luvaas (2009), the participation of youth in the DIY music scene showed a shift in orientation towards commodified production of music and materials that represented being ‘cool’. However, the participation of youth in this DIY production was unequal, since some of them had more access and a better position relevant to DIY production than others. In other words, DIY implicitly reinforced class based differences.

Considering the work of Martin-Iverson, Barendregt and Zanten, Bodden, Richter and Luvaas on non-mainstream music scenes in Indonesia and their relationship to class, raises the question of how the class backgrounds of young musicians in this study compare to participants in those studies. In general, the informants here come from middle class backgrounds. Class is not defined using a static and deterministic approach, but follows Bourdieu’s approach to class,

Classes are defined in terms of similar positions in social space that provide similar conditions of existence and conditioning and therefore create similar dispositions which in turn generate similar practice (Swartz 1997, p. 153-154).
Class as a sociological category includes the accumulation of economic, cultural and social capitals that dialectically relate to each other. Class also relates to the total volume of capital and composition of capital; capital is not distributed equally in every social position. For the informants here, accumulation of economic and cultural capital kept them in the middle ground position between reality and idealism; between the idealism of being a musician and the reality of everyday life, not just as a mechanism of class distinction (Bourdieu 1984). They tend to build their own biographies of the future using the capitals that they accumulate, but this does not just come from their class background. However, the economic condition of the family is still important especially in the early stage of their process of becoming semi-professional and professional musicians. Family investment focuses specifically on objectified, embodied and institutional cultural capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). It is an important entry point to develop strategic cultural and social capital for young musicians. Besides formal education (music and non-music), other social institutions such as the music community have an important role as a space to accumulate various forms of capital. Furthermore, mobility to different locations in Indonesia and entry to higher levels in the hierarchy of the music field are important strategies to accumulate economic, cultural, social capital.

In a macro context, these young musicians grew up in the post-reformation era (post-1998) in Indonesia which is characterised by cultural openness and economic growth. As a new generation they have constructed different subjectivities about their life compared to previous generations. This is especially clear at the point when they decided to become a musician. In other words, the young musicians were committed to their career choice and responsible for their own future; they were building their own biographies and life trajectories (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) in order to survive in the music field.
For some young musicians, they succeeded in achieving upward movement in the field of music through mobility and acts of cultural and social capital conversion. However, this does not always mean that they also achieved upward class mobility in the wider society.

5.2 Young Lower-Middle Class Musicians

Angga

Angga is one of the informants who demonstrates the life trajectory of musicians from a lower class background. He is a drummer in the jazz and indie scene from Yogyakarta. In the context of Yogyakarta, he comes from a relatively lower-middle class background. His father works as a property agent selling land and houses and also runs a multilevel marketing business part-time. As described by Gerke (2000) he is part of the lower-middle business group in Indonesia. His father has a degree but as a property agent, it is impossible for him to obtain a regular monthly income. His income depends on commission for selling a house or land. In other words, he is located in the precarious labour market. Angga is the eldest child and the only male. He grew up in Bantul, a less developed area of Greater Yogyakarta characterized by an agrarian mode of production and small scale craft industries. In general, this region is home to citizens of Yogyakarta that are from poor, subsistence level and lower-middle class backgrounds (see Gerke 2000).

Angga’s family wanted him to continue into higher education so he enrolled in a communications degree in a low quality private university in Yogyakarta. This strategy shows that for young people from a less developed area, education becomes their personal infrastructure, a ticket out of town, a way to broaden their opportunities, to confront choices and risks and to escape the limited possibilities offered in their communities.
(Cuervo 2010, p. 129-130). However, in regard to Gerke’s (2000) reflections on class in Indonesia; this is an instance of *lifestyle* for the lower-middle class. They know that it is a low quality university and in the future there might be a lower chance to get a job. However, to have a university degree is one of the indicators that shows family status and participation in consumer culture (Gerke 2000). Having a university degree represents an act of symbolic consumption which is considered as a taken-for-granted *doxa* (Bourdieu 2000) across the class spectrum. On a macro level, this indicates increased participation of youth in higher education during the post-reformation era (Naafs and White 2012; Parker and Nilan 2013).

After a year at the private university, Angga gained a place at the most prestigious public university in Yogyakarta through his academic performance. By his account this achievement was a historical moment for his former high school in Bantul because he was the first to gain entry to that prestigious university (field notes February 2014). However, to study at the public university was not easy. He almost had to leave because his family could not afford to pay the first tuition payment, which was around 5-8 million rupiah ($500-800 AUD). His uncle loaned money to make the first payment. Angga’s decision to enter the prestigious university in Yogyakarta that represents entry to the middle-upper class in society opened up his strategic social capital, improving his cultural capital in music as well as giving him a strong position for negotiation in networking.

During his study at the prestigious university, he was able to take advantages of the music facilities provided by the extra-curricular university band. Although his father could not buy him a drum set, Angga got full access to the drum sets in the music studio owned by the university band. After class Angga started to practice his drum skills in the music studio together with his bandmates (Field notes 2013). Furthermore, it was through the university band that Angga became known among fellow musicians in the Yogyakarta
music field; both in the jazz and indie music scenes. In the case of Angga, the act of conversion from economic capital to cultural capital (enrolled at prestigious university) by his family became an entry point to access strategic social capital.

_Antok_

Antok is a violin player from Yogyakarta who has a similar class background location to Angga. However, Antok comes from a family with a strong musical background. His father is a famous _kroncong_ singer in Yogyakarta and his older brother is a successful saxophone player who plays for the home band of one of the private national television channels in Jakarta. As a _kroncong_ musician his father did not have a regular income when Antok was growing up. Their small house was the regular home base for the _kroncong_ group’s rehearsal led by his father, as explained by Antok:

> Because my father has a musical background, there was always a music group rehearsal in our house. _Karena orang tuaku background-nya musik, di rumah juga selalu ada komunitas musik yang latihan disana_ (Interview Antok 2013).

The reproduction of lower-middle class habitus in his family was shown when Antok followed an older brother to vocational high school. By getting a vocational trade he hoped to become independent and support his family,

> I followed my second oldest brother’s path to vocational school, since he got a job directly. At that time, I was in my third year of junior high school, but I decided to continue at vocational school. _Ternyata aku mengaca ke kakakku yang nomer

His father wanted him to get a music education and follow the family tradition but at that time Antok was not interested. He thought that it was impossible to make a living from music,

My brother who is an alumnus of the music school brought me the registration form to enrol in music school but I did not want to because at that time everyone was going into music and I thought music was not a form of work. Busking every day is not respectable. Aku dibelikan formulir sama kakakku yang nomer tiga itu untuk masuk ke SMM<sup>12</sup>, tapi aku nggak mau masuk alasannya ngapain semua harus masuk musik dan menurutku musik itu nggak bisa buat bekerja. Ngamen terus nggak terhormat nggak menghargai (Interview Antok 2013).

In the second year of vocational school he decided he did want to go to the music school, but first Antok had to prove to his parents that he was serious about becoming a musician. His parents supported him until his first year at university,

They continued to support me until first year at university but after that I could pay my own fees from my job as a musician. Aku masih dibiayai sampai tahun pertama kuliah tapi setelah itu aku bisa sendiri dari kerjaan di musik (Interview Antok 2013).

<sup>11</sup>Sekolah Teknik Mesin (STM) is a vocational public school focusing on machinery.
<sup>12</sup>Sekolah Menengah Musik (SMM) is a vocational public school focusing on music.
Antok’s situation demonstrates both family habitus and reproduction (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) in that he followed his father and brother’s occupation of musician. Moreover, at first he decided to continue to vocational school in order to get a job as soon as possible in order to help his family, in other words, a fast track decision. Yet perhaps his father’s position as a famous kroncong musician inflected his habitus to make him feel that he could reproduce the status of musician. Cultural capital in terms of an educational credential (Swartz 1997) was considered important by Antok’s family to maintain status.

Antok received many advantages because his family home was the home base of kroncong rehearsal. In kroncong, the violin is one of the vital instruments besides the cello and the flute. Antok, who was majoring in violin, often joined the band rehearsal; learning new repertoire and music skills from his father’s fellow musicians. This gave him a chance to accumulate social capital. For a young musician like Antok, it was necessary to do an apprenticeship with the ‘master’ (Wilson 2009) in order to recognize the feel of the game and the composition of valuable capital in the music field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

5.3 Cultural Capital as an Instrument for Upward Class Mobility

For young musicians from lower-middle class backgrounds, enrolling in higher education is one of the main strategies to achieve upward class mobility. In the case of Angga the act of economic to cultural capital conversion made by his family provided an entry point for him to experience a middle-upper class habitus and also maximized the profit which was provided by a higher social space (the prestigious university). This
exemplifies the principle task of education to prepare young people for life, as explained below:

Education is to provide the knowledge and skills to enable young people to make material success for life. This is seen to require a command of the fundamental knowledge or of a basic skill relevant to his future career … emphasizing the new requirement for adolescents to be more autonomous and self-reliant than their predecessors (Wyn 2009; p. 4).

Angga was able to maximize his gains through accessing a musical instrument (drums) from the music studio provided by university. Through these facilities, he developed drum skills and other musical skills (performance, attitude, repertoire and so on) that were relevant to struggle in the Yogyakarta music field. He was also able to develop a social network within the dominant jazz community. Later, networks from the dominant jazz community became very important and strategic (social and cultural) capital to achieve upward mobility in the field of the Yogyakarta jazz/indie scene. As a young musician who did not have a family with a musical background, mobility to different social spaces (university band and jazz community), helped to develop his musical habitus.

On the other hand, for a lower-middle class musician like Antok the role of a richer extended family was an important factor to support the family investment. Antok’s father was eager to maintain his family status as a famous kroncong musician. The achievement made by Antok’s older brother as a successful musician in Jakarta was a success story for his family; it represented upward mobility in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993). It proved that his family members could survive economically as professional musicians. As an impact of his brother’s upward mobility,
Antok could continue to higher education with financial support from his older brother. In order to maintain his own status position, Antok’s father invested family economic resources in music education both at SMM and ISI13. Antok studied violin. As a violin player, one of the best income opportunities is to become a session player in an orchestra and in bands. Thus the music institute was the most strategic option to accumulate cultural and social capital relevant to the highbrow orchestra music field. Investment in higher music education was an important strategy for Antok’s family to maintain their status as a family of musicians. In their everyday lives, musical habitus was reproduced through regular kroncong rehearsals in Antok’s family home. It is likely that this experience unconsciously reproduced in Antok taste preferences for music. The exposure also provided free musical apprenticeships with senior musicians and developed his social networks.

5.4 Young Middle-Middle Class Musicians

Doni

Doni is a saxophonist from Solo. He moved to Yogyakarta after high school. His father is in a middle class occupation of civil servant at the national radio broadcaster. He is also a part time musician who plays regularly in an up-market restaurant. The family home is large with three motorcycles in the garage. According to Gerke (2000) and also Leeuwen (2011) one of the indicators of middle class status in Indonesia is participation in higher education. This was reflected by the habitus of Doni’s family. His father had encouraged Doni to study music since high school and to continue his studies at ISI, following the lead of his two older brothers. His parents fully supported him,

13 Institute Seni Indonesia (ISI) is a state owned college of arts located in Yogyakarta.
I am supported by my parents and I get some spending money from them. I live with my mother, so I get my meals there too. *Aku sekarang hidup dibantu orang tua, untuk hidup dan uang saku sedikit. Aku hidup dengan ibu, kalau makan ya ikut orang tua* (Interview Doni 2013).

His parents were encouraged to support him because of the success story of his older brothers,

*Both of my older brothers Dono and Dona were educated in Yogyakarta so naturally I follow them. Because people say my brothers are successful as musicians, my parents think all their sons can make a living from music. *Kakak saya sekolah di Yogyakarta, Dono, Dona, otomatis saya harus ikut. Karena tanda kutip kakak saya berhasil di musik, jadi orang tua saya merasa anak bisa hidup di musik* (Interview Doni 2013).*

Besides his parents, Doni’s older brother (who is already a well-known musician and arranger in Jakarta) supported him by paying the higher education expenses. However, it was not only support in term of higher education expenses. His father and older brother also bought him a saxophone and a clarinet when he was at music school (SMM). This was an important action to convert economic capital (money) into objectified cultural capital (saxophone and clarinet) in the field of music (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). This facilitated Doni to practice every day. However, this transmissibility of objectified cultural capital only applies to the material objects themselves and not to the way in which these objects are to be appreciated (Kraaykamp and Van Eijck 2010, p. 211). In order to master the instruments, the process of embodiment required personal efforts from Doni
himself. Not all musicians can afford to buy musical instruments. For example, Angga who comes from a lower-middle class background could not at first afford to buy a drum kit.

Recently, Doni upgraded his saxophone; it was a Kenny G brand which cost about 15 million rupiahs ($1500 AUD). Later his older brother opened up his strategic social capital further by giving him a job as a regular session player for a national big band. Through the big band Doni had a chance to appear on several national televisions programs. Moreover, until now Doni’s parents and older brother still financially support him even though he graduated in 2012.

**Imam**

Imam is a Yogyakarta saxophonist born in Medan. He also comes from a middle class background. His father’s occupation is as a military officer, which according to Gerke (2000) is a middle class occupation in Indonesia. His father gave permission to Imam to study music. Although he joined the military, when he was young his father’s dream was to become a musician. In Medan, Imam majored in the saxophone at music school although he was actually more interested in playing violin. His decision to choose saxophone was related to the habitus of his nuclear and extended family. It is part of the family tradition that all the male family members including his father and uncle play a brass instrument:

My father has a music background and also for all my uncles, it is an obligation to master a music instrument, all the male members are able to play music. They focus on woodwind instruments. *Dasarnya musik juga kan Bapakku terus paman-pamanku semuanya itu wajib bisa menguasai alat musik, yang cowok-cowok itu*
In order to support Imam, his father bought him an alto saxophone and taught him how to play a music scale. After Imam came back from music school, his father often asked him to do a duet jam session at home. As he explained:

Besides music school, it is my father who directed me. He plays trumpet and we often had a duet together. *Selain dari sekolah musik, aku diarahin sama bapakku mas, dia kan bisa main terompet juga kan, aku duet berdua sama dia* (Interview Imam 2013).

Besides supporting Imam in musical skills, his father encouraged him to join a funk rock music competition in Medan as a mechanism to introduce Imam to the ‘real’ music field. At that time, *Funky Kopral* - a national band - was very famous and was considered skilful and cool among young people. Imam was inspired by *Funky Kopral* and his own band often won local music competitions because they made unique musical arrangements. Imam’s father’s action demonstrates the conversion of economic capital as well as transmission of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). His father converted economic capital to cultural capital both objectified (saxophone) and institutional (educational credential) and also transmitted embodied cultural capital (musical skills) through duet jam sessions. Implicitly, the transmission of embodied cultural capital shows the reproduction of family habitus, especially the tradition that all male members have to master a brass instrument.

After finishing his study of music in Medan, Imam felt that he just had basic skills and was not satisfied with his achievement. He thought that the music curriculum in the
Medan music school was less developed than in Java, especially Yogyakarta. Since Imam had already decided to make his living from music, his father gave full support for him to continue his study at ISI in Yogyakarta. Imam’s father financially supported him for both higher education tuition fees and everyday living expenses until he graduated. Later Imam moved to Bali and then to Jakarta where he could earn a good income. During his study at ISI, Imam was able to develop his music skills both theoretically and practically. His specific valuable cultural capital is his specialization on alto saxophone. This is a rare specialization among jazz musicians; later it became Imam’s bargaining power to struggle in the jazz music field in Bali. Furthermore, being a student at ISI opened up his strategic social capital (Bourdieu 1986) to the dominant Yogyakarta jazz community; which gave him a chance to play regularly in several jazz clubs as well as at annual jazz events such as Java Jazz (Jakarta), Ngayogjazz (Yogyakarta), Jazz Gunung (East Java) and Kinabalu Jazz festival (Malaysia).

Afgan

Similar to Imam, Afgan is a percussionist born in Medan who comes from a middle class background. His father is a retired civil servant who used to have a strategic position in the local bureaucracy. Although Afgan comes from a middle class background, his social environment in Medan was associated with drug addicts. His father sent him to Yogyakarta in order to save Afgan’s future,

Unfortunately, my social environment was ‘dark’ and associated with drug addicts and so on, so my father saved me by sending me to Yogyakarta. Kebetulan lingkungan rumah terlalu ‘gelap’ kayak narkoba dan segala macem maka ceritanya aku diselamatkanlah ke Yogyakarta (Interview Afgan 2014).
His father had supported Afgan’s passion for music since high school. Afgan took a private drum course. His father initially supported his decision to continue as a professional musician by tertiary training. However, his father and Afgan changed their mind after they visited ISI and observed the attitudes of theatre study students. When they saw the young people performing, the parents realised that the habitus of theatre students at ISI did not represent middle class practices. So for them it raised doubts about Afgan’s music performance career in the future. He explained:

I planned to enrol in ISI. At that time, my parents were in Yogyakarta so I invited them to visit ISI. We saw students in theatrical performances and it made me doubt. What will I become in the future? You can be crazy if you enrol here said my parents. *Aku rencana masuk di ISI, Kebetulan saat itu orang tuaku masih di Yogyakarta, aku ajak ke ISI saat itu. Kita ngeliat orang-orang kayak teater gitu kan, jadi ragu aku di ISI. Nanti mau jadi apa kamu disini bisa gila kalau kamu disini kata orang tuaku* (Interview Afgan 2014).

His father directed Afgan to enrol in an economics degree instead at a private university. Yet he also supported him to enrol in three different music courses and supported his everyday living expenses. In the context of Yogyakarta, it should be noted that those three music courses were elite and expensive. However, his father did not invest in drums. Afgan could practice only during class in the music course. One year later, Afgan bought a set of drums with his own money that he earned from gigs. The opportunity that he got from joining three music courses opened up his social network; later it was through a community based music course that Afgan met one of the senior
jazz drummers in the Yogyakarta jazz field. Afgan became his favourite student. The senior jazz drummer opened up his path to do an apprenticeship in one of the prestigious jazz clubs and he played in a well-known big band from Yogyakarta, owned by a retired national businessman. Later through strategic social capital (Bourdieu 1986), Afgan got the opportunity to play in the international Java jazz festival in Jakarta. Besides that, Afgan also met Helmi, a bass player, and Jaco, a guitarist, who later inspired him to move to Bali. Helmi and Jaco helped him by giving free accommodation, meals and music jobs to survive in his first year of struggle in Bali.

In the case of Afgan, his father converted economic capital to institutional cultural capital that resulted in educational credentials both from university and music courses, but he did not invest in objectified cultural capital (drum set). On the other hand, he resisted investing money for Afgan to enrol at ISI; perhaps indicating the reproduction of middle class habitus. In his view the habitus of theatre students at ISI did not reflect middle class practices; rather it represented lower class practices. In summary, Afgan’s father financially supported him until he graduated and moved to Bali where he could earn better income.

Dhana

Dhana is an indie and jazz guitarist born in Cilacap, Central Java. Both of his parents work. His father is a civil servant and his mother is an entrepreneur. From the family home, his mother ran a food stall and rented out boarding for devout female Moslem university students. Since high school, his parents supported Dhana’s hobby in music. They agreed to support him to enrol in a music course in Yogyakarta and also bought him a guitar, effects and an amplifier. These resources gave more opportunity for Dhana to practice after he came home from the music course. However, his parents
insisted that music is only a hobby. They preferred to support him to enrol in a psychology degree at one of the private universities in Yogyakarta.

After two years at university, Dhana felt that psychology was not his passion; he was interested in music theory. He had to negotiate with his father when he proposed to continue his study at the Yogyakarta music institute (ANIMA). His father felt that he already invested money to support his higher degree education, for him it was wasted money. Similar to Afgan, his father was afraid that Dhana could not survive in the future if he only became a musician:

I like music theory so I wanted to continue to music education. At that time, my parents did not agree especially my father. In contrast to my mother who gave me freedom. It took two weeks until my father accepted my choice. His argument was simple: what you will be in the future if you only play music? Aku suka teori-teori musik, akhirnya aku kuliah musik. Saat itu orang tua berontak, terutama Bapak. Kalo ibu terserah. Hampir dua minggu baru Bapak menerima alasanku. Argumennya sederhana: kamu mau jadi apa kalau kamu hanya main musik? (Interview Dhana 2014).

After two weeks, his father gave permission to Dhana to enrol in music education but with one requirement that he had to be responsible for his own choice. Being a student at ANIMA opened up his knowledge related to theory of music, improvisation and composition. Later, one of his fellow musicians from the same institute introduced him to one of the indie and jazz communities in Yogyakarta. Through the community he met indie bandmates and started to do some gigs in the Yogyakarta music scene. Dhana was
able to convert his cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) from ANIMA to economic and social capital after he became a music instructor in a private music course.

During Dhana’s study in 2003-2007, his parents gave support for education and everyday living expenses. They also gave support during his unstable transition to work. This exemplifies findings from Hardgrove et.al (2015) to the effect that family support provides a consistent foundation from which young men acquired enough stability to navigate unstable working options (p. 1072). In music activities, Dhana often used the allowance from his parents to pay for rehearsal space. He also got financial support from them when he produced his first indie album in 2012. It covered the expenses of recording, mixing and mastering for the whole album. Furthermore, financial support was extended until Dhana got married. As a second plan to generate a stable income, his parents invested money to open a new food stall after he got married in 2013 (Interview Dhana 2014).

Aad

Aad is an indie guitarist born in Semarang. He comes from a middle class background; his father is a professor at a public university. His parents noticed his music passion at high school. They found out that Aad always borrowed an acoustic guitar from his friend and brought it to school. His father bought him an acoustic nylon-stringed guitar to encourage him:

At first, I learned to play a guitar; I borrowed it from my friend. Then my parents noticed my passion for the guitar, they thought that I was learning it seriously. So they bought me a guitar from the market, it cost 150 thousand rupiahs ($15 AUD), a nylon acoustic guitar. Belajar pertama kali aku pinjem gitarnya temanku, terus
akhirnya hal itu di tangkap oleh orang tuaku gitu, belajarnya seriuserus. Terus akhirnya mereka beli gitar, pertama kali aku punya gitar beli di pasar harganya 150 ribu, gitar akustik nilon (Interview Aad 2013).

With his new guitar Aad developed his skills through learning from a guitar magazine that was popular among young people during the late 1990s. Besides buying him a guitar, his parent also supported him to enrol in a private music course in Semarang. There he diversified his skills and took drum lessons. However, Aad had not decided that he wanted to become a full time musician when he was in high school.

As the son of university professor, it was an obligation for Aad to continue to higher education. In 2003, he was accepted at the prestigious public university in Yogyakarta; his parents gave full support for his higher education and everyday living expenses. Moreover, his parents also supported him to take private guitar lessons with a professional guitarist who graduated from the University of California. Aad became more serious about playing guitar after he joined the university band. During this time his parents bought him his first Squire electric guitar, amplifier and multi-rack effects. In total, it cost around 7-8 million rupiah ($700-800 AUD). These resources improved his musical skills and also broadened his social network. Together with the university band, he won at national music festivals and received a trophy as best guitarist. It was from two years’ experience with the university band that Aad learnt valuable cultural capitals such as performances, attitude on the stage, composing music and personal confidence (Interview Aad 2013). Furthermore, he also developed strategic social capital from his fellow bandmates who had better positions in the Yogyakarta music field. Although he had some good musical achievements, he preferred to take a middle ground position and continued to a Masters degree at a private university in Jakarta.
The habitus of a well-educated family had a strong influence on Aad. In Jakarta, his parents continued to support him both for his expensive masters degree and everyday living expenses. Indirectly, mobility to Jakarta reunited him with his fellow bandmates and Aad started to develop a new indie band as well as developing new social networks. He regularly played in music events at his Jakarta university. It became an entry point for him to obtain strategic social capital from a famous national singer. His indie band was given a chance to play as an opening act for the national singer. Since early 2013, Aad has been working as a lecturer at a private university in Jakarta. His parents are no longer supporting him financially. While earning a relatively stable income as a lecturer, Aad is now concentrating on developing his new indie band. His band is in the process of launching their first album (Interview Aad 2013).

5.5 Cultural Capital and the Reproduction of Middle Class Position

The lives of Doni and Imam so far show the reproduction of a middle class position using family resources for economic capital and education (Reay 2004) as a source of elevated cultural capital in the field of music. Since they were very clear about the choice of profession as a musician in the future, the family investment in education was directed into very specific cultural capital to improve their musical skills and knowledge. The conversion into cultural capital consisted of objectified, embodied and institutional cultural capitals (Bourdieu 1986). These were accumulated capitals to struggle for upward mobility in the music field in the future. On the other hand, the family investment implicitly shows the strategy of maintaining the habitus of a middle class family with a strong musical background, in the way explained by Bourdieu:
The transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives proportionately greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies (Bourdieu 1986, p. 84).

Moreover, it shows the reproduction of dispositions in the habitus, the mode of thinking and also tastes or preferences for certain music genres which represent middle class taste (Bourdieu 1984).

Although the informants from the middle-middle class came from similar socio-economic backgrounds, the families of Afgan, Dhana and Aad took different strategies of investment in order to maintain their class position. They tended to play safe for the future by suggesting their sons take a middle ground position. The family investment in education was not specifically for music higher education. However, they still invested in music courses as well as objectified cultural capital (such as musical instruments). This non-degree music education was still a space to reproduce middle class habitus. Moreover, the participation in the non-degree institution indirectly opened up young musician’s strategic social and cultural capitals. These strategies demonstrated the diversification of family investments to maintain a middle class position for the next generation. It seems obvious that a middle class family does not want to experience downward mobility in the future. This was one of the factors that shaped their view on a music career as a risky profession in the future. In general, compared to informants from lower-middle class backgrounds, material constraints did not seem to be the main problem for the act of investment by a middle-middle class family.

5.6 Upper-Middle Class Young Musicians

Vicko
Vicko is a bass player from Malang in East Java who moved to Yogyakarta to attend a private university. His father works for a private company and gives full support both for Vicko’s higher education and everyday living expenses. Vicko lives in a rumah kost (student boarding house). It should be noted firstly that the tuition fee at his private university is more expensive than for a public university. Secondly, his father pays monthly rental for his room in the rumah kost. He also pays for everyday meals and for motorcycle fuel. Other costs include a mobile phone and a laptop. Finally, his father paid for a Yamaha five string bass guitar which would have cost between 5-10 million rupiah ($500-1000AUD). As Vicko explained:

Meals, fuels, kost fee, motorcycle, mobile phone, bass, laptop. Sure, all those needs are supported by my father. Uang makan, bensin, biaya kos, motor, hp, bass, laptop. Intinya semua kebutuhan itu didukung orangtuaku (Interview Vicko 2013).

As a young musician from an upper-middle class background, the reproduction of habitus preferences for highbrow culture began early. His father owned and played a piano; he taught Vicko to read music when he was at kindergarten. Furthermore, his father supported Vicko to learn classical guitar during junior and senior high school:

Firstly, I learned to play piano, owned by my father. He can play piano too, and I often saw him playing. Then he gave me a basic book, taught me to read music and then I learned by myself. That was the moment I knew music. Then in grade five of elementary school, I learned classical guitar - until grade three of junior high school. Then I continued in senior high school. During this time, I also started
to learn to play bass guitar. *Awalnya belajar piano, bapakku kan punya piano, terus beliau bisa lumayan main piano, terus aku lihat. Terus aku dikasih buku dasar, diajarin baca terus mulai belajar sendiri. Nah dari situ aku awalnya kenal musik. Terus SD kelas lima itu belajar gitar, belajar gitar klasik itu sampai kelas 3, terus gitar klasik masih berjalan sampai SMA. Sambil itu aku juga kenal bass* (Interview Vicko 2013).

Vicko’s early preference for classical music represents the taste of upper-middle class Indonesians; classical music was considered as part of high culture or *kaum gedongan* (Baulch 2010), compared to *dangdut* for example, which represented low culture or *kampungan* (Weintraub 2011).

As a young musician from the upper-middle class, Vicko is relatively free from material constraint; he can freely develop tastes that reproduce class distinction (Bourdieu 1984). This was shown in acts of consumption. Although he already had a Yamaha five string bass guitar, his father bought him a custom six string signature bass guitar which cost 15 million rupiahs ($1500AUD). He also bought him multi-rack effects and a bass amplifier. In order to further develop his music skills, his father supported Vicko’s decision to enrol in a private music course with a leader in the Yogyakarta jazz community. It was through this strategic social capital built with the jazz leader that later Vicko accumulated more volume of social and cultural capital to struggle in the jazz field.

After finishing his study, Vicko’s father still gave support during the extended transition to work. Vicko decided to stay in Yogyakarta although he had a plan to move to Jakarta soon. Although his father no longer gave support for higher education tuition, Vicko still got full support for his everyday living expenses. Furthermore, investment to support Vicko’s music career was stronger when Vicko told his father that he wanted to
be a ‘real’ jazz bass player. In the jazz field, the doxa mandates that the instrument for a ‘real’ jazz bass player is a double bass. His father bought him a custom double bass which cost around 12-15 million rupiah ($1200-1500 AUD). This act of conversion from economic to cultural capital shows how the privilege of the middle-upper class implicitly maintains distinction (Bourdieu 1984).

Iman

Iman is a jazz, indie and session drummer born in Yogyakarta. His father is a businessman and gave full support for Iman’s music passion. In senior high school, Iman already had a drum set and joined a music course in his home town. It facilitated him to learn some basic drum skills during his early teenage years. Iman’s father encouraged him to specialize in jazz technique after he read an article that claimed a ‘drummer has to play jazz in order to be a good drummer’. Later Iman enrolled at a public university in Yogyakarta, majoring in music,

I took a music course, there I learnt more about music and how to develop a certain kind of music. I played drums and one time my father read an article that shows a drummer must learn to play jazz. Then I enrolled at UNY majoring in music. Terus les, disitu aku mengenal musik, dikembangkan jadi musik apa. Saat itu main drum, waktu itu Bapakku baca artikel bahwa kalo drummer bagus itu harus belajar jazz. Terus aku kuliah musik di UNY (Interview Iman 2014).

During his music study, Iman got full support financially both for higher education and everyday living expenses. Iman’s home town is approximately 2-3 hours from Yogyakarta so he had to live in a rented house. At the music class, it was an obligation to
have a drum set so his father bought him a professional drum set. These resources facilitated Iman to practice every day; particularly to practice tempo discipline from slow to fast (Interview Iman 2014). His father also gave him financial support to join a music course based in a community in North Yogyakarta. It was through this community that later Iman developed his strategic social and cultural capital to struggle in the Yogyakarta and Bali music fields.

After finishing his music study, Iman wanted to continue studying music abroad. He always dreamt of studying music in Groningen in the Netherlands. He was inspired by a drummer from Jakarta. His father facilitated Iman to join an English course in order to meet one of the requirements to enrol at university abroad. Iman moved to Jakarta for several months and tried to maximize his drum skills in order to pass the music test. Mastering advanced drum skills was part of the requirements. Financially, his father was ready to support Iman to study abroad but in the end he did not pass the test. He decided to move to Bali. After moving to Bali, Iman did not get any further financial support from his father. However, the total volume of cultural and social capital that he had accumulated was enough to enable him to struggle and survive in the Bali jazz music field.

Enji

Enji is a drummer from Jakarta who moved to Yogyakarta to study at a private university. He got full support from his parents both for higher education and everyday living expenses. As the son of a father from an upper military background, Enji had his own music studio at the family home. These privileges helped him to develop his drum skills at home. It also became a means of broadening his social capital since many fellow musicians came often to his studio to practice or just to hang out. In order to develop his
drum technique skills, Enji got full support from his parents to get private lessons. His private music teacher was a well-known drummer in Yogyakarta who has become an international blues drummer and often performs concerts in the USA, UK and Australia. His music teacher gave him useful cultural capital in terms of attitudes, improvisation techniques and other sophisticated drum skills relevant to the field of the music industry. Furthermore, his parents gave full support for him to join a private music course institution to develop his social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). However, at that time his parents still saw music only as a hobby. His parents insisted that Enji had to work in an office.

After finishing his study in business, Enji went back to Jakarta and lived with his extended family in a privileged area in South Jakarta. Enji decided that he wanted to be a professional musician and proposed to his parents to continue study at an elite music school located in Kemang, South Jakarta. This elite music school is well known because all the instructors are high-level musicians or even superstars in the national music industry. The school founder is an Indonesian music professor who graduated from Freiburg University and spent 36 years in the European music field. The music school often invites professional musicians from the USA, Europe and Australia as guest lecturers. After Enji proved his seriousness to study music, his parents gave him full support to continue a Diploma Program for two years at the elite music school:

After I proved that I was serious about studying music, my parents allowed me to move to Jakarta and enrol in the Diploma Program for two years. Setelah ada pembuktian-pembuktian baru boleh aku ke Jakarta untuk kuliah serius di musik kan. Itu aku ambil Program Diploma sertifikasi selama dua tahun (Interview Enji 2013).
During his music study, his parents continued support both for higher education and everyday living expenses. Through the elite music school, Enji was able to accumulate strategic cultural and social capital relevant to the struggle for survival in the Jakarta music industry. Furthermore, after Enji finished the diploma program his indie band got a contract to produce a mini album with a national record label. It is generally known that musicians had to pay for cost of recording production and promotion by themselves and the record label only supported the CD distribution. His parents once again gave support to Enji to cover the cost of recording, mixing, mastering and promotion of the music album.

Jaya

Jaya is a saxophonist born in Yogyakarta. He actively engages in Yogyakarta jazz and the indie music scene. His father is a businessman. Reproducing an upper-middle class position, his father introduced to him several forms of high art such as music, poetry and literature when Jaya was at elementary school. His father also introduced him to musical instruments such as woodwind recorder, piano and later saxophone. He also converted economic capital to buy all those instruments for his son. Furthermore, his father supported Jaya to enrol at a private music course to further develop his musical skills and music taste preferences. During high school, the reproduction of family habitus in highbrow culture (Bourdieu 1984) continued when Jaya enrolled in a private music course on classical guitar. His father encouraged him to join a youth music ensemble; Jaya often performed with the ensemble group in the Yogyakarta Cultural Centre (Taman Budaya Yogyakarta). As he explained:
I used to learn to play piano and recorder when I was at elementary school; then during third grade of junior high school I tried to play guitar. I learned classical guitar at a music course during senior high school. I was in a youth music ensemble and played in the Yogyakarta Cultural Centre. Dulu aku pas SD itu sudah pernah main pianika dan recorder, terus pas SMP kelas tiga itu mencoba main gitar terus sempet belajar les gitar klasik, saat SMA. Juga aku sempat ikut semacam ensamble musik anak remaja Indonesia, main di Taman Budaya Yogyakarta (TBY) waktu itu (Interview Jaya 2014).

The music course and the ensemble group influenced Jaya especially into jazz. The first jazz band that he knew was Casiopea, a fusion band from Japan. Jaya’s passion for music continued until he finished high school. However, for his mother, music was to be treated only as a hobby and as a strategy to reproduce upper-middle cultural taste. Music was not considered to be a ‘real’ or ‘safe’ profession. His mother directed Jaya to enrol in computer science at the prestigious public university in Yogyakarta. His parents supported him financially for tuition fees and everyday living expenses. During his study, Jaya joined a classical student choir and developed his social capital as well as embodied cultural capital. It was through the choir that Jaya found the network of the Yogyakarta jazz community. He was not interested in computer science. After four semesters he proposed to his parents that he enrol at ISI. After two months of negotiation, especially with his mother, his parents finally supported Jaya’s decision to enrol at ISI, majoring in saxophone. The financial support from his family continued; his father even bought him a brand new saxophone in order to maximize Jaya’s music achievement.

Strategies of reproduction by Jaya’s parents, especially acts of conversion from economic to cultural capital (education credentials and music instruments), facilitated
him to develop social and cultural capital in the Yogyakarta music field. Jaya was able to convert forms of capital both inside and outside the jazz community. As a young musician, he played in national jazz festivals, worked as a session player for a national singer, collaborated with a well-known artist from Yogyakarta and also collaborated with artists from abroad. His parents supported him to produce his first and second indie music albums; they covered the expenses of recording, mixing and mastering. After finishing his music study, his parents continued to support him to enrol in a masters program at ISI, majoring in music composition. In summary, for this middle-upper class family, freedom from material constraints allowed them to maximize the accumulation of capital in order to maintain their class position (Swartz 1997) even in the high risk music field.

Made

The same kind of privileged background also assisted Made, a guitarist from Bali. Both of his parents are successful business people in Bali. Made moved to Yogyakarta in 2003 to study at ANIMA where he majored in classical guitar. His parents supported him both for higher education and everyday living expenses. During his study at ANIMA, Made enjoyed the facility of a music and recording studio at the house of a member of his extended family. Moreover, when Made had to present a music concert to defend his degree in music composition, he was fully supported by his family with a high quality sound system, lighting, promotion and post-production of his performance, including mixing, mastering and producing the VCD.

After finishing his music study, Made went back to Bali in 2007 and lived at the family home. His parents continued to support his music career. They built a private music studio in front of the family house. Inside the music studio, there are: A Fender Stratocaster guitar made in USA which cost around 15 million rupiahs ($1500 AUD), a
Gibson electric guitar (between 10-12 million rupiah - $1000-1200 AUD), a custom
twelve string guitar (around 10 million rupiah/$1000 AUD), an acoustic nylon-string
guitar (between 4-5 million rupiah/$400-500 AUD), multi-rack effects and multi-track
recording equipment (field notes January 2014). All the facilities were provided by his
parents to support Made’s career as a session player for national singers and as a jazz/indie
musician. This strategy shows that for young musicians from upper-middle class families,
objectified cultural capital can be immediately transmitted (Bourdieu 1986) in order to
support the embodiment process and gain symbolic values in the field. Yet although his
parents supported Made’s music career, they still wanted him to take a middle ground
position. His parents asked him to complete a law degree at the public university in Bali.
This is a second plan strategy if Made cannot earn money from music in the future.
Implicitly, it represents a mechanism to maintain the privileged position of the family
through the professional occupation of lawyer.

As a session player in Bali, Made received many advantages from the private
music studio that was built by his parents. Besides being able to practice individually
every day, his music studio became a meeting point (Urry 2007) for fellow musicians
because it offered easy access for band practices. Made and his bandmates often worked
at creative processes such as composing a new song, musical arrangements and over-dub
recordings for national singers in the music studio. It saved lots of production costs
compared to arranging a band practice or recording outside. It is a privilege for a young
musician to own a music studio. Made was able to convert material cultural capital (the
music studio) into social capital, non-material cultural capital and also economic capital
(Bourdieu 1986).
5.7 Cultural Capital and the Reproduction of Class Distinction

For young musicians from an upper-middle class background like Vicko, Enji, Iman, Jaya and Made, cultural capital, especially access to music training and a music credential from higher education are important family investments in the reproduction of class habitus and occupation (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). For the privileged classes, the concurrent threat of ‘down classing’ is particularly intolerable (Andres and Wyn 2010; p. 37). Bourdieu emphasised the class reproduction of an educational credential:

The educational credential [is] related to social class as strategies of reproduction through which middle and dominant class groups try consciously or unconsciously, to maintain or improve their position in the structure of class relation by safeguarding or increasing their capital (Swartz 1997, p. 210).

As part of an upper-middle class family, material obstacles are not a problem for privileged young musicians compared to musicians from lower-middle class backgrounds. In the case of Jaya, his family was even ready to support him to continue into a postgraduate program. A similar strategy was maintained by the family of Enji who supported him to study at an elite music school in Jakarta. These strategies represent efforts to maximize the volume and composition of cultural capital. In the wider context, it shows the mechanism of distinction from lower-middle and middle-middle class.

Furthermore, the investment extended into objectified cultural capital. Upper middle class families invested in expensive resources such as musical instruments and even a recording studio. In other words, it shows that parental objectified cultural capital positively affects young people’s educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods (Kraaykamp and Van Eijck 2010, p. 215). This also shows
the mechanism of distinction from others (Bourdieu 1984), since only a young person from a privileged class background can access such expensive music equipment. This upper-middle class strategy exemplifies the relation between positions in the space of play, the relative force in the game and strategic orientation toward the game, as explained in detail by Bourdieu:

To be more precise, the strategies of a player and everything that defines his game are a function not only of the volume and structure of his capital at the moment under consideration and of the game chances they guarantee him, but also of the evolution over time of the volume and structure of this capital, that is, of his social trajectory and of the dispositions constituted in the prolonged relation to a definite distribution of objective chances (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 99).

For young musicians from upper-middle class backgrounds, distinction and family capital directly helped them to develop and to accumulate strategic social and cultural capital. Further, it also facilitated the social reproduction of their intra-generational class position process.

5.8 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, a young musician’s class background is an important factor in the transmission of habitus and various forms of capital. In general, lower-middle, middle-middle and upper-middle class families all invested in institutional cultural capital, manifested in education credentials. The investment of middle class families with strong musical backgrounds went specifically on music education. This is part of the mechanism to prepare their successors to struggle successfully in the specific
field of music. On the other hand, for middle class families from non-musical backgrounds, they preferred to take a middle ground position by investing in mainstream higher education. However, they still invested in non-degree music education. Other investments made by middle-middle and upper-middle class families represented conversion from economic to objectified cultural capital, such as musical instruments. These resources helped young musicians to develop their musical skills. In general, family investment in music education opened up the chance for young musicians to accumulate strategic cultural and social capital. It also indirectly opened up the connection to the music community. This became an important field to accumulate various forms of capital and learn the feel of the game, which is for self-construction as a semi-professional or professional musician. Later, capital that was accumulated during the music education phase becomes an ‘on-hand’ stock of capital to survive when young musicians moved to different locations.

There are two purposes of family investment through conversion of economic to cultural capital. Firstly, for lower-middle class families, it is part of the strategy to facilitate upward class mobility. It is important for lower-middle class families to improve the life conditions of their successors. Secondly, for middle-middle and upper-middle class families, it is part of the strategy to maintain the reproduction of class privilege. For upper-middle class families, it is also a mechanism to maintain class distinction. For middle-middle and upper-middle class families, they do not want to experience downward class mobility. In general, the brief histories of young musicians in this chapter shows that class is still one of the important factors that will influence the process of struggle as a semi-professional or professional musician in the field. University education as a specific source of various forms of capital and young musicians’ strategies is explained in the next chapter.
CHAPTER SIX

Various Forms of Capital and the Strategies of Young Musicians – Formal Music Education

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the accumulation of strategic cultural and social capitals from formal education. Following Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), it considers the process of conversion of three different capitals (cultural, social and economic). For young musicians there are two main sources of non-economic capital accumulation; the institution of formal music education and the music community. Both provide strategic cultural and social capital which later becomes a useful stock of capital to convert as the young musicians move up the ladder of success at the local level or move to different locations. The two sources offer different forms of cultural capital and social capital.

Formal music education provides an academically oriented form of cultural capital. This is not just manifested in academic credentials (Institutionalized cultural capital) but also in the objectified and soft aspect of cultural capital itself (Embodied cultural capital). Music students gain skills and capacities such as improvisation, reading and playing music, arranging music, repertoire and frameworks to understand music, knowledge about instruments and so on. They also learn how to talk authoritatively about music and to perform and network as cultured musicians. On the other hand, the music community offers more ‘street’-oriented forms of cultural capital. This includes free improvisation, performance, alternative attitudes of playing music, ‘market friendly’ repertoire and so on. Some of the main non-formal spaces of learning about music and
musical performance are the jam sessions and hanging out (*nongkrong*). This chapter looks in detail at the first source, formal education.

In general, the formal music education outcome is as a professional session player. However, the music community offers other options. The two sources provide different forms of strategic social capital for young musicians. The differences are related to reproduction of *doxa*. However, this does not mean that the dichotomy between the two sources is rigorous because the learning outcomes of formal music education and music community engagement often overlap. Among the informants, there are young musicians who flexibly move between different sub-fields of music and on the other hand, there are also young musicians who stick to one musical sub-field and resist opening their social networks. Ideally, to be successful as semi-professional and professional musicians in the music field, young musicians have to accumulate different forms of strategic cultural and social capital both from music education and the music community.

### 6.2 Cultural Capital from Formal Music Education

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), the valuable resources that manifest as various forms of capital are related to the feel for the game in a specific field. Field is a space of conflict and negotiation between the dominant and the dominated. The dominant reproduces *doxa* which refers to the symbolic power to maintain and reproduce a dominant position. Either explicitly or implicitly, *doxa* becomes the taken for granted norm and rule in that field (Bourdieu 1990). So for newcomers to the field, they have to follow the established rules of the game in order to achieve a better position in that field. Symbolic violence is produced when the newcomer follows the *doxa*, at the same time it is the moment of the reproduction of the dominant position in that field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001).
Young musicians as newcomers in the field of formal music education have to follow the rules of the game. The reproduction of *doxa* in formal music education is strictly based on the academic approach and often based on textbooks, with emphasis on the practice of musical instruments. The general approach to understanding music is strongly influenced by classical music. It is a manifestation of cultural capital that is considered valuable in the field of formal music education. The process of learning musical instruments is step-by-step and often includes practical exams such as a small concert. The rigidity of the learning process in formal music education (at SMM) is explained by Doni,

> We learned theory and practice. Practice included the introduction of music instruments and how to play the instruments. We played repertoires from classical music; usually we read the music. In the exams, we usually played solo; played specific repertoires. There was also a subject about orchestra. In the final exams, there was a competency test, we made our own small concert; performed for the examiners. Just like at the conservatorium. *Kami belajar teori dan praktek. Praktek ya pengenalan instrument, cara main. Yang dimainkan musik klasik, ya baca not balok misalnya. Kalo ujian biasanya main solo, ada repertoarnya sendiri. Ada juga pelajaran orkes. Di ujian akhir ada ujian kompetensi, bikin konser main solo, ada pengujinya. Seperti konservatori* (Interview Doni 2013).

The rigidity and step-by-step learning process in formal music education shows the process of embodiment of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) explains that the embodied form of capital needs long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (p. 243). Thus, in order to master a specific instrument, young musicians need to recognize, to adapt, to
feel, and to become one entity with the instrument. The musical instrument and the melody that is produced must represent the inside aspect of a young musician. In other words, it is not just the involvement of the mind and the body, but also the most important thing is involvement of the heart. To add the soul (rasa) on each note that young musicians produce is one of the hardest things to learn (Wacquant 2004). Three of those elements interact mutually and on a sophisticated level, will produce a signature (distinctive character) of each young musician based on the instrument that they play. To put it simply, this form of embodied cultural capital cannot be taught and transmitted instantaneously. It must be guided and developed over time.

The process of embodiment to master a musical instrument takes time which must be invested by the young musicians themselves and maintained through curricula created by formal music education. Teachers in formal music education help to create habitus and discipline for the early learner young musicians. For Doni, the personal investments in terms of time and self-improvement were primarily done in formal music education and continued at home. Time and self-improvement investment often included a sacrifice of their moments of ‘being young’ (Wyn and White 1997). Doni had already decided that he wanted to be a professional musician in the future so there was no other option than to practice hard. Capital in its embodied forms takes time to accumulate and even more as a potential capacity to produce profit and to reproduce itself (Bourdieu 1986, p.241). As Doni explained:

I usually came early before the class started and did a warm up by blowing the clarinet. After that, we practiced with the music instructor both during class and after class. Often we practiced until late at night with other students; and also socialized. We practiced every day; and we only took a break on Sundays.
This process of obtaining embodied cultural capital was facilitated by the availability of objectified cultural capital. In this case, SMM provided spaces and musical instruments as well as objectified music references (charts, records, books) that were utilized by the young musicians. This materiality and the specific character of objectified cultural capital mutually supported the act of self-improvement by the young musicians. The institution also controlled the division of space based on the musical instrument. It supported young musicians to familiarize themselves with others who play similar instruments, and to learn and to maintain the habitus of players of that instrument. As Doni explained,

At SMM, they provide a music studio for each musical instrument. So we practiced in a group based on our music instruments. *Disana ada studio, ruang khusus, blok tiup blok string dll. Jadi latihan di ruangan-ruangan yang sudah dibuat untuk praktek berdasarkan alat musiknya* (Interview Doni 2013).

However, whether young musicians successfully master their instruments depends on how they strategically learn the process and obtain embodied cultural capital. It should not be forgotten that objectified cultural capital exists as materially active, effective capital only insofar as it is appropriated by agents, and implemented and invested as a weapon of struggle in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1986, p. 248). Furthermore, in order to maintain the *doxa*, formal music education as an institution includes a mechanism of punishment and reward related to the progress and achievement
of young musicians. These are some of the rules of the game that exist in the field of formal music education; an explicit norm that young musicians have to obey and adapt in order to survive. Usually there is a process of ‘natural’ selection which is strictly maintained by the institution. As explained by Doni:

Usually in the first year, there are many students who join the music practice. It is easy to know which students are passionate and which ones are not. At SMM, they usually kick out students who cannot survive. *Saat kelas satu masih banyak murid, kan kelihatan minat atau gak, misalnya gak minat ya gak naik. Kalau di SMM, kalau gak naik ya akan dikeluarkan* (Interview Doni 2013).

Generally, there is a sequential pattern that young musicians who completed studies at SMM will continue to ISI for higher education. This pattern was justified by Antok, a violin player, who explained that for young musicians ISI is as prestigious as Gadjah Mada University because the selection process is very difficult (Interview Antok 2013). In Indonesia, ISI is well known for its reputation in producing high quality professional session players, soloists and music arrangers for orchestra. Implicitly, the *doxa* that is maintained at SMM has a linkage with ISI. Most of the lecturers at ISI are alumni of SMM and most music teachers at SMM are alumni of ISI. Broadly if we put both ISI and SMM in the field of cultural production; the objective position of ISI is a higher status than SMM. For example, in the case of orchestra production, lecturers or alumni from ISI usually have a position as music arranger and as leader of the orchestra; while the players are usually from SMM or students at ISI. It is seldom that lecturers from ISI take the role of session player for a gig held by a teacher at SMM. The hierarchical relationship between the two institutions was explained by Antok:
Teachers from SMM and lecturers from ISI are at a different level. Teachers from SMM only contributed on the anatomy of how to play the violin. While the truth of how to play correctly came from lecturers at ISI. It is because they are more senior. Because they are themselves alumni of ISI they have attended more workshops and have other wider experiences so they have more capabilities than teachers from SMM. From ISI I learned how to play violin techniques correctly.  

Antara guru SMM dengan guru ISI ternyata beda juga levelnya. Guru SMM itu hanya secara pembentukan anatomi bagaimana cara memainkan biola itu, kebenarannya itu di ISI karena tingkatan dosennya lebih tua. Dosen ini karena mereka dulunya juga alumni dari ISI juga, mereka akhirnya banyak workshop atau apa dari luar dia jadi dosen ISI punya kemampuan lebih dari guru SMM. Aku masuk di ISI itu perkembangannya dari dosen saya bagaimana cara main biola yang benar secara teknis biola ya (Interview Antok 2013).

Moreover, different levels of musical sophistication between the two institutions were also shown by Doni’s experience when he first entered the music class at ISI,

There is more detail at ISI. The lecturers monitor you seriously; to put it simply I had to repeat my learning again from basic techniques of clarinet. The lecturers often give assistance to fix your techniques. For example, the breathing technique does not use the lungs but the diaphragm. It took several weeks just for music practice to fix my techniques from the beginning, usually with the music lecturer.  

Di ISI lebih detail, dosen melihat sungguh-sungguh, istilahnya proses belajarnya diulangi lagi dari teknik dasar atau dibenarkan oleh dosen ISI. Misal pernafasan, pernafasan kok pakai paru-paru bukan diafragma. Beberapa minggu sempat
Doni spoke about his struggle at the tertiary level in Yogyakarta music institute (ISI) to gain one of the valuable components of cultural capital related to his degree major in clarinet and saxophone. He had to practice and learn every detail about all aspects of his musical instruments including basic notes, scale, primavista (sight reading the music), technique and repertoires. As he explained:

At ISI, first we played various music scales; for example, from first sharps to seventh sharps, from first flat to seventh flat. We had to memorize; like what is the first note of flat five. Then we learned voice techniques for example do mi sol do (1-3-5-1); then we had to play the notes one by one on clarinet. And then we learned the primavista. The lecturer gave us an unknown score and we had to be able to play it on the spot. We also had to learn techniques for example: staccato, speed, variation of scale using legato, chromatic technique then two staccato combined with one legato. At ISI, we learned a lot about practice and repertoire.

The superiority of ISI is not just objectively recognised in Java. For Imam, a saxophone player born in Medan, it was the reputation of ISI in Yogyakarta which motivated him to be mobile and to enrol at ISI. He described his former music school in Medan as backward (tertinggal), because there were unsystematised music curricula, lack of objectified cultural capital (music facilities), and particularly a lack of sophisticated quality of music instructors. Imam recognized this difference because his older friends from Medan often told and shared about their experience of studying at ISI.

In contrast to the classical rules of the game of music at ISI, Dhana, who studied popular music at a private music institute (ANIMA) accumulated cultural capital that was more oriented to modern western music, even though it was still oriented to the textbook. Furthermore, he explained:

We learned a lot about music composition, music arrangement and guitar practice.
We also learned more about popular music history such as rock and art rock, jazz and blues. Banyak yang aku dapat, komposisi terus aransemen, praktek gitar, sejarah musik dari populer misal rock sampai art rock, jazz dan blues (Interview Dhana 2013).

In terms of application of music theory, Dhana had to learn some basic scales and improvisation; it is one of the standard music skills as a guitarist who is majoring in rock music. However, Dhana received a particularly valuable form of cultural capital when he learned to play jazz, especially fusion jazz. The freedom of improvisation in jazz music and also the ‘mode of understanding’ (pemahaman) for alternate chord improvisations benefited Dhana when he went on to play popular music. As he explained:
As for music scales, we learned pentatonic and diatonic. We also learned general chords. However, after I learned jazz fusion I realized there were lots of different things; for example, using drive distortion, I could make chord +9 from the scale mode. At first, I learned double mode-chord function. The formula is three scales after the basic note. For example, if the basic note is in C Major, through mode-chord function I can play in E minor, although it is still in the framework of C Major. Because of the mode of understanding, it created a unique sound of guitar. For me, theoretical knowledge about jazz improvisation was very useful to apply to popular music. Kalo secara tangga nada simple, pentatonic, diatonic. Secara kord juga kord umum. Begitu aku kenal fusion jazz ternyata banyak hal yang berbeda, dengan distorsi drive misalnya aku bisa bikin akord +9. Aku pertama kali belajar, bi-modal function, maksudnya tiga diatas satu, misal akord C mayor aku main di E minor. Sebenarnya itu masih di koridor C. karena pemahaman itu soundnya jadi unik, ternyata keilmuan jazz itu manfaatnya lebih ke musik popular itu besar sekali (Interview Dhana 2013).

Additionally, the private music institute (ANIMA) provided more space for the students to experience live performance. The institute held a welcome concert, music festivals and monthly mini-concerts. These spaces allowed young musicians to practice their musical skills in public as well as to play together with fellow young musicians in a band. As Dhana explained:

In ANIMA, the spaces to perform were usually around ANIMA itself and also band events on campus. ANIMA also actively held a music concert, welcome

Since these performances at ANIMA were not assessed but invited improvisation and student compositions, the kind of cultural capital they inculcated was more similar to that fostered by local music community involvement than the conservatorium-style paradigm of tightly constrained group performance fostered by ISI.

The importance of cultural capital provided by formal music education, especially in terms of music composition and music history, was emphasised by Yogi, a jazz bass player who was no longer a newcomer. He already had a dominant position in the Yogyakarta jazz music field. However, in order to accumulate strategic cultural capital to support his goal to become a composer in the future he made a decision to enrol at ISI even though he was older than the other students. He felt that the existing music skills he had obtained from the local music community were not enough to achieve a dominant position in the music sub-field of jazz. As he explained:

The first reason why I enrolled in ISI was I felt that I had not learnt music completely, especially music composition. My main goal was to obtain skills of music composition, especially skills beyond the band. In other words, music composition that will be played by a group of musicians, for example a big band or orchestra. In order to achieve those skills, I needed to learn academically. At ISI they have music curricula which train you to learn step by step; for example, grade one until grade three. Furthermore, theoretically I could learn more about music history from early history to the renaissance era, to the era of baroque. It
also motivated me to learn more about techniques and applications. *Pertama yang bikin aku kuliah lagi itu adalah belum lengkap untuk belajar musik. Terutama di bidang komposisi. Aku kuliah itu utama ngejar untuk bidang komposisi yang sifatnya bukan band, tapi dimainkan lebih banyak orang, misalnya big band ataupun orchestrasi. Nah itu kan aku butuh belajar secara akademik. Dikuliahan kan ada kurikulum, misalnya setahun bisa baca grade satu sampai tiga. Terus secara teori musik, sejarah musik itu mempelajari dari zaman era awal sampai renaissance, sampai zaman barok. Jadi aku cenderung latihannya teknik lagi, latihan aplikasi lagi* (Interview Yogi 2014).

A similar decision was made by Jaya the saxophone player. In order to achieve his aspiration to be a music composer he preferred to enrol at ISI. In the jazz community, Jaya also already had a relatively dominant position and his career had progressed quickly. However, he was not satisfied with the embodied cultural capital that he obtained from the music community; it was too shallow for him. Jaya’s standpoint as a musician is best described as an idealist; his passion in music is for more cross-border forms of music. Several times he had collaborated with artists from different fields of cultural production. It was manifested in his two DIY music albums which conceptually offered a mix of music and poetry. For Jaya, the embodied cultural capital that he obtained from ISI had a significant impact on how he produced his musical works. As he explained:

First, at ISI I was pushed to be a thinker who had to think logically and step by step. Further I obtained knowledge about classical music; harmonics, renaissance era and also knowledge about research methods related to music. I think it is important knowledge that previously I could not obtain from outside ISI.
Technically I also learned listening skills, because I seldom went out socially in
the past so I had a weak listening skill. At ISI, I learned to develop this particular
skill. Pertama kalau universitas kan aku dituntut untuk menjadi, seorang pemikir
yang logis, runut, Yang aku dapatkan di universitas itu lebih ke ini lebih ke
pengetahuan klasik semacam apa, harmoni apa, pada renaissance terus metode
penelitian musik. Aku mendapatkan bahwa metode penelitian itu penting
semacam pengetahuan-pengetahuan yang dulu tidak aku dapatkan dari luar. Dan
apa ya keterampilan listening skill karena aku juga lemah dalam bergaul pada
waktu dulu, jadi aku tidak mempunyai listening skill yang bagus, jadi ketika di ISI
aku mulai meningkatkan skill itu (Interview Jaya 2014).

Other embodied forms of cultural capital that were obtained by Jaya from his study at ISI
were skills of music analysis, especially through discussion with lecturers or senior ISI
students. During the interview, Jaya kept telling me about the importance of logical
thinking step by step. As he explained:

From the discussion, I was able to find the thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis of a
certain topic; I seldom obtained this in ‘real life’. As an example, if there is a case
specifically in music, I was taught how to think step by step; what is the main
problem, what is the philosophical root, what sort of analytical concept to support
my argument, how to transform problem into product and what is the solution. In
short, it taught me to think step by step and logically. Semacam kalo diskusi gitu
ya, diskusi itu terjadi semacam, thesis anti tesis terjadilah sintesis, itu jarang
sekali aku temukan di kehidupan nyata. Aku diajarin untuk bikin urut runut, jadi
apa ya masalahmu yang di angkat ini, trus dasar-dasar apa yang kamu, apa yang
The cases of Yogi and Jaya demonstrate symbolic aspects of cultural capital offered by formal music education, especially ISI. In the context of the field of cultural production, cultural capital from ISI represented legitimate competencies and authority to achieve a superior position in high art music production. It is predisposed to function as a symbolic capital, to be recognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of misrecognition (Bourdieu 1986, p.246). For both young musicians, cultural capital gained from the music community was not legitimate enough to enter the high art form of music. They needed to gain legitimate cultural capital to struggle to enter the specialised fields of high art and restricted popular art (Lopes 2000). Moreover, the very specific, ‘high status’ embodied cultural capital from ISI derives a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital in the field of cultural production and yields profits of distinction for the person who possesses it (Bourdieu 1986, p.246).

6.3 What about Institutionalized Cultural Capital?

As explained previously there are two types of musicians: musicians with a music education background and those with a non-music education background (self-taught, autodidacts). According to Bourdieu (1986, p.248) the objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications is one way of neutralizing some properties; it makes the difference between the capitals of fully trained musicians and the capitals of autodidact musicians, which may be called into question at any time. However, Bourdieu’s explanation is not applicable in every music field since each music field has
its own feel of the game. None of informants in this project, especially those who wanted to be full time professional session players, mentioned specifically the importance of education credentials on paper (gelar kesarjanaan). Education credentials were a requirement for the sake of formality. They were only valid if young musicians could prove their symbolic legitimation through ‘real’ competency and capability to play music. Being able to prove their musical skills meant they maintained the recognition awarded by legitimate formal music education. In contrast, if young musicians failed to realise that legitimacy and did not convert it to different forms of capital, its symbolic aspect was reduced, especially recognition of them as competent session players. Thus the most important phases of cultural capital accumulation were the process of learning the hard/soft aspects of musical skills (especially techniques and feel), and the process of expanding and converting those capabilities into strategic social capital. The latter is vitally important.

For instance, in the field of orchestra, some senior musicians had failed to finish their music degree (dropped out). However, they were still able to achieve a dominant position. Some of them had even become well-known composers and offered gig opportunities to young musicians. The rule of the game in the field of orchestra is not as strict and rigid as some informants implied. This example tells us that two of the most valuable forms of capital are strategic-embodied cultural capital and strategic social capital. If young musicians have a rich possession of those two forms of capital, then they will have more opportunities to achieve upward mobility and furthermore sustainability in the field of music. In the experiences of Doni and Antok as session players in Jakarta, education credentials were only the first step of making a symbolic impression. Education credentials were recognized by fellow musicians and maybe created some effect of solidarity with the group. However, sustainability and a durable sense of solidarity had to
be created and maintained through the acts of proving their capacities as professional session players and establishing close relationships with fellow musicians and strategic people.

Yet in the first stage of building their careers, Doni and Antok had experienced a slightly different trajectory. In the beginning, Doni already had ‘on hand’ strategic social capital from his older brother who is one of the leading jazz composers in Jakarta. A job opportunity from his brother created a shortcut career path to Jakarta. Doni was aware of his advantage but he was able to build on initial recognition by showing his capabilities and professionalism as a session player. While for Antok, although his brother is a session player in Jakarta, he had to start from the bottom. The process of building his career was more a result of long struggle both academically and practically. Academically, Antok was one of the highest-achieving students at ISI. Furthermore, he was able to practically create a balance in his music skills. Antok was able to prove and convert his musical skills into symbolic recognition (Bourdieu 1990) as a professional session player. On the other side, in social life Antok was strategic and flexible in building and expanding his strategic social capital so he was able to maintain a steady flow of jobs and achieve upward mobility in the music field. In contrast, Doni was dependent mainly on strategic social capital from his famous brother; Angga one of his band mates commented that Doni lacked social skills (kurang gaul), he needed to spend more time hanging out with fellow musicians. Perhaps because of this, Doni is relatively static in his musical career now.

The importance of keeping a balance between accumulation of strategic cultural and social capital is also demonstrated in the field of music education. Lots of music students from ISI took a part time job, or if they become semi-professional musicians, teaching was one way of keeping ‘rice on the table’. Teaching in a private music institution or as a music instructor offered some sustainable income in everyday life. Yet
in the case of Antok (violin) and Sani (drummer) although both of them successfully obtained institutionalized cultural capital from ISI, this did not guarantee them a job as a music teacher. Institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) in the form of a degree (*gelar kesarjanaan*) is only important in the first step of a job application. In the second step they had to prove their musical capacities in a practical test which was sometimes conducted by the owner/leader of the music institution. Sani used to teach drums in a private music course called *Purwacaraka*, owned by one of the national leading music composers. It was Mr *Purwacaraka* himself who tested Sani’s musical capabilities including *primavista* and improvisations. This was the moment when Sani succeeded in converting the soft aspect of cultural capital so he could get the job.

A similar situation was experienced by Antok who, after moving to Jakarta, was able to convert the soft aspect of his cultural capital into a job as a music instructor in the Yamaha music school (Interview Antok 2013). Music teachers are in high demand by institutions and the profession is appealing to musicians themselves. For musicians, it offers a sustainable income and for institutions, they need more music instructors since they continuously expand their business both in big and small cities as well as in every age cohort (child-teenager-elderly). Yet although music teaching is in high demand, not all young musicians who have obtained institutionalized cultural capital in form of a qualification can satisfy the criterion of the practice of music, which is developed only through playing with others. This shows the importance and relevance of the soft aspect of cultural capital in the music field in comparison to the objective form of institutionalized cultural capital. Additionally, there is a better chance of getting a job as a music teacher for young musicians if they get a letter of recommendation from their former music lecturers, especially from those who are music practitioners, and from
senior musicians who have a strong position where their musical capacities are recognised.

6.4 Strategic Social Capital from Formal Music Education

There is no doubt that formal music education is one of the most important sources for accumulating strategic cultural capital relevant to the field of music. In Yogyakarta this strategic cultural capital is continuously maintained by music lecturers who are recognised as senior musicians. They expand their influence outside the university music field. Besides their academic work teaching music on campus, they are also active in the local music community, playing regularly in elite cafés and at high-class musical events. Some of them also develop social networks with patrons in Jakarta, in Bali and also with patrons from abroad. This exemplifies the benefit of building network capital:

Such capital is a product of the relationality of individuals with others and with the affordances of the environment. Together these constitute a relational assemblage, an emergent network moving through time-space and concretized in moments of co-present meetingness within specific places for particular moments (Urry 2007, p. 198).

As they move about, senior musicians bring the influence of doxa from formal music education to a different music field. They are able to convert the ‘high’ status ascribed to them in the field of classical music training into a commodity that can be converted into local, and even national social and economic capital. Formal music education also operates as an important source of social capital for young musicians who can be introduced to this network of patronage. For example, local and national private
companies and state institutions often request a musical performance from a tertiary-based orchestra to play classical repertoire. This particular genre of music matches the cultural capital possessed by young musicians with a formal music education background. Their lecturer who is also a professional musician often gives them a chance to play in an orchestra. As Doni explained:

We played in the orchestra and had cooperation with external clients. In my institution, there was a cultural broker; his name is Mr. X, who always arranged jobs for us. It became a tradition. The jobs were not only in the local area but also national and even international. _Main orkes, kerjasama dengan orang luar. Biasanya kerjasama dengan Pak X. Sejak dulu sudah memesan pemain musik dari sini, baik tingkat lokal, nasional, maupun internasional_ (Interview Doni 2013).

For Doni, formal music education was not just a place to obtain cultural capital, he was aware that he had to build a social network of productive links. At ISI, he actively interacted with other musicians playing different instruments, including senior musicians and lecturers:

You cannot play music by yourself, you need links. So I joined with other musicians at ISI, so they could know me and broaden my social networks. In other words, so I can exist as a musician and so they can hire me for a gig. It is useless if you learn music in formal music education but no one recognizes you, it means that you cannot make any money. _Kalau di musik khan gak bisa sendiri, butuh link. Gabung-gabung dengan orang luar. Bisa dikenal, memekarkan jaringan._
Actively joining various musical activities around ISI made him able to recognize which social networks were strategic and able to offer a better opportunity in the music field. After he identified potential strategic networks he then had to develop a mutual relationship and follow the rule of the game that was maintained by his patrons. As he explained:

It is because of the strategic link from Mr. X, He asked me to join in his orchestra group and it gave me a chance to play in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and South Korea. In Korea, it was for tourism promotion of Indonesia while in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan it was for celebration of diplomatic relation between both countries. Actually, Mr. X is not a great musician but he has lots of strategic links. He has great communication skills especially with strategic persons in the Government. As a client, we had to follow his rule; a musician is just a labourer.

Besides obtaining strategic social capital from lecturers, cultural brokers and external clients, Doni also developed his social networks with senior musicians from ISI who already had a strategic contact with patrons, especially in Jakarta. In other words, this
strategy represents his ability to develop forms of network capital (Urry 2007). Doni explained the mechanism of his social capital conversion as follows:

Usually it is from senior musicians who need session players from ISI. We play for orchestra projects on national television. Often they just sent me a message (sms) or called me; it depends though. Sometimes they booked me a couple of weeks or a week before but sometimes it is sudden, for example when I played at *Indosiar* (a national television channel) for a music talent show. Some of the famous composers and music conductors that have hired me were Erwin Gutawa for an event in RCTI (national TV broadcaster), Dian HP, Sony Orkestra and also the Doni Koeswinarno big band. *Biasanya dari senior, mengajak, butuh player ini itu. Biasanya event-event TV sebagai player orkes. Biasanya sms atau telpon, tergantung ya ada yang jauh hari atau mendadak misalnya waktu main di acara AFI Indosiar. Selain itu pernah juga main dengan Erwin Gutawa acara event RCTI, dengan Dian HP pernah main bareng, orkes mas Soni juga pernah dan Donny Koeswinarno Big band juga pernah* (Interview Doni 2013).

A similar situation was also experienced by Antok as a violin player. As a student of ISI, he had the opportunity to join auditions for an orchestra which was preparing to play for a national ceremony and would also take part in musical cultural exchange with China,

My career really began with an audition for GBN (*Gita Buana Nusantara*), an orchestra group funded by the Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In 2004, I had a chance to go to China with GBN. I passed the audition for violin and
also played with them for the 17 August National Independence Day ceremony in the presidential palace. It was during 2003-2004. After that, I also had a chance to join Nusantara Symphony Orchestra; the patron was the former director of Bank Indonesia. Sejarah berkembangnya perjalanan karirku dimulai dengan audisi GBN (Gita Buana Nusantara) yang dinaungi oleh Dinas Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan di Jakarta. tahun 2004, dan itu sampai ke China waktu itu. Audisi orchestra keterima biola untuk keperluan Negara untuk mengiringi lagu-lagu kebangsaan pada saat mengikuti upacara 17 Agustus di Istana Negara. Pada waktu itu aku ikut tahun 2003 sampai 2004. untuk berkembang bermusik di dunia klasik aku audisi Nusantara Simfoni Orkestra. Yang dulu dinaungi oleh Mrs. Y, mantan pemimpin Bank Indonesia (Interview Antok 2013).

During the audition and in the orchestra concert, Antok was able to demonstrate his capacities as a session player; he could effectively convert cultural capital that he obtained from formal music education into the feel for the game in the field of orchestra. As Bourdieu (1986) points out, social capital is never independent and its volume depends on how the agent effectively mobilizes other forms of capital that he possesses. In this case, Antok was successful in increasing the volume of social capital because after the first gigs he got orchestra jobs again in the future. It represented the achievement of upward mobility in the field of orchestra,

I wasn’t really aware of it but I was able to enter the field of orchestra in Jakarta after the gigs. During the orchestra rehearsal, some of my seniors from ISI recognized my skills. They evaluated whether my skills were great enough and whether it was worth recommending me for upper level gigs. Actually it was
through word of mouth, and beyond my expectation. Suddenly a senior musician asked for my phone number and he asked me to play in the Erwin Gutawa orchestra (one of the leading composers in Indonesia) on SCTV (a television channel). *Secara tidak sadar aku bisa masuk ke dunia orchestra di Jakarta. Selama latihan senior biasanya mengamati kemampuanku, mainku bagus apa nggak dan patut nggak dia merekomen aku main lagi. Dari mulut ke mulut, tiba-tiba ada yang bilang ke aku minta nomer hpmu dong dan tiba-tiba aku bisa main dengan Erwin Gutawa orchestra di SCTV* (Interview Antok 2013).

Antok’s strategy to increase the volume of his social capital was facilitated by access to appropriate, safe and secure accommodations (Urry 2007). It is part of a longstanding tradition that all session orchestra players from Yogyakarta stay in one apartment, located in Kuningan, Central Jakarta. Usually they all catch the business train to Jakarta and take a taxi or public bus to the apartment. Sometimes friends who live in Jakarta pick them up and take them to the apartment. This insistence on proximity and staying together represents some elements of network capital: availability of others at a distance and access to transport (Urry 2007). As explained by Antok:

During the NSO (Nusantara Symphony Orchestra) concert, we stayed in the same apartment in Kuningan. That’s the place where session players from Yogyakarta stay who regularly go to Jakarta. I stayed there for a week so finally we knew each other well. That is the story how I started my link in the orchestra industry in Jakarta. *Dari NSO, kita tinggal di apartemen kuningan. Itu penginapan untuk musisi yang pindah-pindah dari Yogyakarta ke Jakarta. Ada selama satu minggu konser itu, akhirnya disitu dikenal dan saling kenal satu sama lain. Disituhlah link*
However, there is another side to this story, as explained by Doni and Antok. The event organizer on that occasion did not subsidize the cost of return transport from Yogyakarta to Jakarta. At other times the event organizer only partly subsidized the cost of the apartment. Young session players at least had to have some savings to support their stay in Jakarta before they got paid. These conditions show the unequal relation between social agents in the field of cultural production. As a session player, a young musician does not have a strong bargaining position to negotiate. In this case, the structural obstacles to the gig were the result of unequal relations. It shows the full authority of the event organizer to decide the ‘price’ of young musicians as labourers and also the actions of ‘cultural brokers’ who often cut and corrupt the normal wages of session players. The factors here that created unequal dominant-dominated relations overlap with the positions of boss and labourer; senior and junior and patron and client. These relations of domination are misrecognized as taken for granted rules of the game in high art and restricted popular art practices (Lopes 2000).

In contrast to Doni and Antok who obtained social and cultural capital from formal music education, Imam found his ‘choice’ moment (Thomson et.al 2002) in jazz through his close networking with one of the music lecturers. Later, this same connection opened his path to the local music community, jazz gigs and durable social networks when he decided to move to Bali. As a young musician from Medan who viewed Yogyakarta as the centre of culture, he felt a strong passion to find role models or significant others in the field of music. On the other hand, he was also in the process of exploring his new identity; as a newcomer he needed to find his own distinct form of music that did not exist
in his home town. For him, classical repertoires were too restricted and did not offer much space for freedom of improvisation. Jazz offered him a symbolic image of modernity and a sophisticated form of music which he could not find in his hometown,

There was a role model in music; luckily there was Jeko (now a well-known jazz guitarist in Bali) and his band doing a jam session on campus. At that time, I thought their style of playing was very cool. And also it was the first time for me to listen to a song called Billie’s Bounce [by Charlie Parker] and I was attracted by this song because it was jazzy. It was something new for me. Ada role modelnya dulu, ada jam session di ISI, ada bang Jeko gitar. Terus aku lihat mereka main musik apa kok asyik ya. Lagu pertama yang aku dengar itu Billies Bones, lagunya kok enak ya, kok agak jazz banget ya. Kan hal baru kan mas buatku (Interview Imam 2013).

In the formal music curricula at ISI, he did not get lessons about various aspects of jazz either theoretical or practical. In order to learn those particular skills, Imam searched for information about which lecturers at ISI were competent at playing jazz. Through the recommendation from a senior student, Imam was able to build a fluid and friendly interaction with Mr. Pipin, one of the music instructors at ISI. Through a personal approach, Imam asked him to become his music mentor. Mr. Pipin generously transmitted his ‘jazz’ cultural capital step-by-step and his mentor even visited him at his boarding house:

I did not know who to ask because the senior musicians did not play the tune (Billie’s Bounce). So then I met Mr. Pipin and asked him ‘What kind of music is
this?’ He explained to me in detail and gave me *The Real Book of Charlie Parker*. He said; ‘well try to play the song first and keep practising!’ *Nah aku gak tau mas mau nanya sama siapa kan, temen-temen yang lain udah nggak mainin itu kan. terus aku ke Pak Pipin mas, pak itu lagu apa ya pak? Oh ini lagu ini ini ini dijelasin terus dia kasih real book Charlie Parker. Ya dicoba-coba aja dia bilang, ya udah latihan aja* (Interview Imam 2013).

His informal relationship with his music mentor made Imam successful in maximizing the profitability of social capital. This exemplifies the argument on the logic of capital conversions where the value of an individual’s ties depends on the number of connections they can mobilize and the volume of capital possessed by each connection (Bourdieu 1986, p. 249). Imam continuously maintained his social capital through a durable and informal form of interaction which took place not only in the class but also outside the class and often involved a heart-to-heart sharing of experience as session players. Besides providing Imam with valuable objectified cultural capital which manifested in the Charlie Parker *Real Book*, his mentor also taught him the strategy to achieve a higher level of jazz improvisation:

At that time, I learned to improvise in the Billie’s Bounce song. I started from the basics, from the blues scale just like other people said. Mr. Pipin gave me explanations on every aspect of the song, for example it was 12 bar blues, the chord progression that I could develop, which jazz scale that was suitable to improvise. I tried to absorb all of his explanations; a little bit abstract but I could understand the jazz approach, the rest I practised by myself. Then I practised at my boarding house, I tried to feel the song, sometimes it sounded wrong and

The strategy to maintain and increase the dimensions of social capital as practiced by young musicians here often involved backstage and informal approaches. On the front stage, for example during class or rehearsal, impression management (Goffman 1959) between young musicians and lecturers, composers and audiences was important for adapting to the feel for the game. Conversely, closeness and heart-to-heart social networks were maintained in the ‘backstage’ spaces that included the music community; hang out space, home and temporary meeting places. Social capital was relational with other forms of capital; the reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchange in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed (Bourdieu 1986, p. 251). In other words, social capital will be profitable if social agents invest in recognisable skills or forms of cultural capital.

In the case of the young musicians above, the social capital reproduction process was affirmed and reaffirmed because of continuous interaction during the gigs, during rehearsal and during the interaction process in temporary meeting places. Similarity of formal music education background, experiences and musical expertise symbolically became collective capital that created solidarity and furthermore long lasting connections.
Being known as a session player with a certain reputation became an important resource for gaining more strategic social capital and converting it into symbolic profit or material profit (Bourdieu 1990). In the field of orchestra which often needs lots of session players, it is impossible for composers and event organizers to control the competency of each session player. This is why recommendation from strategic persons (lecturers, senior musicians, cultural brokers) is very important as an informal process of affirming their competency and eligibility as professional session players. In the case of jazz, a jazz big band often needs lots of session players; so trust in the capability of session players is established and maintained through personal recommendation. In some cases, even competent session players who lack strategic social capital will not survive in the music field. They only have a small chance to achieve upward mobility in the music field. In contrast, sometimes session players with average musical competency but who are rich in the volume of strategic social capital are able to maintain a more sustainable sequence of paid gigs.

6.5 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, young musicians actively accumulated various valuable forms of capital (cultural, social and economic) from formal music education which are important for entering the higher level of music careers both in their place of origin and other locations (Jakarta and Bali). The reproduction of doxa in formal music education serves as a mechanism to maintain the rigorousness of specific forms of capital, especially embodied and institutionalized cultural capital. However, for young musicians, it is obligatory to be able to translate and adapt their stock of cultural capital in different fields, especially in professional music fields. Although institutionalized cultural capital is recognized as a legitimate form it is not the only capital that guarantees upward mobility
for young musicians. In order to achieve progress and maintain career sustainability, the ability to build and maintain strategic social capital is an important key to success. They also need reflexive capacity to translate on their on-hand stock of cultural capital in many different fields. The combination of strategic and cultural capital is valuable for conversion into economic capital. Furthermore, young musicians have to be able to maintain the durability of strategic social capital not only in gigs but also in everyday life.

In conclusion, various forms of capital that young musicians accumulated during their tertiary education were considered as valuable future investments for dealing with the next stage of transition not only into professional music careers but also into adulthood. However, they had to be proven in social practice. Cultural and social capital from local music communities and young musicians’ strategies are explained in the following chapter.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Cultural and Social Capital from Local Music Communities

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores local and informal forms of cultural and social capital and the strategies of young musicians from the music community in Yogyakarta to accumulate them. Yogyakarta itself is the main focus of this section because it serves as an example of the important first phase of accumulating capitals for young musicians to move forward into the semi-professional and professional world of playing music for a living. From a youth studies perspective, the local music scene in Yogyakarta represents an important bridge in the process of transition into adulthood for aspiring musicians. The data obtained was from jazz and indie communities. This might give an impression that the two music scenes are separate entities, however in reality the dynamics between communities are fluid. During the fieldwork, the researcher found that the local music community of Yogyakarta is fragmented, ambiguous and ambivalent. There are some elements of these youthful communities that represent the characteristics of subculture (Hall and Jefferson 1993). For example, in the view of some young musicians, the ‘jazz’ and ‘indie’ communities are rigorously and exclusively based on separate shared musical tastes, style and social class. They confidently claim that they are part of cultural resistance. On the other hand, the young musician community as a whole demonstrates some features of post-subculture; characterized by loose mixing and innovations of style (Muggleton 2000). They play subcultural roles for fun (Bennett and Harris 2004, p. 8) and there is fluidity of youth cultural membership (Bennett 2000).
These music communities are the focus in the following analysis. However, the researcher will differentiate between young musicians who flexibly move between communities and young musicians who stick to one musical community and resist opening their social networks. It is acknowledged that local communities for young musicians operate as a temporary space and a stepping stone for creating their reflexive biographies in risk society (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, p.3). In such spaces they accumulate strategic cultural and social capital as they struggle to achieve a dominant position in the field (Bourdieu 1993) of music while attempting a successful transition to adulthood (Furlong and Cartmel 2007). Some of the young musicians seemed reflexively aware of the benefits offered by the music community; they accumulated different forms of capital, moved to different locations and never looked back. Others who had a strong bond with the local community developed their music careers without having to move permanently.

7.2 The Jazz and Indie Communities in Yogyakarta

Like formal music education as discussed previously, the local music community also affords various forms of cultural capital. As a sub-field of the wider arena of struggle for cultural production in music, the local music community also has its own hierarchy. Unequal power relations exist among agents who struggle to obtain dominant positions. For example, in the context of the Yogyakarta jazz community, the process of struggle between dominant actors has been very dynamic in the last ten years. Sutopo (2010) found a shift of power from academic-oriented musicians to self-taught (autodidact) musicians who received support from existing charismatic artists in the scene. It was observed that this shift in the field had created a production of different *doxa*. Thus a change had taken place in the forms of cultural and social capital that were considered valuable. This was
reflected in the dominant genre of jazz playing, in patrons and audiences for gigs, and in the future orientation of young musicians. Musicians who had taken up a dominant, controlling position were able to monopolize valuable social and cultural capitals and convert both into either money or productive symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1990) such as recognition and prestige that could lead to increased followers, increased gigs and thereby increased income in the future. Both material and symbolic aspects of capital were important to maintain or raise the position of agents in the field of cultural production that is the local jazz community of Yogyakarta (see Sutopo 2010). This discovered rule of the game in the specific sub-field confirms Bourdieu’s theoretical argument that:

In any given field, agents occupying the diverse available positions engage in competition for control of the interests or resources which are specific to the field. The interests and resources at stake in fields are not always material; in the cultural field, competition often concerns the authority inherent in recognition, consecration and prestige (Bourdieu 1993, p. 7).

Similar to the jazz community, the loosely identified indie community also has its general rules of the game. However, it must be pointed out that ‘indie’, according to the informants, is not a distinct genre in itself. They suggest there is no inherent authenticity in indie music; authenticity is a matter of claims from each music sub-community. The ‘indie’ mode of making music is often a cut and paste effort without a proper stock of knowledge to support it. Indie musicians often simply say, ‘Oh, that’s cool. Let’s cut and paste it!’ Claims for authenticity are often based on imitating a marginal or well-established indie band from abroad (Iceland, Japan, USA and Europe). Thus the discourse of authenticity is a matter of the country of origin from which material is borrowed. This
is supported by Luvaas’ (2009) earlier findings on the indie community in Yogyakarta, although it is notable that Luvaas’ main site of research was the distro community in Gejayan which is a centre of middle-high class hipster culture. From a different perspective, imitating an indie band from abroad operates as a mechanism of taste and class distinction relevant to other locally produced music genres such as dangdut, jazz and pop music. As explained by Bourdieu (1984), the culture that is manifested in the act of consumption becomes an action that represents class struggle in the society.

Furthermore, borrowing in indie music can be read as a creative strategy to reach a wider audience, especially early teenagers and early year university students who actually know little about indie music. On the other hand, there are young musicians in Yogyakarta who have a deep knowledge about indie. This ambivalence is shown in the case of informant Sani who won a national indie music competition and secured a record deal for a compilation music album. The judges of the music competition claimed that Sani’s band was authentic and different. However, Sani himself explained to the researcher that actually they just imitated psychedelic and trip-hop indie bands from the UK and USA (Interview Sani 2014). It was found that ‘indie’ in the worldview of informants was framed simply as a Do It Yourself (DIY) mode of production and distribution. It seems there are two main purposes: 1) DIY as an act of resistance against major music companies; 2) DIY as a stepping stone to secure a record deal with a major music company. However, this typification is not rigorous; the DIY of some indie bands overlaps between those two purposes.

In the literature, some previous studies about indie/alternative music in Indonesia, for example Barendregt and Zanten (2002), Baulch (2003) and Wallach (2005) romanticize the role of alternative music as one of major drivers of the democratization process during the New Order and in the post-New Order regime. Yet symbolic resistance
might also be camouflage for a stepping stone to reach national fame. Kurniawan, a senior indie musician active in the Yogyakarta and Jakarta music scenes since the mid-1990s explained this further:

One of the factors in the emergence of indie is because Yogyakarta is a second city. Indie emerged because of the music industry; there was a gap within the national music industry. To fill the gap, they (indie bands) applied a Do It Yourself mode of production. For example, Shaggy Dog, they’ve been active since 20 years ago and they had experience as a major band in Jakarta. Back in our day as a second city, access to Jakarta (major labels) was difficult to get so we built our own networks. Indie in Yogyakarta was not exclusively about resistance; it was more of a bridge. Some big indie bands for example Es Nanas or Sheila on 7; they actually came from a popular music background. Munculnya indie di jogja, salah satunya karena disini itu second city, muncul indie karena imbas dari industri musik. Jadi Ada jarak dengan industri nasional, untuk mengantisipasi itu maka ya dibikinlah self inisiatif. Contohnya Shaggy Dog. Mereka sudah 20 tahun lebih, Mereka pernah major ke Jakarta. Ini second city, memicu, kalo aku anak muda ingin kesana/Jakarta, salurannya susah, akses susah gimana ya bikin sendiri otomatis ya bikin sendiri, salurannya bikin sendiri di daerah. Indie di Jogja bukan resistensi, itu sebagai jembatan. Beberapa band Indie dulu, Es Nanas ataupun Sheila on 7 dll. Hampir semuanya sebenarnya musik popular (Interview Kurniawan 2013).

In terms of other stepping stones to a national reputation in the jazz/indie field, there are two main spaces that become sources of reproduction and production of valuable forms
of cultural and social capital towards higher income: the jam session and hanging out together (nongkrong).

Following the interpretive framework of Goffman (1959), the jam session can be understood as having front stage and back stage forms that yield different kinds of cultural capital. Jam sessions can be differentiated as either a jam session in front of the public, with an audience (the front stage form), or an internal jam session with just musicians present (the back stage form). In terms of jam sessions in front of the public, the local music community has different spaces for jam sessions as well as for audiences. For example, the dominant mainstream jazz community in Yogyakarta has a regular jam session every Monday (jazz mben senen) which is the most popular space to jam. The popularity of jazz mben senen defeated other spaces for jam sessions that used to be prestigious back in the early 2000s such as the Gadjah Wong restaurant jam session. In contrast to the jazz community, the indie music community does not favour jam sessions in front of the public. For the indie community, appearance in front of the public is a performance or a gig, because they tend to play set songs. The common pattern of a jam session for the indie community is an internal jam session through nongkrong and spontaneous jamming which takes place in a rented space, a private music studio or at the home base of an indie band.

7.3 Local Community, Types of Cultural Capital and Strategic Patrons

As indicated previously, the music community in Yogyakarta has its own doxa and heterodoxa14 (see Sutopo 2010). This is true to a greater or a lesser extent for both the jazz and indie scenes. It is a field of struggle in which forms of cultural capital are vitally important. It has dominant actors, especially senior musicians who work to

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14 Anything outside doxa and therefore a challenge to the status quo of the field.
maintain their established authoritative positions. Young musicians as newcomers have
to follow the rules of the game that are already established. In other words, in
Bourdiesian terminology, young musicians as social agents have to be good players:

The good player, who is so to speak the game incarnate, does at every moment
what the game requires. That presupposes a permanent capacity for invention,
indispensable if one is to be able to adapt to indefinitely varied and never
completely identical situations (Bourdieu 1990, p. 63).

However, from the fieldwork it is evident that some young musicians who feel
uncomfortable under the control of senior musicians prefer to join a local subcultural
music community that is more open. The local creative music community offers more
street-oriented forms of cultural capital. However, although it is more street-oriented, this
does not mean that it lacks academic aspects in the process of informal learning. The
subcultural difference is in how creative musicians apply and interpret certain forms of
embodied cultural capital into applicable music skills that are suitable for a specific
market. Below I explain these forms of cultural capital and the strategies of young
musicians to accumulate them.

The jazz and indie communities vary slightly on characteristics. Firstly, in the
Yogyakarta jazz scene, several jazz communities have evolved since 2000. Despite some
community differences in preferred jazz sub-genre, the jazz scene as a whole has elements
of post-subculture, because it is fluid and hybrid in regard to membership and mixing of
sub-genres. Since early 2007, there is one particular jazz community (*jazz mbeng senen*)
that has sustained itself and become dominant as well as popular among young people in
Yogyakarta. There are several other smaller communities such as *Samir, Etawa jazz,*
Gadjah Wong and others. In contrast to the indie scene, members of the Yogyakarta jazz community as a whole seem to have reached a consensus of acknowledging themselves as a jazz community, in part because of association with specific venues. However, in the case of local indie music, the scene is loose and fluid since it is spread out across many music studios, distros, event organizations, cultural centres, universities and the home base of indie bands. They seldom define themselves as an indie community in terms of genre but base indie identification more on the DIY mode of production.

Among indie sub-communities, some prefer to maintain inclusivity and interact with different music communities and are open to commodification. Others are more exclusive. They define a strict border based on genre and prefer to maintain a subsistence DIY mode of production as well as an internal aesthetic that fulfils the tastes of their subculture members (Hodkinson 2012). This characteristic echoes the findings of Martin-Iverson (2011, 2012) on the DIY music scene in Bandung, West Java. Compared to the more strongly stratified jazz community in Yogyakarta, it is relatively harder to grasp which indie community can be considered as dominant and dominated since the scene is fluid and fragmented.

In regard to the partially overlapping jazz/indie music scene in Yogyakarta, there are three types of cultural capital gained by young musicians through local creative music practices. In Bourdieu’s terms (1986) these are: objectified, embodied and symbolic institutionalized cultural capitals. Notably, they are not all distributed equally. Of the three, objectified cultural capital is materially and symbolically objective and has to be explained in relation to embodied cultural capital, such as competently playing music within the demands of the genre. Materially, the distribution of objectified cultural capital is not equal in every local music community. Inequality in the distribution of objectified
cultural capital is related to the material input of strategic actors who become patrons and mentors in specific music communities.

Another source of objectified cultural capital made available to young musicians locally comprises spaces, such as jamming and performance venues, music studios and the home bases of bands. Also important is the 24 hour availability of subcultural space to hang out in. Gera, an indie musician, explained about the benefit:

We hung out a lot in the F1 music studio, at any time. Bands from many different genres and communities used to hang out there; we talked and shared a lot about everything related to music. There we received many valuable inputs. Kebetulan kita dulu sering nongkrong di studio di F1 sana kapan saja. Nah itu emang dulu komunitas banyak banget disitu musik segala macem. Nah disitu itu kita ya ngobrol. Jadi kita ngobrol dan bicara macem-macem nah dari situ kita justru mendapatkan asupan-asupan. (Interview Gera 2013).

Depending on the accumulation of objectified cultural capital in each local music community they might also have access to musical instruments, whether basic or high quality. They might have to share a basic instrument with other members, for example at the home base of an indie band. In a jazz music studio, they might share high quality instruments, especially with music course students who are also hanging out in the scene. In such spaces, young musicians who hang out get access to other sources of objectified cultural capital such as music references from pirated DVDs, from CDs, music books and internet access. Such spaces facilitate sharing interactions between young musicians. This was explained by Gisa, a member of a Yogyakarta indie-folk band:
[There] I can update what kinds of music my musician friends are listening to now. So in my laptop, I have a special music folder from my friends, it is called *komang trending*. *Aku bisa cari tahu musik apa sih yang temen-temen dengerin.* *Jadi di laptopku itu aku punya folder lagu yang dari temen-temen, judul foldernya itu komang rending.* (Interview Gisa 2013).

In addition, young jazz musicians can obtain support as a source of objectified cultural capital from strategic non-musician actors who gain benefits from their music field. In the case of jazz, this is usually a businessman in a private company, or an owner of an elite restaurant or a five star hotel who is enthusiastic about jazz as a form of high art. The forms of objectified cultural capital from such strategic jazz patrons manifest in spaces for living, rehearsal and performance as well as provision of high quality musical instruments. For example, wealthy Mr. X had been living in New York and Jakarta. He decided to spend his retirement years in Yogyakarta so he could develop his passion to form a jazz big band. Mr. X shares his house with young jazz musicians who live there, rehearse and hang out. He supports their everyday life (Interview Afgan 2014) offering them objectified cultural capital, capacities and material resources. Some of the young musicians who live in his house play for his jazz big band in paid gigs and in the annual international Java Jazz festival.

In the case of indie, the general pattern of support by strategic patrons comes from young entrepreneurs either related to the music business (recording/music studio) or non-music business (clothing/distro entrepreneurs). There are also cultural brokers who specialise in performing artist management and music producers - both mediocre and strategic - who have a direct link to major indie labels. Their role as a provider of objectified cultural capital is manifested in various forms such as facilities for band
rehearsal and the recording and production of indie albums and a space to hang out and to perform. They might endorse the band’s fashion, or lobby outlets to sell music albums as well as supporting their DIY gigs. During observation in the Mannana independent music studio in North Yogyakarta, the student researcher found that Yuda (an indie drummer and music studio owner) gave support (including rehearsal, recording, production and distribution) to several indie bands who often hang out in his studio. He provided a room next to the music studio for several young musicians to live in as long as they helped to clean the music studio and took shifts to operate the studio. Another example comes from Gayuh, an indie musician who often hangs out in the distro clothing shop ‘Slackers’ in Gejayan. He had gained support including fashion endorsement, an outlet to sell his indie albums, and space to hold his band’s DIY gigs (Interview Gayuh 2013).

Other types of strategic patrons who provide objectified cultural capital include event organizers, owners of cultural centres, media owners and entrepreneurial performing artists with a national or international reputation. What they usually offer to young musicians is a space or time to play as well as support to facilitate the creative process. The opportunity to play is a significant resource because in Bourdieu’s terms (1986), to master embodied cultural capital is very important. Opportunities to play are regarded by the young musicians themselves as crucial for the process of capital accumulation (Interview Angga 2013). Performance in venues facilitated by strategic entrepreneurs gains a musician legitimacy, prestige and symbolic recognition in the cultural field (Bourdieu 1990; 1993). For example, in Yogyakarta, the Bentara Budaya cultural centre (owned by Kompas national media) and the performance space Padepokan Bagong Kusudiarjo (owned by a famous performer) provide important playing opportunities for young jazz musicians. For indie musicians, the Jogjakarta National Museum (JNM), Studio Pengerat, Kedai Kebun forum, Sangkring Art space and Teater
Garasi all offer strategic opportunities for them to accumulate cultural and symbolic capital (learning and status) when they perform there. Furthermore, both for jazz and indie musicians, developing a close network with well-established event organizers is very important to get well-publicized gigs at universities, shopping malls, clubs, distros or annual events such as Ngayogjazz, Jazz Gunung or the annual Indie Kickfest and LA Light Indie Festival. However, it is acknowledged that clearly the patrons themselves derive economic benefit from their provision of support.

In general terms the local music community in Yogyakarta is relatively open and tolerant for any musician from any class background. Young musicians from privileged backgrounds or music education backgrounds who have a strong commitment to the creative music community often lend their musical instruments or share their musical knowledge with others. Thus young self-taught musicians from lower-middle class backgrounds can get access to shared musical instruments as well as free musical knowledge from various sources. They can acquire and practise skills which are usually monopolized by privileged institutions such as universities and private music courses. This is shown in the case of Angga\textsuperscript{15}, a self-taught drummer from a lower-middle class background who was able to achieve a higher position in the jazz and indie music field by joining the local music community and gaining benefits from both objectified and embodied cultural capital. The example of Angga’s experience shows the process of decentring knowledge/power (Foucault 1980) manifested in the distribution of cultural capitals to the grassroots level of a creative music scene. At a different level, this decentring opens up the possibility of position-taking in the local music field of cultural production which appears to be dominated by academic institutions as the main source of legitimized cultural capital as well as symbolic recognition of competence relevant to the

\textsuperscript{15} For a full description of Angga’s situation, see the chapter on class background.
field. In this regard, position-taking is regarded as a dynamic activity that constantly destabilises situations (Robbins 2000, p. 30).

In the struggle for positions of legitimacy in the music field, the local music community is an alternative space for young musicians from any class background to increase their volume of cultural capital. For example:

At first, we play music until 10 pm at least, doing jam sessions because music instruments are available there. Until 10 pm we practice music, and then in the Samirono community, we watch music videos on the computer there. Although sometimes I don’t understand them there are new music references there. *Pertamane belajar, kita klonengan itu sampe jam 10 paling enggak, ngejam, kan ada alatnya tuh. Maksimal pokoknya sampe jam 10 lah ya, terus di Samirono itu nonton video musik mas, kan ada komputer disana. Ya walaupun nggak ngerti tapi ya referensi barunya itu* (Interview Vicko 2013).

As noted in the previous chapter, by joining the local music community, young musicians from academic institutions are able to learn and accumulate different forms of cultural capital that they cannot obtain from music education. Sometimes they bring their own instruments, but sometimes they gain freer access to musical instruments than in the institution. As explained by Imam:

In the Samir community they have their own instruments and we can practice whenever we want. And also they have many music references there too. *Karena di Samir (komunitas) itu ada instrumennya, ya kan ada alatnya sendiri terus...*
In summary, opportunities for young indie/jazz musicians to accumulate objectified cultural capital are provided by strategic patrons and music scene peers. Yet at the same time, unequal outcomes in the accumulation of objectified cultural capital reflect prior inequalities (Grenfell 2008, p.109) and relate back to the differential acquisition of embodied cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 247), to possess a ‘machine’ requires economic capital, but to appropriate it and use it in accordance with its specific purpose demands access to embodied cultural capital. Below I will explain young musicians’ strategies to master embodied capital in the Yogyakarta music community.

7.4 Learning by Doing through Jam Sessions and Performance

Objectified cultural capital has a mutually constitutive relationship with embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993). In this case it facilitates the transfer of knowledge and musical skills that are relevant to survive in the music field. Both young musicians from academic and self-taught backgrounds seemed aware of the availability of embodied cultural capital in the local music community. The process of acquiring embodied cultural capital is facilitated by community age peers and older performers from both academic and self-taught backgrounds. In order to accumulate valuable embodied cultural capital (knowing how and what to play), they join the local music community, enter into the game and follow the rules of the game. In the local music community, they learn the process of embodiment of cultural capital in a relatively more flexible, less strict and informal way compared to formal music training.
Newcomer jazz musicians, for example, have to gain essential knowledge, skills and modes of music interpretation in order to be ready to make their debut in a front stage jam session where they have to deal with a public audience. This is less complicated for indie musicians because of the DIY and borrowing aspects. Although there is a street approach to interpreting jazz music, there are also elements of step-by-step pedagogy adopted by senior musicians as music mentors. For a newcomer jazz musician, there is no other option other than to follow learning music from the basic level to the advanced. Vicko, a bass player, reflected on his experiences when he joined the local music community:

When I was in my hometown of Malang in East Java, I had no idea what standard jazz was. So when I arrived in Yogyakarta and joined Samirono community, they introduced me to it. Before I played a specific genre, for example fusion or any other genre, I had to learn the basics first. It was like that. I was taught by senior musicians such as Fhani (keyboardist) and Dion (saxophonist). Most came from Dion and also Dhani (bassist) and also Desca (drummer). I learned chords, references; there was less improvisation at first. At that time, I was starting to learn making bass lines. So for example, Fhani played a song and then I filled in with the bass lines. *Aku waktu di Malang nggak tahu kalau ada jazz standart, sama sekali tidak tahu. Jadi ketika di Jogja itu Ya di Samirono, aku dikenalin, ini lho sebelum main fusion sebelum main apa-apa itu ada basic yang harusnya begini. Jadi o begitu. Ya Mas Fhani, Mas Dion, Aku banyak dari Mas Dhion. Mas Dhani juga, Tapi ketiga orang itu sama mas Desca juga. Belajar chord, lagu referensi, improvisasi masih sedikit. Ya waktu itu masih belajar bikin bassline.*
Investment of time and commitment is needed to accumulate the embodied cultural capital of competent jazz performance. It requires the labour of inculcation and assimilation, and costs time, time which must be invested by the investor (Bourdieu 1986, p. 244).

Practicing hard in order to master the valuable embodied cultural capital of jazz technique was also emphasised by Vicko:

Practice will increase your capacity, so practice continually that’s the key. So it’s correct what Syadu (national bass player) said. The main job of a musician is actually to practice, while on stage it is about having fun. Oh I see [I said]. So I practice, practice and practice. In the end I really developed myself. At first music was just a hobby. So it was minimal, I practiced 30 minutes a day. So it started from 30 minutes a day, but it went on and now I can feel the result. Now, I no longer practice just 30 minutes only, but for hours and hours and I make my own schedule. Latihan itu akan meningkatkan kamu. Jadi latihan yang continue itu lah kuncinya. Jadi benar yang dibilang Syadu, kalau musisi itu kerjanya latihan. Panggung itu tempatnya seneng-seneng, Oh itu akhirnya latihan latihan latihan, akhirnya dari continuitas itu berkembang-berkembang, Dulu waktu music masih jadi hobi, minimal tiap hari aku pegang, minimal 30 menit. Cuma 30 menit itu yang continue itu sekarang hasilnya aku rasakan. Sekarang kalau latihan nggak terima 30 menit tapi berjam-jam latihannya aku jadwal sendiri (Interview Vicko 2013).
The time frames here are indicative of the struggle for position in the field. We know that trainee musicians who want to make a future in the jazz field are in the process of transition from education to work. They have four years to complete a degree but they also have to learn, improve and develop their jazz skills in the local music community. For some therefore, the process of transition may take up to ten years. In other words, they experience extended transition (Furlong and Cartmel 2007; Threadgold and Nilan 2009).

When young jazz musicians have accumulated sufficient volume of embodied cultural capital usually they are asked to perform in a public jam session. Afgan, a percussionist who has now become a national jazz musician in Bali, explained about the form of cultural capital gained from jam sessions:

> Jam sessions are useful to form the mental state of the musicians, the mental state for playing in front of audiences and also for increasing your musical experiences. *Aku lebih ke ini mental permainan ya. Apa ya mental-lah main ngamen di depan orang ini gimana, jam terbang juga* (Interview Afgan 2014).

Yet not only public jam sessions and performances, but just hanging out enables young jazz musicians to accumulate strategic cultural capital. As explained by Angga:

> What I got was musical skill for sure. In the community, we study together informally with other musicians, senior musicians often give new references too. Every day we always talk about music, so we exchange ideas and information among members. This is how I got my musical skills, also attitudes and
performances. It is through regular jam sessions that I obtained the skills for performing in front of audiences, dealing with the stage and interacting musically. 

If a young jazz musician is considered ready to do a jam session, it means that he or she has passed the first step of achieving legitimation and recognition from the local music community. However, taking part in a jam session does not mean that a young musician will get a gig. There are many layers of legitimation that they have to pass through first. To get a gig, especially a paid gig, comes from smartly accumulating strategic social and cultural capital. Young musicians have to do an apprenticeship with senior jazz musicians, as explained by Vicko:

Jam sessions are like an apprenticeship. The first time I played jazz I was very nervous. I had not memorised the song at that time, and Dhani (senior musician) guided me. It was a similar situation when I first got a gig. Because I was a newcomer at that time, I also helped them to bring the music instruments. It’s not a problem if I did not get a chance to jam, but I still helped to bring the music instruments. From there, I got my first chance to jam and I usually played in the first session because I was shy and usually musicians who play in the second
session are the masters so I did not have the courage. As newcomers we usually compete amongst each other (like with Yogi) to get the first session of jamming so people will probably not see us and we can finish jamming as soon as possible. So we compete with each other because we did not want to get too nervous. *Jam session iya kayak magang. Pertama kali main jazz itu keringetnya sejagung-jagung mas. Tapi waktu itu belum hafal, terus didekte sama mas dhani begini. Jadi ya kayak gitu job first kan aku kayak gitu. Sebagai anak baru dulu aku sebelum main bantu-bantu, bawa alat ya dari situ. Aku enggak masalah nggak main, terus angkat alat-alatnya. Nah dari situ kemudian maen pertama, anak baru kan nggak mungkin maen terakhir nggak mungkin to mas, ya satu malu yang lawannya yang kedua kan udah jago-jago. Ya udah dari situ aku sama Yogi pasti rebutan yang main pertama siapa dulu, biar nggak dilihat orang dan biar cepet selesainya. Jadi rebutan gitu, karena takut keringetnya bulir-bulir gitu* (Interview Vicko 2013).

Actual jazz gigs are crucial spaces of learning by doing; these experiences facilitate them to activate strategic cultural capital that is relevant to the music field in question. They learn about musical improvisation, musical references, attitudes to playing music and performance practices; they also have to learn on the spot how to interact with other musicians as well as interact with the audience.

Antok, a violinist with a music education background from ISI, found that he learned a lot about interpretation, spontaneous music improvisation and also developing a market friendly repertoire. These were forms of cultural capital he could not obtain from his university music education:
I got lots of support from outside campus especially in terms of music interpretation, music feel and cues about whether you want to change into Latin beat etc. Like I got input about music improvisation, not just a theory of music improvisation from university. During jam sessions or gigs, I learnt how to improvise spontaneously based on chords both vertical and horizontal. Sometimes the theory of music improvisation doesn’t match if you play different types of songs, so that’s how I got the skill of spontaneous improvisation. I got all of those skills from fellow musicians who do not have a music education background. It is very useful, and also I know more about new songs outside the classical repertoire. So song lists from jazzy to new pop music. It is always developing, especially into jazzy repertoire. And after that I joined a wedding band so I also learned more about love songs. 

Dunia luar itu sendiri banyak dukungannya dalam masalah pengaruh interpretasi dalam membuat feel music, dirubah atau di latin-in ini. Ini kan kaya kemudian dapat masukan juga secara improvisasi, nggak Cuma dapat ilmu improvisasi yang secara teoritis di kampus. Itu improvisasi gini lho memainkan nada-nada secara spontanitas yang didasarkan pada accord yaitu improvisasi vertical maupun horizontal. Ternyata di dunia luar tu secara teori luar tu penempatannya itu ada yang sesuai, tidak sembarangan ikut sini ternyata dapat ilmu juga, improvenya tu disini lho cah. Ini aku dapet masukan dari orang-orang dan temen-temen kayak gitu yang bukan secara akademisi langsung tapi temen ngeband. Aku dapet itu berguna banget itu dan mengenal banyak lagu selain lagu klasik misalnya. Song lists lagu-lagu popular jazzy atau popular yang baru. Itu mengembang, ya itu music. Terutama saat itu aku malah lebih ke jazzy, abis itu aku membentuk music sendiri band sendiri yang lebih ke music wedding, jadi itu lebih ke lagu-lagu love song (Interview Antok 2013).
However, the process of accumulation of embodied cultural capital is related to the construction and reproduction of *doxa*, in local jazz for example. Thus the young musician has to reproduce techniques, skills, music interpretation, attitude and performances that are considered acceptable according to the dominant actors in the field, who are usually senior musicians. Fellow young musicians follow their lead and reproduce *orthodoxa* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Senior musicians are the role models that represent the ‘ideal’ form of playing jazz. The reproduction of *doxa* and *orthodoxa* are directly related to the demonstration of valuable, legitimate embodied cultural capital through jam sessions. As explained by Angga,

It is indicated by skill, for example Dhani (senior bass player). No matter what kind of genre, he is perfect when playing swing, also groove, and he maintains so well when doing solos. To summarize, how he responds to the music, it’s very clear (that he is the master). In the feeling also, it’s hard to explain about the feeling. How they make the phrasing sound good as well creating musical nuances. I learned a lot from the senior musicians especially how to deal with audiences. Dani took an important role. Jazz does not have to be strict. When we play a gig or do a jam session, people watch us and also members of community, after that we usually make an evaluation in the music community. *Indikator skillfull, misalnya mas Dani. Mereka mau main apa misalnya, swing mereka lebih terasa, groove lebih terasa, solo juga tertata, pilihan nadanya. Garis besarnya cara menyikapi musiknya kelihatan, penyikapan music. Rasa dalam bermusik terasa. Rasa emang susah dijelaskan. Frasingnya juga enak, jelas. Kalo dalam bermusik berhadapan dengan audiences, aku belajar dari senior. Mas Dani*
berperan penting, jazz itu gak harus kaku. Saat main di panggung, ngejam, dilihat anggota yang lain ya kemudian dievaluasi di komunitas (Interview Angga 2013).

In summary, the local music community facilitates the accumulations of embodied cultural capital through jam sessions and public performances. The process of learning itself is relatively more flexible, informal and relaxed compared to formal music education. However, it does not mean that young musicians are free to do whatever they want. In order to gain recognition in the local music communities, they also have to be able to adapt to the rule of the game that is considered acceptable.

7.5 Not Just about Technique: Learning other Skills

In contrast to a feel for the game in jazz, where advanced technical skills are an important form of embodied cultural capital, young DIY indie musicians play the game by not caring about technical skills. None of the indie informants mentioned the importance of advanced technical skills. Basic knowledge of playing is sufficient for indie musicians to form a band and make an original song. This is shown from Gisa’s explanations below:

From the community, during the process I got to understand the progression of major and minor chords, so if I play a particular song I know what chords that I have to play, it is as simple as that. Dari komunitas ya lama-lama bisa tahu kalo mayor ke sini kalo minor ke sini, ya kalo kamu maen ini ya kira-kira kamu maennya itulah, as simple as that (Interview Gisa 2013).
Besides basic playing skills, elements of fun and enjoyment during the accumulation process of embodied cultural capital seem central for indie musicians. The local indie community becomes a space to explore various possibilities, Gisel, a female bass player in Frankenstone and now the drummer in the band Vienna, explained this:

I never thought about learning a specific musical instrument. All I know is that I learned a lot when I joined my band (Frankenstone). Like suddenly I learned to play bass. Bass guitar is very different to play and then I feel oh…I pretty much enjoy playing bass! Besides I can learn musical instruments here. I can learn how to sing correctly, learn how to manage a band, learn about band tours. So there are many, many things that I’ve learned besides playing music and making a song after I joined a band in the community. Gak pernah punya pikiran untuk belajar instrumen dengan fasih tapi begitu, pokoknya aku belajar banyak banget sama Frankenstone itu yang kayak tiba-tiba belajar bass! Dimana bass sama gitar itu beda banget tapi kemudian tu yang, o ternyata enak juga maen bass! Gitu terus abis gitu bisa, selain belajar instrumennya belajar nyanyi juga yang bener terus belajar manejemen ngeband, belajar tour. Jadi ada banyak, ada banyak hal selain bermain musik dan menciptakan lagu yang terjadi kalo kita maen band di komunitas (Interview Gisel 2013).

It seems there are relatively more equal relations in the indie music community compared to the jazz community. Although senior-junior relations still implicitly exist, the focus is more on judging the ‘uniqueness’ of a band concept and the popularity of the band, which both have implications for agreements to produce and distribute their DIY music albums. Most of the indie record labels in Yogyakarta are owned by former (senior) indie
musicians who expanded their music business. So recommendations from strategic seniors in the indie field are important. An example of hierarchical positions in the indie community was shown in the case of Sarita, a female indie singer who attracted the interest of many strategic senior indie producers just because of her ‘freakiness’.

Other elements that construct the feel for the game in this field are its less pedagogical approach to playing music, compared to jazz. Although most indie musicians have a higher education background, they tend to resist the rigorous approach of music pedagogy and prefer to apply a more alternative approach based on common sense knowledge. This implies the phenomenon of decentring knowledge through DIY practice, since genealogically; knowledge is always related to power (Foucault 1980). For indie musicians, truth is not centred in the academy but is obtained and produced in the local music community. It can be suggested that the feel for the game in the indie community implicitly constructs young indie musicians as heteronomous producers of culture, ‘the most heteronomous cultural producers can offer the least resistance to external demands of whatever sort’ (Bourdieu 1993, p. 41). This is perhaps related to the position of DIY-indie itself in the wider field of cultural production. It is an ethos of fluid representation in popular (non-elite) art, compared to the technical rigour of jazz which represents the distinction of restricted high art.

This logic of heteronomous cultural production then constructs what sorts of cultural capital are recognized as valuable in the indie field. Rather than focusing on advanced technical playing skills, most of the informants had obtained non-technical skills related to both music and non-music aspects from the local indie community that were relevant to a feel for the indie game. For example, Agus, a DIY-metal guitarist from the band HeadKrusher emphasized the importance of music concepts:
Go with the flow because it (technical skill) is not the most important thing. For me, music concepts are more important. It is people’s right to improve their technical skills. But in my case, in improving musical skills we usually choose an up-beat song so it’s more about speed. But we do not try to improve every aspect related to the song; it’s more about the concept. So after we get the concept then it’s - let’s do it. *Mengalir saja sih karena bukan itu yang terpenting. Soale bagiku sing penting ki konsep musik. Ya monggolah nek pengen meningkatkan skill seng koyok ngopo. Untuk meningkatkan ya katakanlah pengen lagu sing lebih cepet dan meningkatkan opo seng mbok karepke. Jadi kita cuma pengen ngejar konsep musiknya aja bukan lantas kita mau meningkatkan segala-galanya itu bukan itu. Lebih ke konsepnya jadi konsepe koyok ngopo yo wis ayo (Interview Agus 2013).*

Besides the capacity for developing music concepts, young indie musicians also learn forms of cultural capital not directly related to playing music. They accumulate practical knowledge about business strategies to maintain and expand the popularity of their band. As explained by Gayuh:

*We usually share ideas with other bands in the community about management of marketing in the indie music field. So it is more related to networking and quite simply how to sell our band. We seldom talk about skills. *Kalo kami sih sharingnya lebih ke ini kayak sharing ke manajemen pemasaran di dunia indie. Jadi lebih ke arah jaringan sama istilahnya gimana sih cara jualan band itu sama temen-temen band lain. Jarang kalau yang skill gitu (Interview Gayuh 2013).*
From the interview quote above, it seems clear that the DIY preference among indie bands is often not so much a form of resistance against the mainstream music industry, but a stepping stone towards recording with an indie or a major label. This is different to Martin-Iverson’s finding (2011) on the self-sufficiency mode of production in the underground music scene in Bandung. For example, some of the indie bands in this research did not even employ a DIY mode of production as a mechanism of self-sufficiency for the interests of their Yogyakarta community. They also did not rally against global neoliberalism as was the case in the Bandung underground music scene (Martin-Iverson 2011). In fact, their logic was towards the commodification of their music products. However, some indie bands still have DIY grassroots solidarity with local fans, as Gisa emphasized:

The bargaining position of a band that has already produced an EP album is significant. For example, we set a higher price for our band in a particular music event. But if it’s for the community it is OK for free because it’s just for fun. *Terus bargaining band kalo udah punya EP atau Album harganya bisa lebih tinggi untuk sebuah event tapi kalo untuk komunitas gak usah dibayar gak papa yang penting seneng-seneng* (Interview Gisa 2013).

In summary, the accumulation process of cultural capital relevant to music and non-music aspects for young indie musicians was facilitated by the diversity and fluidity of the scene (Bennett 2000), as well as the composition of members from a middle-high educated class background.

As pointed out above, the jazz/indie music community in Yogyakarta is fluid and rather ambivalent. For instance, some young musicians play in both scenes, and have
friends in both scenes, while others stick to just one. Therefore, there is a blending of sub-
culture and post-subculture characteristics that bring benefits in two ways. Firstly, while
hanging out (nongkrong), young musicians of diverse kinds interact and share both in
terms of musical and non-musical aspects with various indie music genres. This facilitates
them to creatively mix and make innovations in their original indie music production and
thus create their ‘uniqueness’. In other words, they create what they believe to be
distinction in Bourdieu’s terms (1984). This is shown in the case of indie guitarist Halim
(Cranial Incisored) and Agus (HeadKrusher) who both have a strong metal influence.
They insert elements of funk and jazz in their original songs as a result of creative
processes within this diverse and fluid music community (Interview Halim 2013).
Secondly, the middle-high educated background of young indie musicians facilitates the
sharing process of updating information about popular trends, especially from
international online resources. Extensive access to information facilitates the adaptation
of their music production so it follows popular national and international trends
(Interview Kurniawan 2013), and their band stays in the market.

Like young jazz musicians, young indie musicians also accumulate valuable
cultural capital from public performances and gigs. Aad, a self-taught indie rock guitarist,
explained about non-technical music skills that he obtained from playing with other
musicians in a gig:

Besides skills, what I got especially is the music attitude. How to behave as a
musician and how to be responsible in our parts. Also about the relationship
between us and our instruments. The music always consists of many ‘heads’ and
we have to create harmony as best as we can. We have to prevent the situation
where only one person dominates. Everyone should have their own part. Every
musician is given their own space. For example, when I did my solo improvisations usually other members supported to make it dynamic, while if the keyboardist did solo improvisations usually other members would lay back a little bit. In simple terms, we learnt how to be effective and efficient, that’s about the musical arrangement. And also I learned a lot from being on the stage. I got into the moment and I got a new perspective that playing music is not just about how to play the instrument, producing sound, producing nuance and skill, but performance is very important. Now I can’t play guitar without performing it.

Selain skill, dan terutama yang didapat lebih ke attitude sih. Caranya bersikap sebagai musisi. cara kita bersikap tanggung jawab sama part-part kita sama alat musik kita, dan bahwa yang namanya musik itu istilahnya lebih banyak kepala dan sebisa mungkin kita bikin harmoni, jangan sampai ada yang dominan gitu, ada part-partnya sendiri gitu lho. Apa ya disitu setiap personel di band di Gama band itu dikasih ruang kan misalnya pas jatahnya jatahku biasanya musiknya dibuat rame, karena rock kan pasti rame, tapi jatahnya atik misalnya tiba-tiba jadi slow semua seprlunya, sederhananya kita belajar cara main efektif dan efisien, untuk aransemen ya dan itu bermanfaat banget untuk aransemen dan terutama dipanggung juga. Lha di situ pas momen apa ya istilahnya momen pengalaman baru lah ada perspektif baru yang muncul, bahwa namanya main band itu tidak cuma memainkan alat musik aja, tidak memproduksi sound aja, tidak hanya memproduksi nuansa sama main skill aja, tapi gaya juga, dan itu ya itu pengalaman berharga banget, sekarang aku main gitar gak bisa kalo nggak gaya (Interview Aad 2013).
The examples from interview quotes above show how young indie musicians are reflexively aware (Threadgold and Nilan 2009) of which form of cultural capital (such as knowledge about stage performance and quality of sound) can meet the external demands of their audiences. They know that if their market is popular culture then the element of entertainment on stage is important. In that sense they are not playing for their own satisfaction but are open to accommodate the external demand of audience satisfaction. In other words, their music production implies the heteronomous cultural producer rather than the autonomous cultural producer (Bourdieu 1993).

7.6 Friendship, Share of Cultural Capital and Soft Skill of Socializing

As explained before, a vertical hierarchical relationship between senior and young musicians exists to a greater or a lesser extent in Yogyakarta music communities, representing a contrast in the objective positions of actors within the field as well as internal structures of the field (Robbins 2000). However, local music communities also offer relatively horizontal relationship opportunities, especially in the form of friendship and informal support links. These can help in the accumulation of embodied cultural capital that can lead to various career directions in the future (Bourdieu 1986). Friendship and informal support motivated young jazz musician Jaya to improve his musical skills; he felt he was more equal in the learning process compared to formal music education. As he explained:

I feel more comfortable to learn in the music community, although there is no formal instructor. I feel blessed that I can find music partners so I don’t have to learn by myself. *Aku merasa lebih nyaman belajar di komunitas, walaupun gak...*
ada instruktur formal. Tapi aku bersyukur karena aku ketemu partner bermusik jadi aku gak belajar sendiri (Interview Jaya 2014).

Yogi, a self-taught bass player, felt the same about informal support from fellow jazz musicians. He also valued the informal approach to the learning process in the local music community:

In the music field, the obvious thing is someone to play with. After I joined the community, I never learnt by myself. I feel uncomfortable if I do not have someone to play music with. Another benefit that I got is that I can share with friends by guiding them. When I help friends to solve a music problem, indirectly I also learn how to solve it. And I can get input about what I didn’t learn before. Furthermore, I meet friends who have different perspectives from me, it makes me happy because I can do brainstorming and exchange ideas. We can exchange ideas philosophically. Di bidang musik, yang jelas partner. Sampai sekarang, aku masuk komunitas itu aku gak sendirian belajarnya. Itu malah kerasa sekarang, saat aku gak ada partner belajar tu rasanya gak enak. Tapi enaknya lagi aku di sini bisa berbagi dengan ngajarin temen-temen yang lain aku juga belajar. Jadi ketika aku berpikir untuk (membantu) memecahkan masalah si A aku jadi tau gimana cara menyelesaikannya. Jadi malah ada poin poin, oh aku kurang belajar di sini ni di sini ni. Terus yang jelas, banyak ketemu orang yang sudut pandangnya beda sama aku, itu aku jadi seneng banget karena bisa brainstorming jadi bisa tukeran ide. Gitu, jadi bisa bertukar informasi secara filosofi secara sudut pandang. (Interview Yogi 2014).
Ria, a female jazz vocalist, described her process of informal learning based on the friendship and support of fellow young musicians as ‘learning by doing’. A self-taught young vocalist, she decided to resign from her biology degree at a private university to focus on her music career. Her main strategy to accumulate embodied cultural capital was through joining a local music community. She explained her situation to the researcher in a relaxed way but with deep reflexive thinking,

It’s learning by doing. I did not learn by myself. Rather, I discussed a lot with fellow musicians, especially players. What do they feel when they accompany a vocalist in the band, what are the difficulties, what are the minus attitudes that vocalists usually do. I learned a lot about jazz and standard jazz repertories. My musician friends taught me, for example in one session, in one song there will be improvisation in the middle, then they also explained what sort of improvisation, what is the form of improvisation. And for example, parts A-A-B-A (verse-verse-chorus-verse). Sometimes vocalists start to sing early even when the musicians have not finished their improvisations. So that’s some techniques that I’ve learned, also about norms and attitudes in jam sessions. Ya learning by doing, kalau sendirian sih nggak juga karena banyak sekali ngobrol dengan temen-temen musisi terutama player apa sih yang mereka rasakan kalo mereka mengiringi penyanyi, apa sih kesulitan kalo ngiringi penyanyi, apa sih hal-hal minus yang dilakukan seorang penyanyi. Seperti kalo kebetulan karena banyak belajar tentang jazz dan mempelajari lagu-lagu yang ada di repertoar jazz standar, temen-temen mengajarkan di sebuah sesi misalnya ada 1 lagu yang dibawakan di tengah nanti akan ada improvisasi, nah improvisasi itu sifatnya apa, form-nya apa A-A-B-A, penyanyi biasanya belum satu putaran belum jatahnya masuk udah
Similar to experiences in the jazz community, Irwan gained friendship and informal supports from other members of the indie community that he joined:

Some friends did similar things to me. For example, my weakness is mostly about tempo and speed. So usually they help me to adapt my tempo and speed during the band rehearsal. They help me to recognize the correct tempo and rhythm to assist the chord progression. *Teman-teman yang lain juga seperti itu kepada saya misal kebutuhan saya itu tempo dan speed dan mereka akhirnya biasanya terus mengasah saya pas latihan itu dijejelin tempo. Akhirnya saya ya yang benar diajarin mengenai itu bagaimana mengatur tempo dan ritem-ritem yang baik jadi kordnya* (Interview Irwan 2013).

Furthermore, the local music community offers a space for young musicians to learn to socialize. In other words, they learn the habitus of jazz/indie culture through hanging out (*nongkrong*). They learn how to interact with other musicians, to build chemistry, to get an update on music references and to get insights into the music industry. Moreover, the process of socialization/learning is related to the creativity and active contribution of each of the young musicians themselves, as explained by Kurniawan:

I try to point out that if young musicians join the community there will be something that continues into the future. Rather than focusing on individual personalities, I prefer to construct them as individuals who will be ready to find
many options so they will not get stuck in one place in the future. That’s why the aspect of communication is so important in this community. Communication is related to academic knowledge, socialising and also observation. So they have to be able to practice their observation to see opportunities and to analyse many factors that are related to the music. *Aku coba menawarkan bahwa komunitas itu sesuatu yang nantinya continue. Harusnya bisa mengubah karakter individualis menjadi karakter yang lebih siap untuk mencari opsi-opsi yang nantinya mereka gak terbentur pada satu tembok. Itu hubungannya dengan alldint, disini yang ditekankan ya komunikasi. Komunikasi itu bisa keilmuan, bisa juga sosial. Bisa juga pengamatan. Contohnya pengamatan itu, kita harus melatih daya pengamatan kita melihat peluang dan melihat gejala yang berhubungan dengan music* (Interview Kurniawan 2013).

Kurniawan’s account reflects his preference for an individualization process which is characterized by the demand for active contribution by individuals. Moreover, as the range of life options widens and the necessity of deciding between them grows, so too does the need for individually performed actions for adjustment, coordination and integration (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, p. 4). The creation of a fluid and reflexive biography was also implied by indie musician Gisel,

For example, I build a mutual relationship with fellow band members and also with other friends who do not play in the band such as friends from record labels or community friends who host a DIY gig. Others are designer friends, so they are concerned about music but they do not play music. So music is not just about playing in a band. *Misalnya aku membangun relasi antar personil kemudian relasi*
As well as a resource for learning to socialize and for recognizing the habitus of indie/jazz, intense interaction in the local music community has the important function of building solidarity among fellow musicians. Feelings about, and connections to, others are crucial to reflexive practices, even within a climate of individualization (Holmes 2010, p. 143). As Vicko explained:

After a jam session, we usually hang out in the community. There are various topics of discussion from serious to something silly. For me, that is what I call learning to socialize. This community offers complete skills for my career; it has the substance, the social aspect, the friendship, networks. From knowing lots of people, I learn about the strategic social network based on friendships. I can maintain good relationships for the future. Setelah ngejam, kita biasanya nongkrong di komunitas. Abis itu ngobrol mulai dari obrolan serius sampe yang bercanda begitu. Nah belajar sosialnya itu ya dari situ. Komunitas sosial yang terlengkap, ya ada isinya, ada sosialnya, ada pertemanannya, jaringannya juga ada. Dari gaul dengan banyak orang, aku juga belajar mengenai link berdasarkan pertemanan, jadi aku harus menjaga hubungan baik untuk masa depan (Interview Vicko 2013).
The soft skills of socialising and demonstrating appropriate habitus build a shared sense of solidarity and social capital that benefits young musicians in broadening their social networks, which is a valuable investment if they decide to move to different locations as their careers extend.

7.7 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, young musicians creatively activate their strategies to accumulate various forms of capital, especially embodied cultural capital and social capital in the local music communities. In contrast to formal music education which applies a rigorous approach, it is more flexible and informal in local music communities. However, this informality implicitly hides reproduction of *doxa* by the dominant actors. The forms of cultural capital that are offered by the local music community are not only related to sophisticated musical skills but also include other non-musical skills. Furthermore, young musicians learn important skills of socializing, networking and sharing which are useful to develop their future music career. The importance of particular forms of capital related to the ability to maintain durability of strategic social networks will be useful as a stock of capital when they move to Jakarta or Bali to pursue music careers. Being able to combine strategic cultural and social capital increases young musicians’ capacity to adapt in many different music fields in the future. DIY biography, mobility and reflexive habitus among young musicians is outlined in the next chapter.
8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the mobility of young musicians. It looks at the situation where they move permanently in order to continue or improve their career as a musician. In detail, this chapter consists of two sections. The first section looks at how young musicians are actively and reflexively involved in the construction process of their Do-It-Yourself (DIY) biography. The second section looks at young musicians’ strategies to convert and modify their ‘on-hand’ stock of strategic capitals (cultural, social and economic) including network capital. In interpreting the relevant data, the researcher acknowledges the dialogical relationship between individualization and reflexivity (Beck 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). The interpretation continues to make use of the concepts of habitus, field and forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Also relevant is theorising about mobilities and network capital (Urry 2007).

The decision to move to a different place has consequences for their transition to adulthood and to a music career because it means that they move to a different music field with relatively different ‘taken for granted’ forms of habitus, and potentially valuable forms of capital (see Bourdieu 1993). In the era of late modernity when social changes are rapid and unpredictable, the ability of young musicians to develop a more reflexive habitus (Sweetman 2003; Threadgold and Nilan 2009) is a valuable form of strategic cultural capital for success in a new music field. This does not necessarily relate to the young musician’s social class background. Rather it is related to the difference between
disposition to believe and disposition to act and the process of transferability for each individual (Lahire 2003). Details of these arguments are presented below.

8.2 Construct My Own Biography? Or Not?

Rapid institutional change took place during the shift from first modernity to late modernity in global terms. Modernity has not vanished but has become increasingly problematic (Beck, Bonss and Lau 2003, p. 2). Some of the characteristics of the second phase of modernity are that individualization becomes its new social structure (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002, p. xxii), and the guidelines are no longer set by class, religion and tradition, but rather by the labour market, the welfare state, the educational system and so on (Beck-Gernsheim 2002, p. 44). The current phase of modernity is characterized by recognition of the unexpected consequences of individual and institutional decisions, and an internalization of the resulting uncertainty, in other words the individual becomes more reflexive (Beck, Bonns and Lau 2003, p. 28). These shifts in late modernity are taken seriously and elaborated in the field of youth studies, for example in considering youth transitions.

Based on data obtained from fieldwork, most of the informants recognize the risks in being a professional musician. They also acknowledge that their choice of profession is not really the ideal expected by the family. The cultural condition of family pressure is described by Parker and Nilan (2013):

In countries like Indonesia, where collective values remain salient, we must question whether education, career and lifestyle choices of youth represent individual aspirations or reflects sets of negotiations between the young person and family/kin members (p.5).
Young musicians who started their music careers early as semi-professional performers were very familiar with this sort of negotiation. They were often still studying. However, the critical moments of negotiation became stronger when they entered the transition from education to work. This is the moment when they start to ask themselves: ‘What’s next?!’; a question most often posed by their families as well. For most of the informants, this was the moment to choose whether they want to be a full time professional musician or a semi-professional musician, and whether they wanted to move to a different city either permanently or temporarily. However, it should be noted that the transition from education to work in the case of young musicians is not as deterministic as in the established western literature on youth transition (White and Wyn 1998). As previously, it is best described as a long zigzag journey (Nilan, Julian and Germov 2007). For example, sometimes young musicians take a role as a full time professional musician and sometimes as a semi-professional. At different times they take a break from being a musician and change to different work. If that is not going well, they will go back again to work as a professional or a semi-professional musician. In several cases young musicians in this study were enrolled in a higher education degree and at the same time worked as a professional musician. In other cases, they hope to continue with higher education in the future although they are successful as professional musicians. This is a representation of uncertainty and risk conditions. It points to the reflexive capacity of young musicians to anticipate unpredictable consequences (Beck 1992).

Returning to the discussion of critical moments of choice and the question of what comes next after finishing education, young musicians have to negotiate reflexively with many different things. They have to deal with: cultural expectations and norms (family, partner, gender status, strong connection to local community); structural constraints and
opportunities (class background, access, social networks); and personal qualities (capacity to evaluate their skills, ability to transcend the comfort zone, ability to adapt to structured uncertain conditions). In the process of reflexive negotiation, these factors do not stand separately but often overlap. Some young musicians from wealthier backgrounds have relative freedom to construct their own biography as a musician after finishing education. However, it does not mean that they are free from structural constraints and family expectations. Besides that, in the process of decision making, aspects of mobility, either permanent or temporary, are considered.

A decision to move permanently means that young musicians have to sacrifice the pleasure of face-to-face interaction with their family and friends. They have to experience displacement and readjust to embodied experience in a new place (Cresswell 2006, p. 2-3). For young musicians who do not have a strong capacity for reflexivity as a form of strategic cultural capital, the prospect of permanent mobility could be a dark projection into the future. While for young musicians with strong capacity of reflexivity, they can construct their own DIY biography relevant to moving permanently for their career.

8.2.1 This is my life: Don’t worry, I’ll take the risk!

Antok and Imam are examples of young musicians who took the risk of trying to become a full time professional musician. Each constructed his own biography (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) by moving to either Jakarta or Bali. They can be seen as actively developing their reflexive habitus (Sweetman 2003) in order to cope with shifting patterns of work and employment in the music industry. Although they do not come from privileged backgrounds, they decided to follow the dream of becoming a professional musician. After finishing formal music education (ISI) and building an early music career in Yogyakarta, they came to the stage when they had to choose to stay, or move to where
the skill-building and career prospects are better. They believed that the only way to improve to the next level of a music career was through mobility, as explained by Antok:

I decided to develop more and get new challenges in playing music. I also wanted to support myself financially. So I decided to move to Jakarta. I left all that I’d built in Yogyakarta behind. Actually, I already had good links (social networks) there, including from the church and also from my private music course, but I left them all behind. *Karena aku memutuskan untuk lebih berkembang dapat tantangan baru untuk bermusik juga untuk mendukung finansial karena sudah mulai terasa aku sudah membutuhkan untuk menghidupi diri sendiri. Akhirnya aku memutuskan pindah ke Jakarta. Yang ada di Jogja aku tinggal semua, sebenarnya link yg ada di Jogja ini sudah mulai bagus, dunia main di gereja juga banyak, misa di gereja kadang juga aku ikut, terus les-les juga aku tinggali* (Interview Antok 2013).

Imam took a different mobility route again. He moved to Malaysia and Singapore to get experiences as a session player and then moved to Bali. However, he has recently been living in Jakarta. Imam explained his journey to Malaysia before moving to Bali:

First I moved to Malaysia, I got regular gigs for a short time. And then spontaneously I decide to move to Bali. I moved because I knew my fellow musician friend Sani was there and there were many opportunities. I arrived in Bali at night. The next day I did a jam session and one day after that I had already got regular gigs and was busy straight away. *Aku ke Malaysia dulu mas. Sempat reguler di Malaysia, Lalu aku mutusin ke Bali spontan mas, Tak putusin ke Bali,*
Despite differences in their mobilities, both seemed to actively anticipate future risks (ignorance, poverty, lack of challenge) by building social networks with fellow musicians as strategic actors in Jakarta and Bali. Their anticipation of future risk by building networks with others represents a key characteristic of individualization (Beck and Willms 2004). It seems Antok and Imam remained consistent in their choice to become a professional musician. Moreover, they were able to anticipate and head off new risks by interchangeably playing different roles as a session player, DIY musician and music instructor. In summary, they were able to adapt to the new music field in the new place and achieve upward mobility.

8.2.2 I know this is my life but I’m not ready to take the risk!

It was noted that not all the young musicians who decided to be a professional musician were prepared for a permanent career move to a different location. Dhana is a good example of this. After finishing formal music education, he was reluctant to move permanently to Jakarta or Bali even though he already had existing networks through family members. He was reluctant to independently construct his own biography because family ties remained strong. As explained by Dhana:

I used to have a plan to move to Jakarta after graduating from university. But there was a conflict with my family; I also experienced internal conflict. I tried to explain to my mother what I wanted. She understood me. But she did not give me
permission to move to Jakarta permanently. So my mother was the main factor in my decision. If she had given permission at that time, maybe I would be in Jakarta now. At that time, I had already collected information about moving to Jakarta and Bali from a friend. Besides that, my cousin and uncle are regular musicians and work in hotels there. But it’s back to the same thing, my mother does not want me to live far from her. *Dulu sempat mikir pernah ingin pindah Jakarta setelah lulus kuliah. Ini khan pengaruh bentrok dengan keluarga, Itu pergulatan batinku. Akhirnya saya menjelaskan ke ibu dan dia mengerti, ada faktor juga ibu gak mau ditinggal jauh oleh saya. itu justru faktor utama ya ibuku itu. Kalo boleh ya mungkin ya udah pindah. Waktu itu sudah menjajaki peluang ke Jakarta dan Bali, via Agung. Kakak dan Paman khan ada disana, main dan kerja di hotel. Balik lagi, ibu gak mau jauh* (Interview Dhana 2013).

Until now, Dhana still lives and continue to play music in Yogyakarta. It seems impossible for him to move permanently to Jakarta or Bali in the future because of the intervention from his mother. Dhana is anchored in the local music scene. His situation suggests he has lost momentum to achieve upward mobility in his music career. It was noted during fieldwork that while most of his fellow musicians are busy playing music, Dhana spends most of his time helping his mother run a food stall business. Dhana’s story shows how the role of the family remains strong in the transition process of Indonesian youth (Nilan 2008) and remains a paramount organizational principle and structure of Indonesian society (Parker and Nilan 2013, p. 6).
8.2.3 I’m a realist so I choose the middle ground position

Another narrative of negotiation in constructing a DIY biography as a professional musician came from Isa. He has a strong passion for playing music and wants to become a full-time professional musician. However, due to life circumstances Isa chose a middle ground position. The strongest factors that affected his mobility decision making concerned cultural values, especially the cultural responsibilities of a man in Indonesian society. One of the cultural responsibilities of men is to marry, so young men have to be able to show they can provide for the family and demonstrate competent status in the public sphere, or being *mampu* (Parker and Nilan 2013, p. 150). Isa, an indie musician, moved permanently to Jakarta to work as a civil servant while still continuing to play music. As explained by Isa during the interview in a music studio in South Jakarta:

This is what I have in my mind. I am a man and I have to take responsibility when I build my own family. I will take responsibility to support them financially in their everyday lives. So when I did not have a permanent job, I was afraid that I could not fulfil that responsibility. Finally, I took a job as a civil servant, but because my passion for music is very strong I decided to continue playing music. Now, I work in the office and play music too. *Saya berpikir begini, saya seorang laki-laki, pasti saya punya tanggung jawab untuk nanti ketika saya berkeluarga, punya tanggung jawab untuk memberi nafkah dan penghidupan. Kalau saya tidak punya pekerjaan tetap, saya takut tidak bisa memenuhi tanggung jawab itu. Akhirnya saya memutuskan mengambil pekerjaan sebagai PNS (Pegawai Negeri Sipil). Tapi karena passion di musik sangat kuat dan tidak bisa dihilangkan, akhirnya itu berlanjut. Saya sambil bekerja juga main musik* (Interview Isa 2014).
Isa’s family of origin is quite well off. However, he felt uncertain about supporting his own family in the future if he became a full-time musician. His decision is understandable since Isa has only been an indie musician. He works with other indie musicians to produce and distribute their own music albums, and they depend on live gigs. Isa does not play as a session musician or as a regular performer in cafés, hotels or restaurants. Isa’s solution on mobility is to move to Jakarta, but not to try and find work as a professional musician. Rather, this mobility has allowed him to continue playing music as a part-time leisure pursuit. Although his anticipation of uncertainty and future risk reflects his cultural responsibilities as a man of financial means, it also reflects the internalization of the individualization process in youth transition.

8.3 The Importance of Network Capital to Prevent Future Risk

During the ‘critical moment’ (Thomson et.al 2002) of decision-making, the ‘on-hand’ availability of strategic social networks is an important resource for young musicians to prevent future risk (Beck 1992) when they decide to move to a different location. For Urry (2007, p.197), this resource of network capital is constituted by workmates, friends and family members at a distance. The accumulation of ‘on-hand’ social networks, especially workmates and friends, can be explained through two different processes. The first is related to the element of time including past, present and future time. The second is similarity of music community space. Time in the past refers to intense and high quality face-to-face interactions including conversion of capitals between young musicians through their mutual experience of hard times (masa susah). This similarity of past experience creates social capital - a sense of bonding among young musicians which is not necessarily about boundedness with an exact place (for example, the local music community) but extends into bridging and linking impact (Field 2003).
The high quality of co-present social interactions during periods of hardship is an important part of their social capital investment and allows them to maintain social networks when they decide to move to Jakarta or Bali in the future. In making this point, it does not mean that the researcher fully agrees with Putnam’s argument (2000) that social capital can be productive only through intense interaction of small communities. Young musicians are also building network capital at a distance (Urry 2007) with their fellow musicians who have already moved to Jakarta and Bali earlier, through interaction via mobile phone, social media (Facebook, Twitter, Blackberry Messenger), temporary travelling for gigs, as well as just visiting old friends for leisure. Further to this point, Vicko explained about his strategy of building and maintaining network capital before he decided to move to Jakarta:

I maintained intense communication (with fellow musicians) through simple things like making a joke. To open the link (social networks) of course especially with the music community in Jakarta. I knew there was a gap between music communities there but I did not want to stick in just one community exclusively. I wanted to play in every place and know many fellow musicians there. So I opened links as broadly as possible. *Tetap komunikasilah, misalnya bercandaan, yang simple-simple aja. Buka link yang jelas. Link dari komunitas, walaupun di Jakarta komunitasnya ngégap-ngégap tapi aku nggak mau jadi orang yang ada di satu komunitas tapi aku pengennya main kesini kenal sama ini, main kesini kenal sama ini jadi buka link seluas-luasnya* (Interview Vicko 2013).

From this quote, it is clear that strategic social networks have to be built sustainably both from co-present interaction and at a distance. In other words, there must be an aspect of durability to build a sense of closeness and solidarity among young musicians.
8.3.1 Don’t Worry. I’ll be on Your Side! When Miscalculation and an Unpredictable Future Happens

Based on the data from fieldwork, some young musicians successfully converted their strategic social networks to obtain regular gigs soon after they moved to the destination. During an interview in his boarding house, Catur explained experiences in the first week after he moved to Bali:

I directly got a gig in my first week in Bali, I played in front of many people. It was in the Jazz and Grill restaurant in Sanur, one of the centres of the jazz community. My first job was from fellow musicians from Jogja. I replaced Helmi’s regular gig there. *Pertama kali masuk ya langsung main depan banyak orang, langsung main, dulu pertama kali saya ke sini tuh barometernya di Jazz and Grill restaurant di Sanur. Terus job pertama dari orang Jogja, saya menggantikan Mas Helmi yang main regular disana* (Interview Catur 2014).

However, the music industry is a precarious and risky business. It is often uncertain due to various circumstances and individuals are dependent on the unpredictable labour market. Some young musicians, although they strategically make a plan and carefully calculate the future risk to face a different music field, have to deal with the reality that they cannot control unpredictable conditions. Afgan explained his own experience of miscalculation and precarious condition in the first year after he moved to Bali. He also described the important role of durable strategic social networks that helped him survive during the hard times:
After I arrived in Bali, I did not have gigs for eight months! I ran out of money and had no motorcycle. I lived with Jacko (a fellow musician) for eight months in his room. Back in the day, it was a musician’s boarding house; around five jazz musicians lived in the same place. So I lived in Jacko’s room. I owe a lot to him because he allowed me to stay for free. Then I told my circumstances to Helmi, ‘I do not have any money again, what should I do?’ and he replied ‘Don’t worry, you have me here’. After that, I usually waited until Helmi came back from a gig so I could eat and sometimes I followed him to his gig so we could share food that was provided by the hotel. Nyampek Bali jebret aku sampai delapan bulan nggak maen. Duit nggak ada, kendaraan nggak ada, aku tinggal sama Jacko itu selama 8 bulan di kost kostan nya Jacko. Dulu kita satu kos musisi semua. Jadi satu kost-kostan ini 5 kamar isinya musisi jazz. Nah disitulah aku tinggal sama Jacko, aku tu terima kasihnya sama Jacko tu karena mau nampung aku tanpa bayar. Kemudian aku ngomong sama Mas Helmi piye ini mas, nggak ada duit ini mas. Udah kamu tenang aja, kayak nggak punya temen aja disini. Jadi aku harus nunggu Helmi pulang ngamen dulu baru makan mas. Kadang-kadang aku ikut dia biar bisa ikut makan gitu (Interview Afgan 2014).

Afgan’s experience above reflects the reality of precarious work as a musician in late modernity. He had to deal with double pressure, both from structural factors and their consequences for him as an individual as well as from the outcome of the life decision that he made (Beck 1992). Although he experienced a challenging time in his first year, Afgan was able to convert his on-hand stock of durable strategic networks that he had built since early 2000 in Yogyakarta. His stocks of durable strategic networks were able to support him both in the form of housing and food for everyday life. His circumstances
at that time also reflect the precarious and risky conditions in Indonesia where the state does not give welfare support to its citizens. Thus the availability of social networks is very important.

8.4 Permanent Mobility, Risk and Reflexive Habitus

Beck (2000) argues that in the era of late modernity, one of the forms of negotiation for individuals to deal with flexible labour markets is through mobility, both at the scale of the nation state as well as between countries. For Beck (2000, p. 30), mobility within the nation state is highly desired in view of regional imbalances in the labour market. It is part of the ideal of the flexible worker that he or she should go where the jobs are. In the context of Indonesia, mobility as a result of regional economic development imbalances is not a new phenomenon. Historically, the reproduction of inequalities between regions is a result of centralised development planning program from the colonial era to the New Order regime. Certainly after the reformation era, development planning is more decentralized to local regions. However, implicitly regions that are constructed as key centres and symbolically offer better life progress (in terms of money, status and prestige) still exist in Indonesia; including in the music field. Two interviews with young musicians who moved to Jakarta and Bali respectively mentioned this inequality of opportunity:

The extreme difference is especially in financial terms, maybe because Jakarta is the capital of this country so it is more developed in every aspect. While Jogja is only a small region so the music development is not as massive as in Jakarta. Maybe Jogja is better to study because there are many universities there. But in terms of the music industry and its products it is only a small portion, so
automatically that has an impact on the financial aspect. It’s very different, very small money there (Jogja). *Perbedaan yang paling mencolok itu finansial, mungkin karena secara Jakarta ibu kota ya, perkembangannya semua di ibukota. Sedangkan di Jogja hanya kota daerah kecil yang otomatis perkembangan musiknya itu tidak terlalu besar, mungkin bagus untuk sekolah karena memang banyak kampusnya tempat sekolahnya itu untuk di Jogja. Tapi untuk dunia industri musik dan wujud-wujud industri musik tidak banyak, otomatis itu yang membuat finansialnya beda banget, kecil banget* (Interview Antok 2013).

Catur, a jazz/indie/session musician, talked about a different kind of capital in the music field in Bali,

The mode of music understanding specifically for jazz is very different. I played and mastered jazz music in Jogja and then I continued doing the same things when I moved to Bali. But what I felt to be the mode of understanding was very different. *Perbedaan pemahaman musiknya yang spesifiknya untuk jazz juga jauh, karena di Jogja pun saya main jazz, mendalami jazz dan di Bali pun juga mendalami jazz, sangat berbeda* (Interview Catur 2014).

In regard to these quotes, it can be understood that inequality between regions had an impact on the unequal distribution of capitals in the music field and music industry. In the relatively autonomous field of music (Bourdieu 1993), inequality exists not only in terms of the distribution of economic capital but also in terms of cultural capital, in this case, mode of music understanding which represents a higher level of the hierarchy in the jazz music field. These inequalities of capital distribution can be read as reflecting...
structural inequalities that force the individual to develop his/her reflexivity (Beck, Bonss and Lau 2003). Furthermore, the data implies mobility for music career purposes to be a manifestation of the young musician’s reflexive capacity. This reflexivity reflects the ambivalence between freedom to construct their own future and the limitation of structural constraints. Reflexivity is important for survival in the late modernity era; however, it also can be a condition of a paradoxical compulsion for the construction, self-design and self-staging of one’s own biography (Beck 1997, p. 96).

8.5 Welcome to the Jungle! Being a Professional Musician in Jakarta and Socio-Economic Obstacles in Music Fields

Enji - a drummer - experienced a different rule of the game in the music field when he moved to Jakarta, especially based on socio-economic status. Although he came from a middle-high class background, he and his friends found it very difficult to enter a certain circle of high-class young musicians, as he explained during an interview in South Jakarta:

In Jakarta, every group of musicians has their own boundary, so it’s very hard to enter their groups and become an insider. That’s the difference here. Every group of musicians seems to have their own circle especially related to socio-economic status. So to be honest, I’ll give you an example. I have friends who want to enter the circle of high-class young musicians. They try very hard to be accepted in that circle. But they did not even recognise they existed, they did not want to give them any recognition. So besides educational background, socio-economic background is an obstacle, making it very hard to enter those circles. Kalau di Jakarta semua punya dinding, pembatas semen, yang loe nggak gampang untuk masuk ke
Enji refers to the different rules of the game (doxa) which are reproduced in the relevant music fields in Jakarta, including forms of capital that are considered valuable in a music field. Enji enrolled in an elite private music school in Kemang South Jakarta in order to enter the inner circle of high-class young musicians and also to upgrade his music skills relevant to the music industry in Jakarta. Enji used his privileged class background and money from his parents to expand his career. However, Enji did not receive recognition from the elite group of young musicians. He had to take a different route to sustain his music career. The socio-economic obstacles in the music field that young musicians have to deal with represent an important form of risk – the risk of living in a big city like Jakarta which is more individualized (Beck 1992) than a small traditional city like Yogyakarta, for example, as well as the strong reproduction of dominant class divisions to create distinction (Bourdieu 1984) among groups of young musicians.
8.5.1 Just Deal with It: It is a Music Business!

Besides socio-economic obstacles, young musicians had to deal with the Jakarta music field which is deeply influenced by profit logic. In other words, there the production of culture is based on recruiting more paying consumers. The rule of the game in the Jakarta music field is driven by market demands as a structural force. To succeed, young musicians have to reflexively re-manage their music performances both in terms of their product as well as their appearance and self-image. In other words, they have to follow the market logic of the neoliberal subject (McGuigan 2014).

Enji is a good example of a young musician who had to develop his reflexivity as a consequence of lack of fit (see Adkins 2003) between his existing habitus and the rule of the game in the music field. As explained before, Enji tried to head off risk to his music career by enrolling in an elite private music school. He anticipated that he would then be able to enter the elite circle of top class young musicians. However, he miscalculated. The top class musicians excluded him and did not give him any recognition. Aware of this rejection, reflexively Enji then undertook different strategies to sustain his music career. Although not at the highest level of gigs, he gained regular gigs in several restaurants as a session player, and taught music, thereby converting his stock of embodied and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) that he had obtained from the elite private music school. However, his career progression went slowly as a session player, so he decided to radically change the pathway of his music career:

After I finished at the private music school, I got an offer to join a pop band playing pop music. And we got a contract from a record label. Twice we successfully released a single so I experienced a change in terms of genre. For me, it was a totally different direction from my ideal dream to be a professional
musician. But I needed the money; I could not stay in just one music genre so I agreed to play the pop genre. Kemaren setelah gua lulus ada penawaran pop, popular music gitu. Dan kita sempet sign kontrak dengan label music pro terus kita ngeluarin dua single, dan gue ngalamin perubahan juga di genre itu kan. Tapi menurut gue sih satu hal yang udah melenceng banget dari impian gua. Cuma gua butuh uang, ya karena gua pikir di jazz nggak bisa buat patokan loe ini kan mencukupi loe maksud gua. Mungkin kalo yang lain bisa mencukupi bagus, tapi kalo gua nggak bisa makanya gua mencoba bermain di genre music lain gitu yaitu pop (Interview Enji 2013).

Enji’s experience indicates how young musicians who succeed in relative terms develop a reflexive habitus (Sweetman 2003) as a form of cultural capital (Threadgold and Nilan 2009). Enji’s ability to make money from music while remaining critically aware and flexible reflects the construction of the reflexive subject in late modernity. When the researcher interviewed him in South Jakarta, Enji’s recent music career had taken a different pathway again. His pop band had not successfully secured an extension contract from the national record label. During his period of stardom, he had successfully appeared on national television, launched two singles, and performed in many live stage gigs in Jakarta. However, this period of success did not last long. Now, he has to come back to work as a session player and performing regularly in restaurants. This reflects the labour market conditions of the music business which are risky, precarious and uncertain.

8.5.2 Keep It Simple: Doing Regular Gigs in Jakarta

Other young musicians as informants in this research also represent the creative strategy of adapting to the new rule of the game in the field of regular gigs. Just working
as a hired orchestra player was not enough so Antok strategically converted his strategic social capital from workmates (fellow musicians) to obtain a job as a regular session player in some restaurants and at wedding parties in Jakarta. However, the ability to convert social capital was not enough to maintain job sustainability, Antok had to swiftly notice the new rules of the game and reflexively adapt to them. He was a session player with a music education background in the classical tradition which represents high culture (Bourdieu 1984). In the heteronomous field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993), Antok recognized that he had to renegotiate his previous embodied habitus as well as his stock of on-hand capital to a more commercial form of music production which demanded that he keep it simple:

In my opinion, the music packaging in Jakarta, for example at a wedding party, is more minimalist. In other words, you do not need to present your music as sophisticated; also you do not need many musical instruments. Here (Jakarta) it is more restricted. You just need piano, bass and two vocalists at the front, both male and female. Saxophone or violin is only an addition. Grand piano is the most important instrument. That is what I found in the wedding parties and also at regular gigs, keep it minimalistic. Terus kemasannya, musik di Jakarta kalau menurutku yang aku geluti di dunia wedding itu mereka bentuknya minimalis, dalam arti musiknya itu tidak perlu rame-rame. Artinya tidak memerlukan banyak instrument. Kalau disini itu malah lebih eksklusif menurutku, disini piano, bass, vocal 2 cowok cewek, pemain depan kayak saxophone atau biola tambahannya cuma untuk co-host. Grand piano itu sangat utama disini. Itu sih yang aku lihat di dunia wedding atau regular juga minimalis juga (Interview Antok 2013).
Moving to a city that is relatively more cosmopolitan and where commodification characterizes the music field had an impact on lack of fit between his previous habitus and generative dispositions demanded by the new music field. For Antok, this lack of fit between previous habitus and the new music field is not totally a new experience. Tracking back to his previous pathways, he had experienced such moments many times in the past. There had been temporary mobility to Jakarta and music performances abroad as a session player. In his journeys, he had become much more reflexive. High reflexivity as a form of cultural capital possessed by an individual is one of the important factors to negotiate one’s career (Sweetman 2003, p.538). To summarize, a young musician’s reflexive capacity as a form of strategic cultural capital was built through the accumulation of past experiences. It came from durable experimentation to solve both present and future problems. It resulted in the creation of fluid stocks of knowledge and capacity that can deal with unpredictable changes in the feel of the game in many different music scenes.

8.5.3 Strategic Social Capital as a Short Cut for Upward Career Mobility

The logic of the music field as an arena of struggle has an implication for hierarchical positions between agents who join in the game. In other words, the power relations develop as dominant-subordinate relations. The dominant agents possess more accumulation of capital considered as valuable both objectively and symbolically in the field, compared to subordinate agents. As an arena of struggle, the interest of the dominant agent is to keep his privileged position while for the subordinate agent it is to achieve upward mobility in the field. It can be argued consequently that the game rules of the music field are analogically similar to the snakes and ladders games. There are two choices that are offered by the game. First, players can take the ‘normal’ route which will
take more time to accomplish the game. However, there is no guarantee that the player will win the game. Second, accepting risk and uncertainty, the players can strategically take the ‘short cut’ route in order to move up to a higher level on the board. Similar to the normal route, it does not mean that a player will win the game but at least it saves a lot of time.

For young musicians who experience permanent mobility, the short cut route is reflexively built through the conversion of strategic social capital with social agents who already have a dominant position in the music scene. Social capital is understood as the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p.119). The implication of converting particular strategic social capital for young musicians is not only one of saving time but also of accumulating cultural capital in the process of struggle in the new field of the game. Thus the effects are not only conversion to economic and cultural capital but also gaining legitimation, recognition and further forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1993) which are strategically very valuable in the Jakarta music scene where the principle of social Darwinism (survival of the fittest) seems to be at the heart of the game.

There was one young musician who took a different music pathway. His example further represents the benefits of converting strategic social capital. Dito is a drummer who has played in many genres of music including a commercial-DIY blues rock band, as a session player for national singers (pop, jazz, rock) and in idealistic instrumental jazz DIY bands. His music career began in the local music scene in Yogyakarta and moved upward to national music scenes in Jakarta. His band succeeded in getting a record deal from a music company in the USA. The band had many tours to the UK, Singapore and the USA. Most recently, his band won a music award hosted by a national television
broadcaster. His pathway can be described as reflexively taking a short cut to achieve an upward music career. Even before he moved permanently to Jakarta, Dito had built his stock of strategic social capital as a session player for a nationally famous female singer who often performed in music festivals in Yogyakarta. Dito also often went to Jakarta to perform with her. After he moved permanently to Jakarta in 2007, Dito got many gigs with the same female singer not only in music festivals and on national television but also as a session player for her music album. This pathway reflects the practicability mode of social capital (Field 2003).

Compared to other musicians who had to build up slowly from the bottom, Dito was able to take a short cut route to achieve upward career mobility in Jakarta because of his ability to build durable closeness and trust with the singer. Through this he gained symbolic recognition and legitimation among established musicians. Of course this was not only as a result of strategic social capital conversion *per se* but also because of Dito’s stock of cultural capital. In combination, such conversion can breed new capital accumulation (Field 2003, p. 14). Dito can perhaps be categorized as a ‘surfer’ type in the era of late modernity (Beck, Bonss and Lau 2003). Dito’s successful strategies also indicate his ability to maintain a reflexive habitus in the constantly changing new music field (Sweetman 2003). In short, Dito’s case represents the unpredictable matter of maintaining durable strategic social capital.

### 8.6 Bali: The Importance of Durable Network Capital and Reflexivity

The student researcher found similarities in the creative strategies among young musicians to struggle in the changing field of the game in Bali. Firstly, the conversion of on-hand durable and strategic network capital (Urry 2007) is very important not only as a factor that influences the mobility destination, but as a safety net. It can operate as a
source of other forms of capital (including symbolic capital) in a new field of the game. Later on, the effect of their strategic position can be a short cut to achieve upward mobility. Secondly, the high degree of reflexivity or reflexive habitus (Sweetman 2003; Threadgold and Nilan 2009) as a form of cultural capital in each individual becomes a crucial factor to maintain the sustainability of their career. Of course, not everything is possible. There are many layers of structural and cultural obstacles in different contexts. Some of the young musicians were found to experience hidden racism (Cui 2015) and forced internalization of cosmopolitan values (see Beck 2006; Delanty 2012; Keating 2015), and even multiple layers of social suffering (Kleinman, Das and Lock 1997). To some extent this is considered as a normal, taken for granted, acceptable and constantly reproduced fact of life in Bali. Although life is a process of constantly facing unpredictable consequences, to a certain degree there are winners and losers in this game. The narratives of young musicians in Bali in the following pages represent the DIY biographies of ‘winners’.

The importance of durable and strategic network capitals was demonstrated by the case of eight young musicians who used to live together in the same boarding house in the early years after moving permanently to Bali. All eight of them came from the music community in Yogyakarta but they moved to Bali gradually. Some moved later because they did not finish university in the same year, for example. However, those who moved earlier kept in contact with their fellow musicians both through temporary mobility as well as online contact and shared valuable knowledge related to a new feel for the game. This is part of their solidarity with fellow musicians who kept their loyalty during the hard times (masa susah). Keeping in contact with strategic networks in Bali not only helped young musicians to adapt to the new music field but also in everyday life. They obtained information related to culture, accommodation, food, knowledge about the
place and so on. Iman (2014) said that the eight young musicians living together often had regular DIY music workshops in the yard of their boarding house. They jammed and learned new songs that become acceptable repertoires in many music venues in Bali. This shows the informal approach of young musicians to adapt to a new feel of the game. It is a strategic embodied process to generate subcultural capital that is transferable into cultural capital and maybe later into economic capital (Threadgold 2015). Furthermore, they were reflexively negotiating their Do It Yourself (DIY) biography (Beck 1992). The availability of on-hand durable and strategic network capital is very important in the context of precarious jobs and lack of state welfare support. In the context of the Bali music field, this durable solidarity among young Javanese musicians is very important for competing with the waves of international migrant musicians who come to Bali. Even during fieldwork in 2014, eight of the young musicians still maintained their durable networks.

For young musicians, to recognize, re-learn and re-adjust to a new feel for the game is a very important strategy to achieve upward mobility in the music field. In other words, young musicians have to be able to transform their on-hand stock of subcultural capital into cultural capital. Catur has a daily strategy of the self that he maintains in Bali. He practices every morning after he wakes up and prays at 4.30am. He finishes around 9 am. His resources for learning comprise his on-hand stock of known musicians and also his new networks with senior musicians from Bali. Catur often visits the houses of senior musicians and has deep discussions related to the mode of understanding. At the same time, he maintains his self-discipline of practicing repertoire in his tiny boarding house. The benefits were explained as follows:
Usually jobs come in at an unpredictable time. I get a phone call and am asked if I can play tonight without rehearsal. So OK we perform without practice, it often happens. So the main key is mastering the mode of understanding again. If you do not master that you will not be able to play even though they play the same songs. Usually the jobs demand we play same songs that are the pattern if you play regularly. *Biasanya job itu datang dari telpon tanya malam ini bisa maen, yaudah main tanpa latihan, banyak yg kayak gitu kasusnya. Emm jadi yaudah jatuhnya ke pemahaman lagi kan jadinya, ya kalo pemahamannya nggak tau ya kayak gitu, ya walaupun musiknya tetep jadi kan. Lagunya tetep itu, ya lagu lagu itu lagu umumlah. Lagu-lagu yang dibawa lebih buat regular* (Interview Catur 2014).

Similar strategies are maintained by Sani who lives in the same boarding house. During fieldwork in 2014, the student researcher spent around one week living with them and observed their life patterns. This self-discipline works on the entrepreneurial self which can be described as: an adult subject; a subject made capable of conducting himself/herself as an enterprise via the vast ensemble of experiences, practices and relations that characterise the processes of governmental self-formation (Kelly 2007, p. 18). Moreover, they also self-regulated their body by practicing everyday as a mechanism to adapt into a new field. A triple mix of strategies including self-management, developing networks with others and re-adjusting in a new field can be explained as comprising a form of reflexivity. This particular form of reflexivity is a kind of cultural capital that allows someone to survive in the era of risk society.

There is an important political economy aspect of the Bali music business. In some elite tourist venues around Seminyak, Ubud and Sanur, the slots of the regular gigs are
already monopolized by some senior musicians. Being able to maintain this strategic social capital can create benefits for young musicians:

So far the social networks expand from word of mouth so it’s like distribution of gossip. In Bali, it consists of different circles of groups. So it depends which group you are belonging to. There is one circle where the gossip is distributed faster. Luckily, I and fellow young musicians joined this group and they have more money compared to others. So that’s the benefit of maintaining those ‘word of mouth’ social networks. *Selama ini jaringannya berkembang dari mulut ke mulut jadi lebih ke dari gosip ke gosiplah. Jadi di Bali ada lingkarannya. Jadi mereka mau masuk golongan yang mana. Ada satu lingkaran yg mana gossip akan lebih cepat beredar langsung ada di golongan ini, ada di Bali ada itu. Nah kebetulan aku dan teman-teman yang lain itu berada di lingkaran yang gosipnya cepet menyebar. Dan dari budget pun lebih tinggi, itu itu pertamanya jaringannya terbentuk dari mulut ke mulut* (Interview Catur 2014).

It seems that for young musicians there are no options other than to maintain on-hand durable networks and expand strategic networks further in order to successfully enter the new field of the game. Furthermore, it is important for young musicians to develop their reflexivity to adjust in the new feel of the game. Being reflexive means young musicians are able to look deeper at how the rule of the game is reproduced as well as to creatively transform themselves and their resources to be suitable in a new field. In other words, during the process of struggle, young musicians have to be able to constantly and reflexively adapt to unpredictable changes at the social level, as well as developing and
maintaining their own self-entrepreneurial ethos in order to survive in the high risk Bali music field.

8.6.1 The Ambivalence of Becoming Session Players

For Indonesian young musicians in Bali, the wave of migrant musicians from foreign countries can be interpreted into two ways. First, as competition, the migrants can be a structural obstacle to their own advancement that shows the impact of global inequalities. Second, as a resource, they provide strategic and valuable forms of capital to help them sustain their music careers. However, in everyday struggle, some young musicians started to become reflexively aware of global inequalities in the music field:

In Bali, implicitly there are factors of racism. For example, you might be just an ordinary player but because you are white (bule), charming, good looking and personally approach the owners, well then you can play wherever you want around Bali. Juga ada faktor secara nggak langsung rasis, misalnya kamu bule dan skill kamu biasa tapi karena kamu entertain, pendekatan dengan owner, kamu menarik, kamu bakalan bisa ngegig sampai pulau ini habis tempatnya main (Interview Sani 2014).

Furthermore, Sani explained about the reproduction of global inequalities in order to keep the logic of profit accumulation in the music business. This was happening in many elite venues in Seminyak, Sanur and Ubud:

Here, there are many things like that (racism). For example, foreign owners of venues sometimes they have a mindset like that. So in a café for example, they
put the migrant (white) musicians as the lead act. This is part of their business strategy; so it is OK sometimes. However, if they keep that mindset, it is us who become the victims all the time. *Nah disini ada hal kayak gitu walaupun ownernya orang luar kadang ada mindset kayak gitu jadi kafe dipasang headline-nya londo. Ini salah satu strategi bisnis juga tapi ya nggak papa. Cuma kadang ada yang mindset-nya jadi begitu. Jadi yang jadi korban selalu itu yang kayak kita gini* (Interview Sani 2014).

During their time in Yogyakarta the young musicians never experienced competition with migrant musicians; usually they competed with fellow peers or musicians from other regions of Indonesia. Perhaps they never imagined those experiences of social suffering when they decided to move permanently to Bali. What the student researcher means by social suffering (Kleinman, Das and Lock 1997) is that they develop a musical career in their own country but then have to experience multi-layers of discrimination as a result of global inequalities. To synthesize between Beck (1992) and Bourdieu (1993), the accumulation of valuable capitals to prevent risk is not enough because of the structural forces of unequal global discourse in the Bali music field. The rule of the game in the field is no longer homologous with Indonesian class positions and musical hierarchies. Young professional musicians from Java with good skills and reputation should relatively occupy a dominant position in the Bali music field but they encounter global inequalities and become the ‘labourers’ for migrant musicians who, in their own country are in a low position in the music field.

Yet potentials from the wave of migrant musicians are ambivalent. They were experienced positively by one of young musicians, who took benefit from skilled and respected migrant musicians,
In Bali, there are many positive experiences that we can obtain, there are many role models including migrant musicians in elite venues. We can obtain much valuable information, social connections and it’s easy to engage with them. So yeah, as an arena of learning, if there are bands from abroad that is something new for me. I learned lots of stuff from them. So I can know what happens in the real world. *Di Bali banyak pelajaran banget membentuk roll mode nya juga kan banyak londo-londo juga kan di tempat-tempat mainnya, dan juga banyak informasi yang mudah didapat kan, banyak lihat siapa siapa gitu terus ketemu orang juga mudah. Ya sebagai arena pembelajaran juga sih, kalo band ada orang luar yang kadang juga bawain musiknya. Hal yang baru juga kan mas. Disitu banyak belajar aku mas. Di dunia nyata kayak gitu ternyata* (Interview Imam 2014).

Imam proved his musical abilities to the public and to fellow musicians in a jam session at one of the elite venues with Maurice Brown, a trumpeter from USA who was nominated in the Grammy awards. This became an opening and fast tracked his upward career mobility in the Bali music field:

The unforgettable moment in Bali was when I achieved a sudden progress of my music career. People then recognized my talent straight away. Ryoshi was the centre of it. I obtained lots of social networks after that. Very fast upward career mobility. *Yang paling berkesan di Bali itu ketika aku tiba-tiba punya masa naiknya cepet orang kenal aku, soalnya di Ryoshi kan center aku langsung dikenal gitu lho mas cepat naiknya* (Interview Imam 2014).
Imam’s strategy represents his ability to manage his self-entrepreneurial skills, facilitated by his high amount of reflexivity as a cultural capital. He chose the correct timing and place of performing as well as correct strategic social networks. As a result, he performed almost every day in many elite venues in Bali.

In a similar example, Sani, Catur and Imam worked as session players for a female migrant musician, Clara. They were also in her support band. In 2014, Sani and Catur explained that they knew her skill level was not very high. However, they gained a great deal of capital from their association with her. Firstly, she was an ideal marketing subject for business in the Bali music field because of her stage persona (Frith 1996). Secondly, she was the wife of the owner of one of the elite venues in Bali. Sani, Catur and Imam reflexively made benefit from their participation in her band. They obtained many upward career opportunities such as regular gigs at elite venues, and national touring for a music festival as well as an international festival in Singapore. Besides that, they also released a DIY music album with Clara and distributed it nationally and internationally. They were able to turn global structural inequalities into an opportunity to boost their upward career mobility.

8.6.2 From One Session to Another Session

As pointed out extensively, senior musicians possess rich symbolic capital as well as strategic network capital not only with local patrons but also in national and international connections. After eight months of career limbo, percussionist Afgan was able to gain trust and recognition from senior musicians after many jam sessions and unpaid gigs. He described his upward career mobility like a rocket which was ready to
fly to the moon because after a long time of waiting, he was able to transform from ‘nothing’ to ‘something’:

I got a chance to join as a member of Jampiro band here (Bali). The band specialization provides sessions for famous singers from Bali and Jakarta. Yeah so with the band, I became a session player for Mike (Indonesian Idol), Ruth Sahanaya and Krisdayanti (diva legend from Jakarta) and also Delon (Indonesian Idol) and many others. Famous singers from Jakarta who perform in Bali on occasions such as a wedding party, a company product launch like Unilever or Indomie, usually they need a session band. I was in the band for almost two years. So every time those national singers performed in Bali, we were usually their session band, and sometimes in Jakarta. So you know, they already have very strategic networks and they are famous. *Aku bergabung dengan Jampiro band kan disini. Band-band milik artis itu. Ngiringin aja, kayak Mike Idol, Ruth Sahanaya, kayak Delon yang penting artis-artis Jakarta yang kesini mau wedding, atau produk-produk kayak Unilever, launching Indomie kan harus ada band. Lama juga hampir dua tahun aku gabung sama mereka. Jadi kalo artis solo main kesini kita yang ngiringin termasuk sampai sekarang masih ngiringin ke Jakarta, ke Bali karena link mereka kan udah bagus toh dan dia terkenal* (Interview Afgan 2014).

For young musicians, being able to reflexively convert strategic network capital especially from senior musicians brings many unpredictable consequences for their upward career mobility. They must respond regularly, and often without premeditation, to changing circumstances as unintended consequences of earlier decisions which lead to further changes and the need for further decisions (Woodman and Wyn 2010, p.12). Being
flexible and playing the music as requested by the patrons also represents their reflexive habitus which is very important to sustain their music career in the Bali music field. Possessing ‘strategic network capital’ relevant to a music circle and being considered as an insider of the circle are further important sources of capital to manage the uncertainty of risk in the music business. In theoretical terms, their strategies represent creative efforts to make benefit from both the structural resources and functional resources of social capital (Bassani 2009 in Furlong 2009, p. 76). Furthermore, this demonstrates the routes and options that young musicians can take to manage their transition to adulthood as a professional musician.

8.6.3 From the Mainstream to a Segmented Music Field

Iman decided to move permanently to Bali. However, later he got a chance to play in Jakarta and signed a record contract with his old pop band. He decided to try his luck and build his career path there. With his pop band, Iman was able to perform on a popular national television program called ‘Inbox’. In order to manage the precariousness of the music business, he decided to develop his drumming skills with one of the national drummers and planned to continue his study majoring in music. However, both strategies faltered. His career in the pop band did not go well and it broke up. He did not complete his Masters study majoring in music. As a consequence, he decided to move back to Bali and become a session player again. He also expanded his music career by producing his own DIY jazz music album with some senior musicians. Iman preferred to sell his DIY music albums from gig to gig. For him, it is about the self-satisfaction of playing music; music is his life. During the interview, the student researcher asked him: ‘Bro, what is your plan in the future?’ He replied: ‘I choose to be a jazz musician and jazz chooses me! All I know is that I will play jazz until I die; you never know what will happen in the
future, right? Just like playing jazz, life is an improvisation, so keep improvising!’ This aptly shows the characterization of individualization (Beck 1992). Furthermore, his story represents the management of consequences in the neoliberal era when self/individual becomes an arena of enterprise. In this context it is crucial to develop the entrepreneurial self (Kelly 2006), and manage self-performativity, as well as maintaining public management of impression (Goffman 1959).

8.7 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, during some critical moments, young Indonesian musicians experienced negotiations with structural and cultural obstacles. One outcome was to decide on permanent or temporary mobility to a different location in order to achieve a better music career. The first section showed that in the era of late modernity, young musicians do not necessarily have more freedom to construct their own biography as a full time musician. In reality, their pathways were varied which genealogically can be traced back to their class position. It seems that permanent mobility to Jakarta or Bali forced young musicians to adapt and adjust to many different music fields. In order to achieve upward mobility and maintain sustainability, young musicians had to be able to develop their reflexive habitus as a form of cultural capital. However, possessing a high volume of reflexivity was not enough. Durable strategic social capital is very important to allow a short cut or to prevent unpredictable consequences in the future. The distribution of reflexivity as a form of cultural capital was not equal; this was partly related to class differences but also was developed from successful past experiences of adjusting to different music fields. Multiple dispositions needed to be activated by young musicians in order to be able to adapt in the era of late modernity. It was noted that structural factors, especially the doxa of the music industry and global inequalities remain
important. The field of possibilities continuously shapes and reshapes young musicians’ strategies. They combine to offer an ambivalent position for young musicians to boost their music careers, especially in Bali. In summary, it seems that permanent mobility was an effective strategy for some young musicians to boost their music careers. The mobility brought benefit for their transition to adulthood in everyday life as well as in the music field. Temporary mobility and amplification are explained in the next chapter.
CHAPTER NINE

Temporary Mobility and Amplification of Capital

9.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the development of music careers through temporary mobility. The analysis is a continuation of the previous chapter on permanent mobility. The decision for temporary mobility illustrates the plurality of pathways through which young musicians construct their own meanings as they are make the transition to adulthood. Contextually, temporary mobility (short trips) can be a relatively safer option for some young musicians to feel ‘at home’ while improving their music careers.

Temporary mobility amplifies specific forms of productive capital (cultural, social and economic). The logic of amplification symbolically represents the empirical examples below of the rule of the game (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) in specific music fields of struggle. In brief, temporary mobility can be an alternative strategy for young musicians to achieve upward progression in a field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993) and move forward in their transition to adulthood. Details of these arguments are presented below.

9.2 Temporary Mobility and Feeling at Home

Some young musicians did not decide to move permanently to either Jakarta or Bali. They employed the strategy of managing their careers through temporary mobility. Temporary mobility can be defined as follows:
Temporary moves are repetitive events of variable duration. Absences from home may last from a few hours, in the case of local diurnal trips, to days, weeks or even months, in the case of seasonal travel. Moreover, the frequency of such moves, and their periodicity, is highly variable. Many forms of temporary movement involve marked seasonal peaks and troughs. Temporary movement implies a return ‘home’ (Bell and Ward 2000, p. 99-100).

In this chapter, temporary mobility is explained as moving around to different locations to expand strategic networks as well as to obtain paid gigs. By using temporary mobility as a conscious strategy, the young musicians consider their most ‘recent’ place as a representation of home. In this context, home is explained not only in terms of physical space but as a source of personal meaning (Berger 1967) and a territory of comfort zone. For young musicians, the ultimate meaning of ‘home’ is a space where they can make sense of what happens in everyday life, make sense of their career, and also forecast a relatively clear vision of the future. They are reflexively aware of precariousness, insecurity and uncertainty in the music business as a profession and so they decide not to move to Jakarta or Bali permanently. Some of them had experienced temporary mobility in the past for gigs not only to Jakarta and Bali but to other places. There were also some who had decided to move permanently in the past but did not survive in Jakarta or Bali and some of them had not experienced mobility before.

Yogi, a bass player, experienced the struggle of living in Jakarta before he made a decision to base himself back in Yogyakarta:

I used to work at an insurance company when I was in Jakarta and at the same time, I tried to expand my social networks in music and played in several gigs.
But I realized that my level was below that of Shadu and Indro (national musicians). I stayed there for several months and tried to survive. It was OK but I found that I wasted my life on the road (because of traffic jams). I reflected a lot every time I was trapped in a traffic jam, and I finally decided to move back to Yogyakarta. *Aku pernah beberapa waktu di asuransi itu aku di Jakarta sama aku nyari link untuk main musik. Ya di sana aku juga main juga. Tapi kan di sana tarafku masih jauh dibanding Shadu dan Om Indro. Sempet beberapa bulan dan aku mencoba survive di sana. Bisa sih sebenernya, tapi aku ngerasain waktuku habis di jalan. Di mana di jalan itu aku bisa buat belajar banyak gitu, akhirnya aku memutuskan untuk di Jogja aja stay-nya* (Interview Yogi 2014).

For Urry (2007) one of the elements of network capital is access to transport. However, it is an objective fact and unresolved problem that traffic jams are a part of everyday life in Jakarta, as in many large cities, so they have an impact on the process of building and expanding network capital for young musicians. Yogi’s quote above indicates that he wasted much of his time on the road. For him, time is a valuable resource to practise and improve his musical skills. The student researcher observed in 2013 that Yogi loves to spend hours and hours in discussion which might be related to his past trajectory in the academic community. This may be a reason why he had difficulty in reflexively adapting in a new field of the game.

Another case of resistance to moving to Jakarta and Bali was shown by Ria, a female singer from Yogyakarta. She has been building her music career from the bottom up by travelling to cities for the purpose of gigs. Having experienced many different music fields and also inequality between local and national musicians, she decided to base
herself in Yogyakarta. Ria explained this during an interview at Djendela café in North Yogyakarta:

Why does everyone think that the centre of music is Jakarta and Bali? Why don’t they think that the centre is Yogyakarta? If Jakarta people want to invite me, it is OK, but my home is here (Jogja) so they have to pay my transport and accommodation. If everyone (young musicians) moves permanently to Bali and Jakarta, who’s gonna stay in Yogyakarta then? I was born in Jogja, I love Jogja, and I am developing my career in the Yogyakarta music scene. So why don’t we contribute to the development of the Yogyakarta music scene? Why don’t they create a situation like ‘oh there is a cool band from Yogyakarta’ rather than ‘oh there is a cool band from Jakarta?’ Nothing special about it! Kenapa semua kiblatnya harus ke Jakarta kenapa semua kiblatnya harus ke Bali? Kenapa gak di Jogja aja. Orang Jakarta mau ngundang aku ke Jakarta ya gak papa, tapi aku rumahnya di Jogja, kalo kamu mau ngundang aku ngejob di Jakarta ya bayarin transportku. Gak apa ya, kalo semuanya ke Jakarta yang di Jogja siapa, kalo semuanya ke Bali yang di Jogja siapa. Aku lahir di Jogja, aku cinta Jogja, aku besar dalam musik di Jogja, kenapa gak kita majuin Jogja sekalian? Biar ada “wuih asik ni band nya ini dari Jogja?” bukan “wuih asik nih bandnya ini dari Jakarta” itu udah biasa banget! (Interview Ria 2014).

Furthermore, Ria reflected on the negative effects of a permanent move to Bali or Jakarta:

People (young musicians) often change dramatically after they move to Bali and Jakarta. The forces are different and also different responsibilities. They also have
different life rhythms and they try to blend, try to survive and it creates an impact on their character. I’m afraid that I will change into a nasty person, selfish and become an un-cool person. Jogja is just so comfortable so I don’t think I want to move permanently. *Dan orang berubah kan ketika kemudian dia pindah ke Bali pindah ke Jakarta, dia punya tuntutan yang berbeda, dia punya tanggung jawab yang berbeda. Dia punya ritme kehidupan yang berbeda dan dia akan berusaha untuk nge-blend, dia berusaha untuk survive karakter dia terbentuk di situ, aku cuma takut jadi jahat, aku takut jadi egois, aku takut jadi berubah, jadi gak asik. Jadi gak bisa seselo ini. Jogja terlalu nyaman buat aku untuk aku tinggalkan* (Interview Ria 2014).

Using the insights of Sweetman (2003) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), Ria’s decision to stay and develop her career in Yogyakarta might be explained as a less than successful attempt on her part as a subject of late modernity to reflexively embrace rapid social change and be flexible:

Flexible or reflexive habitus is increasingly common due to various economic, social and cultural shifts, not least shifting patterns of work and employment, changing forms of community and relationship, and the impact of consumer culture (Sweetman 2003, p. 537).

On the other hand, her choice is a strategic choice. She is reflexively aware that in the era of risk society, life is precarious and unpredictable and she has to feel ‘at home’ in order to survive. It does not mean that she does not possess a high amount of reflexivity as a form of cultural capital. Rather, she shows that young people can go with the flow. In
reality, her music career in Yogyakarta is going very well. Her band (Everyday Band) is one of the most popular DIY bands and the highest-earning band in Yogyakarta. So she has benefits from staying where she began.

**9.3 Be Kind and Hangout with Everyone**

As indicated above, some young musicians follow a DIY career biography and apply temporary mobility. It can be argued that they develop and expand network capital (Urry 2007). They also implement one of the principles of post-subculture (Bennett 1999). According to Bennett (2011, p. 495), the neo-tribal approach allows for the function of taste, aesthetics and affectivity as primary drivers for participation in forms of collective youth cultural activity. These are reflexive strategies to manage the sustainability of their music career. The benefit of network capital is:

> Those social groups high in network capital enjoy significant advantages in making and remaking their social connections, the emotional, financial and practical benefits being over and above and non-reducible to the benefits derived from what Bourdieu terms economic and cultural capital (Urry 2007, p. 197).

As networkers, it may be unproductive for young musicians to limit and create rigid borders for themselves in a specific music community. The more young musicians build cross-border social networks with different communities the more they create opportunities to be recognized by fellow cultural producers. Ria explained this:

> Well, for sure social links are important. Social links usually give a chance to play music and to get gigs both directly and indirectly. Like I built a connection with a
photographer who has a close connection with stage performance and also with DJ friends. Also with graphic designers, film makers. They’re all connected to the entertainment business. I make connections with event organizers, wedding organizers as well as sound engineers. So you have to hang out in many different communities. You let them know you exist without having to show off. The more you appear the more people know you and you show them your good attitude as well as good music skills. I think that’s enough. 


Ria gave an example of her experience on how to convert a strategic social capital into economic capital, as she explained:

Well I hang out in a restaurant; one of my friends has a regular gig there. The band was Jasmine and I know the vocalist. He asked me to jam and I sang one song, and then he introduced me to the manager. So then we chatted, and the manager
found out that I’m a jazz singer. Then she offered me a job to sing in her regular program called Sunday Jazz in the Dixie restaurant. So that’s the example of the importance of hanging out and knowing many people. 


Reflexively, Ria was building social capital and that on-hand stock translated very effectively into the economic capital that was useful to sustain her future career. This exemplifies the argument on the logic of linking social capital, which enables members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community (Field 2003, p. 42). Thus for Ria, in terms of the discourse of neoliberalism, her reflexive capacity to maintain and expand strategic social networks perhaps represents the type of neoliberal self that McGuigan (2014, p. 236) describes. This is a competitive individual who is self-reliant. Such a person must be cool in the circumstances, resourceful and fit in order to survive under social Darwinian conditions.

Through temporary mobility, young musicians expand their social networks in different cities, as explained by Yogi:

So what I liked when I had a gig in different cities was that I could visit many different communities. For example, in Jakarta they have Fourties pub, Sudden Jazz and RW Lounge in Kemang, so I came there and had a jam session then I
knew more people. So it’s not just from shaking hands and having a conversation, we know each other better from jam sessions. That’s the rule of the game as a musician. From there I got more social networks. I also visited the jazz community in Bandung when they had a workshop about Chick Corea (a USA jazz pianist). There was no jam session but we shared lots of stuff and I still maintain the social networks there. Besides that, recently I also visited nearby Purwokerto, Solo, Surabaya and expanded my social networks there. 


Yogi’s reflexive strategy of accumulating network capitals represents his social action as a consequence of his decision in not moving permanently to Jakarta or Bali. He takes benefit from temporary mobility when he performs and networks in different cities and towns. To understand his strategy, the work of Urry (2007) on the networking benefit of mobility is useful:
The social consequences of such mobilities, namely, to be able to engender and sustain social relations with those people (and to visit specific places) who are mostly not physically proximate, that is, to form and sustain networks (p. 196).

Moreover, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) argue that social action is always based on interest in capital conversion. For Yogi, building social networks is based on sincere motives and the gig is a bonus of his sincerity. This is an alternative strategy for managing unpredictable consequences in the future through non-interest-driven social action made possible through networked mobility that amplifies existing sets of cultural capital.

9.4 If You Can Expand Your Social Networks Online, Why Move?

Another temporary mobility strategy to develop network capitals to convert to gigs is based on online social connections. However, it should be clarified that online networking is only the first step to develop and expand social networks. It is an instrument that facilitates the mechanism of time and space *reduction* but actual co-present social interactions are still the key to maximizing the networking process:

Such co-presence is located within time and space. Participants travel to somewhere to meet together, they each commit themselves to remain there for the duration of the interaction, and each uses and handles the timing of utterances and silences to perform the pertinent conversations. There is an expectation of mutual attentiveness and this is especially the case within the kinds of focused interactions known as ‘meetings’. Such meetings are multi-functional, for making decisions, seeing how one is heard, executing standard procedures and duties, distributing rewards, status and blame, reinforcing friendship as well as distance,
judging commitment, having an enjoyable time and so on. Co-presence affords opportunities to display such attentiveness and hence commitment, and simultaneously to detect where there is little commitment in others (Urry 2002, p. 259).

Most of the young musicians from middle class backgrounds have their own smart phone now. Furthermore, young Indonesians are one of the highest consumers of new social media in the world, including Facebook, Twitter and Path. The case of Irwan, a tertiary-educated indie musician from the band *Jalan Pulang* represents this phenomenon:

Online? Well, I use many new social media that exist nowadays. For example: Sound Cloud, Twitter, Facebook and other accounts. I strategically use them to share my songs, to publish my music album and gain new social networks, to become a part of social networks. Social media really cuts the distance. For example, my audiences can listen to my song just by accessing it. So like sometimes I share on Twitter and then a band from Jakarta contacts me and offers a gig for my band. I’m very sure that it is crucial to maintain those networks so do not be lazy in using new social media. And do not forget to update about your band regularly. *Kalau berhubungan dengan dunia maya ya kemudian memanfaatkan apa yang tersedia di jaman ini. Kayak misalnya akun soundcloud, twitter, facebook, dan akun yang lain itu saya pergunakan betul untuk berbagi lagu kemudian berbagi publikasi album dan banyak juga yang kemudian kenal dan jadi bagian dari jaringannya lewat situ. Karena itu memang memangkas jarak betul karena temen-temen dari Jakarta juga mendengar kita dari situ. Jadi kayak temen saya share di twitter terus saya juga akhirnya dihubungin oleh band*
Similar to Irwan, for Jaya new social media is an instrument to support his distribution of DIY music albums as well as to construct the branding of his style of music:

Besides doing a door-to-door distribution of my music album, I market it through social media like Twitter and Facebook. I also put elements of expertise in my posts. So it can be a simple quotation about music or poetry or knowledge about music-poetry itself. Furthermore, I developed the posts related to the definition of music, or how to make poetry. I make it short, through Twitter for example, I try to offer a positive value to my audiences. That’s my marketing strategy. Tetap secara selain titip indoor ya, selain titip indoor itu aku juga di media sosial seperti twitter dan facebook juga menyelipkan istilahnya apa ya, pengetahuan katakanlah mungkin menyangkut hanya kutipan sederhana mengenai musik dan puisi atau pengetahuan musik puisi itu sendiri, ketika musik apa, ketika cara nggawe musik puisi ni gimana sih, mungkin dalam secara garis besar, aku pernah di tweet, memberikan nilai-nilai apa ya, nilai-nilai kepada masyarakat tentang sesuatu yang aku tawarkan lebih disitu sih, itu cara marketingku (Interview Jaya 2014).

It is clear that online mobility amplifies sets of existing social and cultural capital. Agus, a guitarist from a DIY metal band explained the benefit of using social media to get gigs:
Recently, we had an opportunity to perform in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. We obtained those social networks from online social media and they offered us to play in a gig there. *Terakhir ini juga di KL (Kuala Lumpur) Malaysia juga pernah. Itu juga pas ada kenalan disana kamu main disini gimana-gimana ya udah oke gitu.* (Interview Agus 2013).

For the three young musicians above, mobility is not so much physical but online. This is the impact of the network society (Castells 1996). Sometimes such networking starts from co-present social interaction and is followed up online to maintain the communication, or the reverse. For young musicians, the advanced technology gives them alternative ways to build and expand their career other than having to move temporarily or permanently to a different city. Through the online network capital, they can still make a conversion to economic capital (Bourdieu 1986). Their strategies to develop social networks through online contact can be interpreted as a reflexive action to anticipate the unpredictable consequences that arise from their own choice of doing temporary mobility in risk society:

> It is impossible to organize any self-chosen life except through networks with others. Thus such people are forced to become tinkerer-inventors not only of their own lives, but also of networks. They are almost forced into becoming an alternative kind of entrepreneur, a social entrepreneur, because they can only construct their self-chosen lives by entering into a continuous process of harmonizing their projects with those of others. (Beck and Willms 2004, p.75).

It can also be interpreted as a representation of the reflexive subject in the era of late modernity:
The non-linear individual is a combinard. He [sic] puts together networks, constructs alliances, and makes deals. He must live, is forced to live in an atmosphere of risk in which knowledge and life chances are precarious … The individual can no longer be conceived of as a stable and unchangeable subject, but rather as a quasi-subject, the result as well as the producer of its networks, situation, location and form (Beck, Bonss and Lau 2003, p. 23-25).

Thus at a theoretical level, the act of capital conversion through the social media represents the phenomenon of the network society, which is characterized by the distribution of knowledge and information, the global scope of economic action, and displacement of time and space. Through young musicians moving about online, existing capitals are amplified.

9.5 It is Not Only about Money: Idealism and Activism is Important

In the sociology of knowledge tradition, knowledge as ideology and as common sense is the result of the social construction of reality (Berger and Luckman 1966). In other words, there is a process of dialectical interaction between the social context where the individual lives (Mannheim 1952), and the process of externalization to reproduce and produce forms of knowledge. In the case of young musicians who choose to stay in Yogyakarta and conduct temporary mobility for gigs and so on, their production of knowledge is influenced by the spirit of Yogyakarta as a city of idealism and activism. For idealistic musicians in Yogyakarta, it is not only about money. Producing a high quality of cultural product (music) is important, and on the other hand, they want to keep
the balance between idealism and reality as important components of successful youth transition. Jaya explained idealism and activism as follows:

Simple, for me, actually I want to be a musician who can contribute to different forms in the music field. I want to do that because a musician should study the academic aspect of his own work. So I hope I can contribute something like positive education and discourse to society. I want them to know that music is not just a form of entertainment but music itself is a form of education. *Nggak muluk-muluk sih sebenernya, aku pingin menjadi musisi yang bisa memberikan warna lain di musik, aku juga pengin karena aku juga mempelajari dari sisi akademisnya bahwa aku juga bisa menjiwai, dari sisi akademis, aku harap sih bisa memberikan pengetahuan atau wacana ke khalayak bahwa ini lho jadi musik itu nggak sekedar apa ya hiburan, gimana ya bilangnya ya, bahwa musik itu ya belajar juga* (Interview Jaya 2014).

Sarita, an indie female singer, similarly explained her version of idealism and activism:

I can say I am a singer/song-writer. My responsibility as a musician is that I have to make a music product. I have to create a music product continuously. That’s my consciousness about being a musician. It maybe sounds like just talk to you. But music is the only space that I can be honest about myself and to myself. This is my space, very personal. *Aku bisa bilang I’m a singer/song-writer, pokoknya itu intinya kalo aku yang ngomong aku punya rasa aku punya kebertanggungjawaban untuk membuat karya, Intinya aku harus ngerasa sebagai musisi aku harus bikin karya terus. Itu kayak consciousness, kayak bullshit ya*
Both interview quotes above represent alternative views of young musicians self-defining their idealism during the process of transition into adulthood. For them, elements of idealism and activism are parts of their responsibility to society. To create a musical product whether it reflects the life experiences of the musician or not is seen as a form of cultural production that cannot be valued in money \textit{per se}. It is the value for public benefit that forms the legitimation of their music product not the logic of profit accumulation.

Their views exemplify an overlap between the idea that youth cultural forms are based on a status position and the process of micro politics in the postmodern era (see Blackman 2005). Given this position, it makes sense that maintaining a professional career does not have to involve moving to a different location or selling out their music product for profit. They prefer to stay in Yogyakarta and use music to help create a social change in society as well as their own self-realization. In other words, to be an alternative musician is an example of the mode of personal growth and autonomy; their work is a field of exploration (Heinz 2009 in Furlong 2009, p. 10). The two cases above represent different pathways that young musicians take to create expressive meanings during the transition to adulthood. They use temporary mobility as a tool for amplification.

\textbf{9.6 Being Independent is Important: The Role of Mobility in Amplifying Economic Capital}

The fieldwork data suggests that there is one thing clear for young musicians; they want to be independent and \textit{mampu} – able to provide (Parker and Nilan 2013). They want to generate a sustainable income as well as create their own successful life biography.
(Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). It has to be understood that as a consequence of their choice to be a musician, they have to prove to their partner, family, friends and society that they can be successful. Most of the informants had experienced denial, bullying and suffering in the past because their profession is not the ideal type as expected by Indonesian society which is still very conservative. Two main things are symbolically important to define success in Indonesian society: money and prestige. For young musicians in Yogyakarta, moving to a richer location is a principal way to obtain both money and prestige.

There is a difference in the income of a musician in Yogyakarta and income in Jakarta and Bali:

In my view as a musician, financially it’s different. Like for example in Jogja if you earn Rp. 300,000 (30 AUD) then in Jakarta that would be Rp. 800,000 (80 AUD) minimum, you seldom earn less than Rp. 500,000 (50 AUD). When you play music regularly it’s far from that. And there are more opportunities here [Jakarta] to play. *Kalau secara sudut pandangku sebagai seorang pemain musik, yaitu di finansial kalau di Jogja 300, Jakarta bisa 800 minimal, 500 itu pun jarang. Regular sendiri jauh, tempat lahannya juga sangat jauh, lahannya banyak disini* (Interview Antok 2013).

Higher income can also be earned by those who move temporarily:

For a day event there it was Rp. 1,500,000 (150 AUD). If they demanded a rehearsal before the gig, you got a bonus Rp. 100,000 (10 AUD). If you were a session player for Erwin Gutawa (a national composer) you would get Rp.
1.750.000 (175 AUD) and a bonus too if they needed a rehearsal before the gig. Now in Jakarta, the standard is Rp. 2.000.000 (200AUD), because recently the price of fuel went up. That’s the pattern in Jakarta. While in Yogyakarta, there is no standard rate for a session player, it is uncertain. So sometimes it’s Rp. 250.000 (25 AUD), or Rp. 350.000 (35 AUD) or Rp. 50.000 (50 AUD), which is nice if you can get it. *Dulu event harian Rp. 1.500.000. Kalo yang ada latihan, ada perlatihan 100 ribu. Kalo Erwin Gutawa Rp. 1.750.000, kalo latihan ditambah fee latihan. Sekarang di Jakarta minimal Rp. 2.000.000 Karena bensin naik, bayaran juga naik. Modelnya seperti itu kalo di Jakarta. Kalo di Jogjakarta, sebagai player, standartnya gak ada. Tidak pasti. Jadi ada yang 250, 350 dan 500 ribu, itu sudah bagus sekali* (Interview Doni 2013).

Imam explained about the better standard of living in Bali:

Well, if we talk about the income as a musician; it is very good here (Bali). Most of the musicians have a good life. I do not find any musician who experiences a hard life in Bali. *Kalo ngomong kayak income gitu-gitu bagus banget mas, rata-rata musisi di sana mapan lah mapan, nggak ada yang kadang di sebagian daerah kan ada yang nelongso* (Interview Imam 2013).

The fee often depends on the musician’s position in the music field. Objectively, the income rate is higher in Jakarta and Bali. However, because the nature of the job is uncertain and precarious and life costs are more expensive, young musicians can maintain income sustainability through a mix of regular gigs, regular events, session recordings
and teaching music. More opportunities and a mix of jobs increases the chance for young musicians to save their money.

In summary, mobility amplifies the economic capital of young musicians at a period in the transition to adulthood when they start to become independent from their parents. As Indonesia has no state assistance through a welfare system, becoming independent means that for lower-middle and middle-middle class young musicians it is time for them to support their parents. This could be sending some of their earnings to supplement the parents’ monthly income or buying them some presents in order to show that symbolically they are economically independent. Notably, not all young musicians have an obligation to support their parents; some of them use their income to build their own future and serve their new lifestyles. We saw in the previous chapter that young musician Angga carried a cultural and structural burden to support the family. He had to save money from gigs to support his mother for everyday needs and for the education of his little sister (Interview Angga 2013). A similar situation was experienced by Catur who had moved to Bali. He was proud of his family income provision:

In the past I defended my position to be a professional musician so I continued to play music. Step by step I have proved to them (parents) that you can live off music too. Not only for myself, but also I can support three of my family members from my music income. This is a true story! Dulu aku tetep ngeyel kan tetep kekeh di musik ya udah jalanin di musik. Sedikit-sedikit bisa ngebuktiin kalo ternyata musik juga bisa menghidupi. Bukan cuma menghidupi diri sendiri tapi juga menghidupi satu perut dua perut tiga perut dari penghasilan musik. Ini nyata ini! (Interview Catur 2014).
For young musicians from lower-middle and middle-middle class backgrounds, it seems that all forms of mobility play a role in amplifying the accumulation of economic capital. In other words, the mobility phenomenon should be put in its cultural and structural context (Skrbis, Woodward and Bean 2014, p. 615). In the context of risk society, it can be read as a reflexive strategy to anticipate unpredictable consequences in the future (Beck 1992). However, it has to be clear once again that it is not in the context of a shift from welfare state to market regime as experienced in the developed countries but from authoritarian regime to neoliberal democratic regime in the case of Indonesia, with no history of welfare provision.

When they had little obligation to support their parents and siblings, young musicians from middle-middle class backgrounds made use of mobility to directly boost their economic capital. Their incomes supported their lifestyle after they had saved enough to cover everyday life expenses. This was experienced by Imam in Jakarta:

I decided to get a loan for my new motorcycle. At first, the others thought that I’m a snob but I explained to them that it would be useful for mobility in everyday life. Also sometimes if I go back home I pay my own travel costs. My parents do not have to send me money anymore. It makes me feel proud about myself. *Kayak aku memutuskan kredit motor, mereka pikir wuih gaya ini, tak jelasinlah kalo hal apapun kalo kita bener-bener serius nggak setengah hati itu bisa jadi pegangan. Aku jelasin kayak gitu ke keluargaku mas, Ya bisa kadang inilah kalo pulang aku bisa ongkos sendiri, Huhh, aku juga nggak dikirimin. Terus aku kan juga bangga ada kebanggaan tersendiri* (Interview Imam 2013).
Furthermore, having experienced fast-track upward career mobility during his time in Bali made Imam want to consume more goods, as he states:

If I started to think as an adult, well, I can make a plan to buy a house from my savings, also I can buy a car too if I want to. Aku pengennya berpikir dewasa pengen rumah gitu bisa kan. Mau mobil juga sebenernya bisa (Interview Imam 2013).

In order to show that they are being mampu (Parker and Nilan 2013) they pursue consumption and change of life style. Young people in Indonesia experience a strong burden to show that they are able to be independent and objectively manifest their achievement through the medium of money (materiality) and consumption of goods (prestige). Besides showing this to family members, young musicians demonstrate it to their peers in the music field. It is an open secret among fellow musicians that in order to show oneself as a successful musician, a shift of lifestyle and pattern of consumption is important. In this case, shift of life style represents ascending to a ‘higher field’ that represents upward mobility; this is also related to a new pattern of consumption. For example, many young musicians in Jakarta and Bali often hang out in fancy places such as cafes, malls and nightclubs. On the other hand, consumption of musical instruments is a means of creating distinction (Bourdieu 1984) between young musicians. Some young musicians who moved to Jakarta and Bali like Dityo and Made regularly upgraded their expensive musical instruments and also posted the photos of new instruments in many social media. In summary, permanent and temporary mobility facilitates the amplification of economic capital both in objective (money) and symbolic (prestige) terms which
represent upward mobility in the music field (as a professional musician), as a sign of distinction as well as representing successful transition to adulthood.

9.7 Mobility and the Amplification of Non-Economic Capital

It is clear that mobility amplifies the social and cultural capital of young musicians. In Bourdieusian terms, non-economic capital can be divided into cultural and social capital. Those two types of capital can become ‘trump cards’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) to achieve upward mobility in the music field. Once again it has to be remembered that the valuable forms of capital in the music field do not necessarily have to be similar to capitals outside the music field. In other words, it depends on the rule of the game in each field. Young musicians are not only concerned about economic capital (money) to anticipate unpredictable risk; they are also concerned about their self-development and self-realization as professional musicians. This internal aspect of self-development and self-realization refers to the accumulation of cultural and social capital, for example:

Recently in Bali, I achieved much stuff like skills, harmony, gig experiences and knowledge of course. I received lots of new knowledge especially in jazz. Also it is funny that recently I am able to analyse other people’s performances, I can recognize what kind of scale they are playing. Makanya aku ngeliat dia itu kayak terakhir-terakhir ya main dulu ya, ini lebih ke Bali itu skill, harmony, jam terbang, ilmu-lah yang paling banyak tok. Bali ini terus terang ilmu musik apalagi jazz ya banyak sekali. Lucunya itu bisa nganalisis orang main itu lho, orang main pake skill-skill apa (Interview Afgan 2014).
Made has also successfully made gains of cultural capital through strategic networking, which is form of mobility. He will work as a music arranger for a national movie:

I’ve got a project to make a movie soundtrack. The title is *I Gusti Ngurah Rai* (one of the Balinese heroes). It was based on a request; the music director is Ayu Laksmi (one of the famous Balinese singers) so I have to create more like an ethnic composition in the soundtrack just like her trademark of music work. *Terus kemaren bikin soundtrack film, untuk film nya I Gusti Ngurah Rai. Itu pesanannya aku pengen. Itu kan musik directornya itu kan mbok Ayu, ya kan tau sendirikan musiknya mbok Ayu itu agak etnik, kan kalo dibilang menjurus ke situ kan etnik klenik* (Interview Made 2014).

Enji explained about the amplification of his stock of cultural capital after he moved to Jakarta:

Energy, so when you are onstage you are not just playing the instrument but there is a connection, communication between musicians. I also found out how to do dialogues using your instrument and some tips about it. That is number one. Second, specifically it is about music theory. Before I thought that music theory was only for non-drummers, but what I now know is that they do not see you as a drummer but as a musician who can compose and arrange musically. Not just as a drummer. I gained more about modes of understanding there (Jakarta). *Energy loe main musik bukan cuman main tapi ada hubungan, hubungan komunikasi sama pemain, terus sisi seperti gua baru mengenal dimusik itu dialog antar instrument itu, itu cara dialog ngobrol loe. Gue dapet itu satu. Kedua banyak hal*
lebih spesifik kayak … dari sisi teori musik yang gue pikir tadinya teori musik itu
cuma buat instrument lain selain drum gitu lho tapi disitu loe dipandang loe
bukan sebagai drummer tapi sebagai musisi yang juga compose bisa arrange bisa
ya apapun itu dilihat secara musikal bukan hanya sebagai drummer gitu. Secara
pemahaman gua dapat banyak disitu (Interview Enji 2013).

Similarly, Isa as an indie musician reflected about his new achievement of cultural capital
after moving permanently to Jakarta:

It boosted my musical skills. I often have many conversations with Stephan
(national guitarist) about guitar, amplifier, guitar effects and their circuit. Besides
that, I also learned a lot from Fadly (a vocalist in Padi band) related to music,
vocal techniques and musical marketing. Skill bermusik juga bertambah. Saya
sering ngobrol dengan mas Stephan soal gitar, ampli, efek gitar dan rangkaian
efek. Selain di musik saya banyak belajar juga dari mas Fadly (vokalis band
Padi), dari mulai musik, teknik vocal, rekaman, sampai teknik marketing di music
(Interview Isa 2014).

The interview quotes imply that moving can amplify certain forms of cultural
capital and promote upward career mobility. Their stock of cultural capital and social
capital was improved through the process of reflexive learning and after they moved to a
higher prestige music field. At a theoretical level, this phenomenon reflects the rule of the
game in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993) which is characterized by
particular struggles for ‘symbolic profit and/or economic profit’ (Lopes 2000, p. 166). In
other words, the aspiration of achieving cultural status or material gain drives the
practices in the field. In summary, mobility in the era of risk society (Beck 1992) is a viable way for young musicians to improve their music careers as well as to be able to successfully deal with transition to adulthood. However, the ability to move and achieve higher income and prestige is not equal among them because of class differences and cultural factors. Furthermore, mobility to a different place does not guarantee a future successful career if young musicians do not possess high levels of reflexivity and strategic social capital and are able to anticipate unpredictable consequences.

9.8 Conclusion

As demonstrated in this chapter, for some young musicians, temporary mobility can be an alternative strategy to develop music careers as well as maintaining transition to adulthood. Once again it has to be remembered that valuable forms of capital in the music field do not necessarily match the valued forms of capital outside the music field. However, they were reflexively aware of the unpredictable consequences of their mobility choices and they actively prevented problems through developing strategic social networks both online and offline in order to gain more volume of cultural and economic capital. It was notable that their opportunities for achieving mobility were strongly influenced by the advantages or disadvantages that derived from their specific class position. This chapter also highlighted the important role of mobility as a form of strategy to amplify existing economic and non-economic capitals among young musicians. Based on the data, it is shown that mobility facilitates amplification of capital in two overlapping fields which are music fields and everyday life. The next chapter looks at their hopes and dreams.
CHAPTER TEN

Keep the Hope Alive: Young Musicians’ Views of the Future

10.1 Introduction

This chapter explores narratives of young musician’s hopes for the future. The framework of interpretation concerns youth transitions, especially the many experiences of becoming an adult. The concept of becoming in itself implicitly represents a point of view on how the experiences of youth transition are not as deterministic as they are often constructed by the dominant youth transition perspective (see Wyn and White 1997; France 2007). Rather, adulthood as a future projection is a space of possible ‘becoming’ (Leccardi 2006, p. 44).

Besides the critical framework of youth transition, this chapter will also make use of Bourdieu’s theory of practice (1992). The concept of field, various forms of capital and habitus remain critical and contextual tools of analysis because there are many intersections between the field of music as a form of subculture (Blackman 2005) and post-subculture (Bennett 1999; 2011) and the fields of everyday life that represent ordinary youth (Woodman 2013). Both fields reproduce their own rules of the game (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In other words, young musicians not only struggle to achieve upward mobility and maintain sustainability in the music field. Behind the smile, charm, and stage persona (Frith 1996), and beyond the surface glamour of the music business, they also struggle to maintain sustainability in everyday life as an ordinary young person. Moreover, this chapter will make use of the concept of illusio (Bourdieu 2000) as a way of understanding the intertwined nature of individual interests and social institutions (France and Threadgold 2016).
Researchers who rigorously apply a youth culture perspective often fail to pay attention to the balance between onstage and off-stage lives of young musicians. They are often only interested in young people as spectacular elements of sub/post-subculture (see Hodkinson 2012). On the other hand, some researchers may give too much attention to whether or not young people make a ‘successful’ transition to adulthood. They propose that life is mainly about getting a stable job, getting married and being independent from parents (Jones 1995; White and Wyn 1997). Certainly those three aspects of youth transitions can be problematic in young people’s lives because of unpredictable consequences in the risk society (see Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). However, it should be noted that for the subjects themselves, there is no rigid demarcation between experiences in the music subcultures and other aspects of everyday life. In short, I position this chapter in the spirit of bridging the gap between the traditions of studying youth transitions and studying youth culture (Furlong, Woodman and Wyn 2011; Woodman and Bennett 2015).

This chapter deals with the aspect of hope among the young musicians. In that sense, the analysis deals with time, especially future orientation that is continuously related to past and present time experiences. The aspect of time as embedded in a set of dialectical relations locates the young musicians in varied positions within the field of struggle (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) that is the contemporary music industry in Indonesia. The future orientation here tends to show the phenomenon of individualization which manifests in the active construction of DIY biographies (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) among young musicians. Most of the informants are no longer in their early careers; they have been experiencing many life processes in order to achieve upward mobility and maintain career sustainability. Some young musicians can be defined as a successful young musician, others might be still in the process, and many are stuck at the
same level. Some of them are reflexively aware of the decline in their music career. Those
different positions shape their hopes for, and orientations to, the future. In short, there are
different narratives about hopes and future orientations.

As ordinary Indonesian youth in their late 20s/early 30s, they experience constant
pressure from parents, peers and society to get married. This remains a crucial issue
among many young musicians as I have found through continued online personal
communication as well as during participant observation in fieldwork. For example, some
full time young musicians who decided to get married did not find they were ‘living the
dream’. Just as when they were in the process of building music careers and expanding
through mobility to different places, they got married. Then they had to reflexively deal
with the uncertainty and precariousness of making a family living income in the music
business itself which is riskier than ever in the late modernity era (Beck 1992; Beck,
Bonns and Lau 2003).

Even if they had achieved a successful music career so far, they still had to
anticipate and negotiate future risks. In reality, young musicians are reflexively aware
about the insecurity and uncertainty of the future. For them, keeping the hope alive is
important because without hope the future is doom and gloom (Bishop and Willis 2014).
However, as they mature, their stock of capitals as valuable resources (Bourdieu and
Wacquant 1992) is relatively better than in their previous stages of life so their anticipated
strategies for future success may take many different forms. Details are presented below.

10.2 Chasing the Dream: Recognition Is Important!

In the field of cultural production, it is important for young musicians to gain
higher recognition as a reputable and well-respected musician. The process of struggle is
not only a matter of gaining material resources such as economic capital but also about
acquiring forms of symbolic capital, and finding opportunities to convert symbolic capital into other forms of capital. For Bourdieu (1998), symbolic capital is defined as an accumulation of all sources of capital based on the rules of the game that create a symbolic effect, a form of power to control the doxa from the point of view of the dominant and to produce heterodoxa from the point of view of the dominated. In the music field, recognition as a reputable and well-respected musician represents significant symbolic capital. For some of the informants, gaining recognition as a reputable musician is interpreted as a multilayered process based on the global hierarchy of the field of cultural production. Implicitly, they acknowledge there is a difference between local, national and international recognition, and they might only have achieved local recognition. However, imagined career progress up through the hierarchy of the global music field is a mechanism to keep their hopes of the future alive. In the era of risk and uncertainty about the future (Beck 1992), this imagined career progress becomes an alternative pathway for them to create a life plan, to construct their own projected DIY biography and to anticipate unpredictable consequences (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). In contemporary Indonesia, the dominant discourse of ideal youth according to the state is as the hope of the nation (Naafs and White 2012), a static discourse of economic progress which was strongly influenced by the development program of the New Order regime. To focus on chasing an ideal form of the future as a reputable musician implies that young musicians are more reflexive about their position in the wider constellation and contestation of discourse that is being produced by the state, the market economy, and local culture, about youth.

Based on fieldwork data, it seems that recognition as a reputable musician is manifested through three different meanings. Firstly, the production of music works (karya) that gain recognition in local, national and international scope. Secondly, fame
(terkenal) as a form of recognition at local, national and international scales. Thirdly, the continuity (keberlanjutan) of a music career both on-stage and off-stage. Vicko, a bass player from a middle-high class background represents one of the ambitious young musicians. He defined his future goal as becoming a famous musician in the national scene. In the past, Vicko has produced his own DIY music album with his band mates in Yogyakarta, a place that he described as a local scene. Although his album gained a good response for sophisticated music in the Yogyakarta music field, he did not feel satisfied and decided to move to Jakarta. Vicko explained about his future hope:

[The hope is] to produce my own music works, that is for sure. Some musicians maybe feel satisfied only as a session player but for me, musicians have to produce their own music products. It is important. Realistically, in my opinion, being famous is also important. I’ll give you an example from jazz festivals in Indonesia. Most of them invite musicians who are recognized as famous. So if you want to make a living from the music business, being famous is important not as a celebrity but to be recognized as an artist. People have to recognize us, for example like Indra Lesmana and Nial Djuliarso (famous pianists from Jakarta). So once again, realistically, being famous is important, not for the sake of being famous but in order that people recognize me. So I think it is impossible to stick only in one genre for a professional musician, especially if you live in Indonesia. The music that I play is from abroad so I have to expand, and add other genres. 

For me, [the hope is] to become a musician who produces his/her own music product. And also to become a musician who gains recognition from people. Well, we (as musicians) cannot be apathetic. We rely on recognition from others. It is not a matter of over-obsession to gain respect from others but it is more about making sure people know that I am a saxophone player. Menurutku yang ini ya yang punya karya, ya ada pengakuan juga dari orang, ya kita nggak bisa apatis juga ya pengakuan dari orang tadi, ya bukannya gila hormat tapi orang tahu eksistensi kita sebagai pemain saxophone (Interview Imam 2013).

Differently to Vicko and Imam, Jaya decided to build his music career from his hometown Yogyakarta. He also acknowledged the importance of producing a music product and gaining recognition. However, his music product can be categorized as a form of world music because it hybridizes poetry, traditional music and jazz. Jaya offered a different view on how he plans to direct his music career in the future:
I want to be a composer. As a composer I want my music products to be recognized internationally. So I prefer to stay in Yogyakarta and expand the market for my music products outside Indonesia. I know there are many music enthusiasts who will respect my music products and understand their message. However, I think it is better if I expand internationally, not only in Indonesia. For now, I’m not sure which country will become my main target. *Ingin jadi komponis, nah secara sebagai komponis aku juga pengen karyaku ini keluar, jadi lebih baik tinggal disini, jadi aku berpikir untuk tinggal disini saja tapi aku juga bisa keluar. Lebih ke internasional ya karena aku melihat ya okelah di Indonesia memang ada masih ada lho orang-orang yang menghargai musik dan tahu tentang musik tapi menurutku akan lebih baik juga kalo juga misalnya bisa keluar juga, tidak hanya di Indonesia tapi juga bisa ya kemanalah aku juga belum tau* (Interview Jaya 2014).

The three narratives above represent examples of the hopes of young musicians related to their music career in the future. It can be tentatively concluded that gaining recognition in the local, national and international domains is an important goal for them to achieve symbolic capital - a respectable position in the field of cultural production. Yet recognition for them is not only related to the symbolic aspect of capital but is related to converting that recognition to other forms of capital, including economic, social and cultural capital (see Bourdieu 1993; 1998) to create further benefits. Besides that, their future hopes are relevant to their social location in the music field and the forms of music that they produce. This location determines which markets are suitable for them. The
three narratives from young musicians above show their optimistic view of the future and their belief in progress as well as how they construct DIY biographies.

Future orientations and hopes were related to experiences in the past and present time. Vicko, Imam and Jaya had not experienced playing music in a different country although they had moved around Indonesia. In contrast, Antok, a violin player from a lower-middle class background, had experienced many international music performances. So for him, gaining international recognition was no longer a goal. He emphasized that the most important thing was continuity of music career, both on-stage and off stage. In an interview, Antok explored in detail his future hope to be a professional musician in the Jakarta music field:

“It [being a recognizable musician] will have a financial impact for sure. You cannot deny the link between being recognizable and its financial implication. For me, the example of successful musicians is near our circle in the national music scene. For example, Indro (a national bass player). Recently he has seldom appeared on television but off-stage he is a musician in high demand. He performs in many festivals, doing this and that, and has worked as a session player on many records. Also my idol, Henri Lamiri (a national violinist). He also seldom appears on TV but he has produced many albums in many genres such as gospel, pop, dangdut and many more. That is my hope of being a successful musician in the future. Dan itu pasti tidak bisa terlepas dari finansial itu pasti. Pasti sukses finansialnya tidak dapat dipungkiri. Kalau aku sih nggak terlalu itu, kalau terlalu luas ya sebagai barometer kita itu ya seperti artis-artis kita yang eksistensinya luar biasa ya walaupun dia nggak kelihatan tapi diluar dia itu eksis banget itu lho. Kayak Indro bass itu, jarang lihat dia di tv tapi ternyata di luar eksisnya luar
Antok’s example shows that a young musician who comes from a lower-middle class background will not necessarily experience class reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), including in terms of their future hopes. In Antok’s case, his lower-middle class background did not become an obstacle to achieve higher recognition in the field of cultural production. In fact, Antok was able to achieve the symbolic capital of international recognition earlier than Imam, Vicko and Jaya who come from higher-class backgrounds. Subjectively they had all experienced many different music fields in different cities, so a single, orderly and unified scheme of disposition (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bourdieu 1984) representing the logic of class reproduction in society, needs to be re-contextualized.

In a context where social change is rapid and young musicians reflexively have to deal with many different fields in everyday life, all four had learned/re-learned and constructed/re-constructed many different resources to negotiate successfully (Lahire 2003) during their process of building a music career. Whether or not they were able to successfully negotiate earlier obstacles in the previous stage of life has shaped and re-shaped their optimistic projection of the future. This seemed to be the case for Antok. Furthermore, the four young musicians demonstrate the operationalization of illusio (Bourdieu 2000) in the music field. All of them believe that by taking their music seriously and ambitiously investing their energy (including time and various forms of
capitals) to pursue recognition in the field, they will attain a satisfying sense of meaning in social life.

10.3 Stay Optimistic

In the youth transition tradition, it is widely accepted that there are three institutional domains that young people have to deal with in the transition to adulthood: entering work, obtaining housing and marriage – making a new family (Nilan, Julian and Germov 2007; Furlong and Cartmel 2007). However, as described previously, in the era of late modernity, the transition process is extended, fragmented and uncertain (France 2007; Furlong and Cartmel 2007). Transition to adulthood now reflects generational change (Wyn and Woodman 2006). Young musicians in Indonesia represent the fractured nature of youth transitions in the late modernity. Some young musicians seemed to be trapped in pursuing and maintaining a career without any certainty of getting married in the future. However, some of them had decided to get married. Now they struggle to maintain the balance between staying in the music business and keeping food on the table for the family. This has implications for how they shape their future hopes.

Antok, as a professional musician in the Jakarta music field is in the golden years of a music career and anticipates more progress in the future. However, that does not mean he does not think about planning to get married soon. His investment and struggle in the music field is part of his efforts to accumulate economic capital (Bourdieu 1986) as a strategy of risk anticipation (Beck 1992) in the future transition to marriage. This struggle durably reproduces the doxa that as a man, his role is expected to be a breadwinner for his family. For a man, lack of being mampu (able to provide - Parker and Nilan 2013) is considered as unattractive to a prospective wife. Antok is reflexive about the time limitation and insecurity of his career choice:
I still continue my music career in the orchestra, also as a session player at wedding parties or playing in regular gigs. Besides that, I also still teach in a music course. However, from my point of view, as a musician there is limited time and skill when you get older, you know? For example, my skills when I’m 45 years old in the future will be different compared to now when I am 30. My plan B is maybe I will open my own business as an entrepreneur but I have not decided what kind of business. Maybe later when I have my own family. For now, I am still enjoying my career as a musician. Aku masih mempertahankan musikku di dunia orchestra dan masih tetep mempertahankan sebagai musisi session player di wedding atau band regular. Untuk ngajar aku ingin mempertahankan juga. Pandanganku untuk masa tua aku ingin karena music itu terbatas dengan skill masa tua, maka terbatas sampai umur 45 tahun yang saat ini pasti berbeda dengan permainan ketika umur 30an. Salah satunya aku mungkin ingin usaha, usaha apa dibidang apa, mungkin itu akan terpikir disaat aku punya keluarga. Untuk saat ini mungkin aku masih enjoy dengan diriku sendiri menjalani profesi seperti ini (Interview Antok 2013).

Similar to Antok, Imam projected his plan to anticipate future risks both in the music business and in everyday life. He states:

My plan is to run my own business which is still related to music. I studied music so I want to have a plan B that is close to the music business. I do not have a plan to run a business outside music. Maybe I will cooperate with my friends to run artist management, not as an agent myself but as an entertainment agency. Planning paling ya berbau bisnis tapi ya tetep di wilayah musik sih mas, aku
Differently, Irwan, an indie musician, preferred to diversify his music products in different fields of creative industries, as explained during interview in his boarding house:

Personally, after I produced my own songs and my own music albums, I plan to make a music composition for a movie or maybe for a theatrical performance. Honestly, I prefer to arrange a music composition for a movie, it can be a challenge for me. *Kalau saya pribadi sih setelah bikin lagu, bikin album, saya ingin bisa menyusun lagu untuk sebuah film atau teater mungkin. Tapi saya pengen lebih ke film sih itu menjadi semacam tantangan buat saya sendiri* (Interview Irwan 2014).

The strategy of starting a business was exemplified by Yusa, a married man with one daughter. He is an idealistic indie musician who still keeps productive by producing his own DIY music albums. He outlined his optimistic view and how to keep the balance between idealism and family life during a rehearsal break in a music studio in North Yogyakarta:

In the end I am working in the music business, but as a music illustrator for children’s soundtracks. I am also a sound engineer, doing mixing and mastering. It is a long story from the beginning until I decided to get married and found this job. In my recent past, I can say I’m quite lucky. I get a regular salary and it’s
pretty well-paid too. This is a logical decision; it is a matter of needs, monthly needs. For me the family is first. In the past we experienced a long distance relationship. Both of us worked and my daughter lived with her grandmother. Now I am concerned about the everyday needs of my daughter, my wife and myself, but I also want to keep producing my music works. *Pada akhirnya aku bekerja di musik tapi soundtrack anak-anak juga sebagai sound engineer, mixing dan mastering. Prosesnya alot juga, awal sampai menikah aku akhirnya bekerja tetap. Sampai ketemu pekerjaan sekarang, agak beruntung sih, dengan hasil tetap, dan gaji lumayan. Ini keputusan logis, soal need, monthly needs. Bagaimanapun family first lah, kita sempat LDR (Long Distance Relationship), aku kerja, dia kerja, anak ikut simbah. Kita harus ketemu. Aku memikirkan anak bojo makan, aku makan, dan aku bisa berkarya (Interview Yusa 2014).*

The aim of Antok, Imam and Irwan is to run a music business more or less like Yusa does. This shows their optimistic view that they will be able to convert their on-hand stock of capital in the future. It also represents their belief that they are able to create their own DIY biography (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Despite the risk and uncertainty of the future as projected by risk theorists (see Beck 1992; Beck and Willms 2004), *illusio* as a tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and as practical mastery of its rules (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p. 117) creates a bright light of hope in the future for social agents who participate in the process of struggle. In other words, young musicians need to create meaning and then invest in those socially constructed meanings to make life bearable and worthwhile (France and Threadgold 2016, p. 624).
10.4 The Role of Significant Others for Optimistic Hope

Three informants in this research highlight the important role of significant others related to their optimistic hope of the future. The three interview quotes below show the role of an older significant person as important. This is not only objectively related to familial kinship but also because of in-depth advice about how to view the future. Made, a multitalented musician, was interviewed in his parent’s house in Denpasar:

So I remembered one important advice from my grandfather. If you only want to paint then become a painter, if you only want to play guitar then become a guitarist. But if you want to be an artist, you have to be able to master everything.

Jadi yang aku inget dulu pesan kakekku itu cuma satu, kamu itu kalo mau menggambar ya jadi pelukis, kalo mau gitar ya jadi gitaris, tapi kalo mau seniman kudu bisa semua (Interview Made 2014).

Similarly, Budhi, an indie guitarist in Jakarta, explained about his father’s advice on a music career:

My hope is to stay in the music business until I die. My father gave me advice not to pursue a career outside music and entertainment. If I am not continuing to play music (in the future), I will build my own business like selling musical instruments or creating songs and selling them to others. Besides that, I could become a music producer or band manager. Harapan saya sih kalau bisa sampai kapan pun saya harus tetap di dunia musik. Ayah saya berpesan juga bahwa saya tidak boleh keluar dari lingkaran musik dan entertainment. Kalau saya sudah tidak bermain
In contrast to Made and Budhi, Imam received life advice about his future career as a musician from a person that he respected very much even though he was not part of Imam’s family,

The advice from Mr Tari is everything is a matter of hard work. Believe in your ultimate goal, never doubt and be active. You have to believe and go with the flow. It is also about luck. But I think he is correct, if there is a will there will be a way. And also principally, the idea that good people will meet good people.

These quotes express similar ideas to those reported in a study by Woodman (2011), who highlights the interaction between young people and significant others which shape their future hopes. The input is not only in the form of material support such as for middle class youth who take a slow track transition through higher education (Jones 2009) but in the form of strategic life advice. The young person in the era of late modernity is constructed as an individualised subject that keeps their future open and is always in the process of becoming (Leccardi 2006). However, the interview quotes above show that in-depth advice from important significant others can be an internal ‘life guide’ which consciously and unconsciously supports the perusal of illusio (Bourdieu 2000). It is very clear that for

...
these three young musicians, their long-term ultimate goal is in the realm of music. In other words, for them, the idea of a long-term biographical project is still valid in the era of late modernity\textsuperscript{16}.

10.5 Keeping a Career Balance

Different narratives of future hope were projected by Aad and Angga, from different class backgrounds. Aad comes from a middle-middle class family with strong habitus on the high value of education. Angga comes from a lower-middle class family with a strong working class culture, so achieving a regular income is important. Aad decided to move to Jakarta to pursue his music dreams and an academic career, while Angga preferred to stay in Yogyakarta developing his music career and searching for a permanent job. Their future hopes are explained below:

My hopes for the future are fully focused in two professions (musician and lecturer). I want to keep playing music without having to sacrifice my academic career and I want to be able to teach without having to sacrifice my music career. In my case, working as a lecturer will not be like a full time job, you know? You just teach several days in a week, so the rest of the time I can arrange my activity of playing music. *Harapannya ya total di 2 bidang jadi tetep bisa bermusik tanpa harus mengorbankan karir akademis dan begitu pula sebaliknya, di akademis tapi nggak mengorbankan musik. Kalau aku pribadi karena waktu mengajar itu nggak...* 

\textsuperscript{16} In the context of Indonesia, the role of significant others is important, especially the figure of an older male, for example the father. The father was constructed as he who ‘knows best’ in the hegemonic discourse of *Bapakism* which was reproduced in the New Order (Shiraishi 1997), and still continues to some extent even now.
penuh kan dari seminggu kan jadi aku masih bisa bagi waktu untuk main musik
(Interview Aad 2014).

Angga had a different plan:

I still want to play with Everyday band. However, my parents’ hopes and my
hopes have to align. So I hope I can work as a civil servant and still do gigs with
Everyday band in Yogyakarta. The second option is to move to Jakarta, become
a civil servant and keep playing music. I think being a successful musician is a
lifetime project - like still playing music when you are old. Aku masih ingin
ngeband dengan Everyday band, keinginan orang tua dan keinginanku harus
berjalan seiringan. Idealnya ya di Jogja, jadi PNS (Pegawai Negeri Sipil) dan
masih ngeband dengan Everyday band. Kalo gak ya ke Jakarta, PNS (Pegawai
Negeri Sipil) dan bisa ngeband. Kalo sukses dalam musik, itu ya kalo masih bisa
bermusik sampai tua (Interview Angga 2013).

For Aad, obligation to support his parents is not the main issue in everyday life because
the family is well off. However, his future hope shows his reflexive ability in realizing
that eventually his parents will no longer be able to support him. So in order to keep the
balance between playing music and meeting needs in everyday life, he has opted for a
dual career, with academic teaching to guarantee a regular income. Aad’s specific
narrative of a DIY biography clearly represents the experience of youth transition in late
modernity when social class positions are no longer clearly defined poles, but overlap and
fuse in new ways, and where insecurity prevails at nearly all positions within society
(Beck 2000, p. 3-4).
In the case of Angga, he has been able to achieve a high profile in the local music scene as well as obtain a degree from one of prestigious universities in Indonesia, despite coming from a lower-middle class background. It may be that difficult experiences in the past had made him develop various forms of strategic reflexive capacity and transform them into success. However, this does not mean Angga is free from structural obstacles such as the lowered chance of getting a job in the current neo-liberal regime in Indonesia, even though he has a degree. Moreover, he still has idealistic expectations from the family (see Nilan 2008; 2011). As he approaches adulthood, his future view is shaped by his family’s position in wider society, which is why he is hoping that he can obtain a job as a civil servant and still play music in the future. He has to feed and clothe not only himself but his mother and younger sisters, even before he plans for marriage in the future. For Angga, a job as a civil servant will be a strategic option in order to keep the balance between his family’s economic needs and his view of playing music as a lifetime project. Although life seems very difficult, he remains optimistic about the future.

10.6 Living in the Present but Remaining Optimistic

A different narrative of future hope was projected by Ria, a female vocalist from a middle class background. Her view of the future hope exemplifies the first type of hope - vague but realistic - proposed by Devadason (2008) in a typology based on comparison between youth transitions in Sweden and England. Those who hold vague but realistic hopes are:

Those who are satisfied with their situation in life so far and expect to continue in the same direction. This group tend to have achieved certain landmarks in their employment. Work-life balance is central to many of these accounts (p. 1135).
During an interview in North Yogyakarta, Ria explained that she was satisfied with her existing everyday life and music career:

Simple, chill out. I am very relaxed now. Sometime I think like, you know? Although you are rich but you do not feel happy, maybe a broken home family and in an unhappy relationship with your partner. For me, it does not show that you are a successful person. The most important thing is that you feel comfortable and happy, that’s all. I do not need any prestige but I need comfortable conditions. So I have to maintain those conditions. In terms of my music career, it means that I have to keep productive on making music because for me, to be successful means that people enjoy my musical works. Also I have to keep honest on how I create my musical works. That’s me. Simpel, selo, aku santai banget kok. Kadang apa ya, kalo duit banyak mau dibilang sukses kalo hatinya gak tenang. Keluarganya berantakan, pasangan hidup gak bahagia, gak sukses menurutku. Yang penting kamu nyaman kamu bahagia, udah itu aja. Tapi aku nggak butuh prestise aku butuh nyaman. ya mempertahankan kenyamanan itu, kalo dari musik ya berkarya terus karena aku hanya bisa sukses kalo orang menikmati karyaku. berkarya dengan jujur, ya aku ya kayak gini ini (Interview Ria 2014).

Ria is at a high point in her music career in Yogyakarta not only with her band but also in her solo career as a vocalist. This is the reason why her narrative represents the vague but realistic type (Devadason 2008). She prefers to maintain a work-life balance.

At the end of the interview, the researcher asked what would happen if she experienced career decline in the future. Ria replied:
There must be a way in the future in my opinion. For example, if my career as a musician is in decline, maybe I can start to sell food, you know? I can cook! Or maybe open a food catering business. There are many ways I think. Simple, easy, I’ll figure it out later. I will do a job that I can do. I do not enjoy working in an office you know? I prefer to interact with people, hangout. Maybe I can be a Master of Ceremonies (MC). Once again, I am sure there will be a way. If it is not suitable, there must be another way that can be arranged for me. I’ll find that way.


From the interview quotes above, there is an impression that Ria only wants to live in the present. She does not want to think about the future and does not have specific plans for the future. However, this does not necessarily mean that Ria can be categorized as a ‘deferrment’ type of young person (see Brannen and Nilsen 2002), a type which has emerged because of uncertainty conditions:

These young women live very much in the present and orientate themselves to their present status as young people and toward the extended present opportunities
provided for being young. In so far as they take a longer term view, they make assumptions about adulthood according to the old order which are based upon an unquestioning acceptance that it will resemble their parents’ lives (Brannen and Nilsen 2002, p. 529).

Rather, Ria is reflexively aware of risk which might be manifested in a career decline. However, she believes that she will be able to solve the problem in the future. In terms of her past experiences, Ria never got her bachelor degree and never obtained formal training in music but she certainly was reflexive (Sweetman 2003; Threadgold and Nilan 2009), able to develop and maintain strategic social capital as well as able to activate multiple schemas of dispositions in many different fields (Lahire 2003). This may explain why she remains optimistic about the future.

10.7 Life is Short and it is Too Late to Give Up: Keep Struggling!

To reflect theoretically, it can be argued that once the young musician enters the field of music, learns/re-learns the feel of the game, and is committed to reflexively invest time and resources, then there is no other choice than to just keep struggling to achieve upward mobility and maintain a legitimate position in that field. Historically, most of the informants had already entered the game as teenagers. Some even received and continuously internalized pre-condition values of the game since early childhood. This was the case for the family habitus effect on young musicians from families with a musical background. In other situations, some young musicians reflexively developed a musically-oriented habitus from institutions such as university or the local music community. They developed this further through professional/amateur gigs in many different music fields. In this study, none of the informants had decided to give up the
struggle although they were reflexively aware that the game is full of precariously and risk in the future. All the narratives of future hope above reflect the deep commitment of young musicians to continue to struggle in the music field no matter what kind of obstacles that they have to deal with.

In Bourdieusian terminology, the young musician’s commitment to struggle in the music field can be described as a process of taking part in the *illusio*. This means taking seriously the stakes which arise from the logic of the game itself (Bourdieu 2000; p. 11). However, it can be noted that there was different timing to make a commitment to take part in the *illusio* of the music field. This varied among the young musicians. This is the critical point of the contribution of this thesis to bridging the gap between youth transitions research and youth culture research (Woodman and Bennett 2015). As young musicians, they have to negotiate actively between the music field as an arena of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993), and simultaneously, various fields of everyday life related to the domains of youth transition (Furlong and Cartmel 2007). This claim recognises the complex elements of negotiation that are relevant to the context of youth transition in the Global South/Periphery (see Connell 2007; Nilan 2011). Three elements of negotiation in youth transitions can be added, based on the structural and cultural context of Indonesia. Firstly, there is the importance of traditional values of family and society. Secondly, there is the absence of a welfare system. Thirdly, there has been a rapid and massive infiltration of neoliberal discourse in many aspects of everyday life for young people. Those are some explanatory factors as to why the timing to take part in the *illusio* varied among young musicians.

The optimistic view of the future among young musicians can be traced back to the trajectory of their processes of struggle in various music fields in various places. In critical moments (Thomson et al 2002) of their journey, reflexive habitus as a form of
cultural capital (Sweetman 2003; Threadgold and Nilan 2009) and durable and strategic social capital helped the development of their recognition of *illusio* and strengthened their deep commitment to the game. Once the young musicians were able to adjust and adapt they could step into a higher position in the field of cultural production. The ‘dose’ of game challenge was increased at each stage as their possession of valuable capitals was both objectively and symbolically embodied. They obtained valuable interest from their investments both in objective form as well as symbolic form. They worked successfully within the *doxa* from the field of music cultural production. Thus the optimistic narratives of young musicians above not only represent their long term deep commitment to the game, but also reflects their reflexive trajectory of being able to succeed in many different music fields in the past. Mobility has played an important part in this success. They are optimistic that they will be able to prevent and solve future risks (Beck 1992). It is acknowledged that capitals (economic, cultural and social) are unequally distributed not only in the music field internally, but between class backgrounds at a national level and also at the macro level as an impact of global inequalities. However, one should not underestimate the reflexive capacity of young Indonesian musicians as creative actors to activate multiple schemas of disposition in many different fields. They have been shown to develop strategic social capital and accumulate other valuable forms of capital to achieve upward mobility not only in local and national scenes but also in international scenes.

10.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, aspects of time, uncertainty and precariousness in risk society (Beck 1992), the individualization thesis (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), as well as theory of practice from Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) have been combined to explain
and understand narratives of young musicians’ hopes for the future. These narratives show that the future orientation of young musicians is heterogeneous rather than homogeneous. They remain optimistic about the future. This view does not mean that they have a total freedom to choose or decide their hopes in a neutral dimension. Rather, they are reflexively aware of their ontological insecurity, the possible limited time of their profession as musician, as well as the multilayered structural obstacles and cultural burdens that surround them. Their future hopes reflect the class-based strategic action of anticipation of unpredictable consequences in risk society. They anticipate future progress in two different fields; one related directly to music and one not directly related, including in non-music endeavours. Optimistically keeping open the pathway as musicians represents their belief that music can be a source of meaning (Bourdieu 2000) throughout their lives in the past, present and future. It also shows the phenomenon of individualization in their creation of a DIY biography against the dominant discourse of conventional youth as the economic hope of the Indonesian nation. Their reflexive capacity implicitly shapes their optimistic view of the future. The following chapter outlines the conclusion of the thesis.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

Conclusion

11.1 Project Findings

This thesis has developed a number of findings that engage the two objectives of the thesis:

1) To discover how young creative musicians seek and create jobs in three locations in Indonesia
2) To investigate how young creative musicians view the future.

Taking the first objective above, the first finding from the data is the importance of a young musician’s class background for seeking and creating jobs.

11.1.1 Class Background as a Tool for Transmission of Habitus and Capital

The data analysis in chapter five demonstrated the importance of a young musician’s class background for transmission of habitus and various forms of capital. Objectively, the family unit is the manifestation of institution for the transmission’s process. In chapter five, the young musicians’ class backgrounds were categorized into three ideal types: lower-middle, middle-middle and upper-middle. The categorization was built from propositions by Gerke (2000) which were based on the conditions of post-reformation in Indonesia. The categorizations fill in the ‘missing gap’ in previous studies by Martin-Iverson (2011) and Luvaas (2009) who did not give specific explanation of possession of capitals among young musicians as social agents in multiple and
hierarchical fields of struggle. The analysis in chapter five highlights the importance of possessing pre-existing capitals in the family unit as a source for intra-generational transmission of valuable forms of capital. This mechanism engages two possibilities for young musicians: as a strategy to facilitate upward class mobility, and as a part of the strategy to maintain reproduction of class privilege. The finding confirms Wacquant’s (2014) argument that the family is a space for transmission of primary habitus. It means the primary habitus and ‘on hand’ stock of capital which is transmitted to young musicians have to be tested, re-constructed, re-activated and re-developed in different fields such as university, music community and various music fields in different locations when they grow up and deal with transition to adulthood.

An important manifestation of the family unit’s capital transmission is through investment in cultural capital. Specifically, it consists of institutionalized, embodied and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). It is crucial to recognise the importance of possession of economic capital among the family unit given its universal currency in multiple and hierarchical fields of struggle. The economic capital of the family unit is converted by investing in cultural capital. Empirically, as a strategy to prepare their successors to be able to struggle in the field and to prevent future risk, not only in a music field but also in everyday life, the act of capital conversion by parents includes investment. They first invest in formal general education from primary to tertiary levels (institutionalized cultural capital), then musical instruments (objectified cultural capital) and subsequently in music courses/non-formal music education (embodied cultural capital). Contextually, the younger generation of Indonesians is relatively better educated compared to their predecessors. As a general trend, post-compulsory education is considered an important source of capital for the next generation to achieve a better future and to maintain class distinction. However, it has to be considered that as a welfare system
never existed in Indonesia, the operation of the state as an apparatus of direct class production and reproduction is minimal. Reproduction depends on the volume of multiple forms of capital possessed by each family unit. This is a crucial point of reality in a postcolonial country like Indonesia with no welfare system, which captures why valuable forms of capitals are not equally shared across the class spectrum. In other words, a principle of ‘survival of the fittest’ is taken for granted as *doxa* in various fields of struggle. Yet this does not mean that young musicians from middle class backgrounds are safe in the future. Based on the findings, reflexively, young musicians and their families are aware that education is not the only form of valuable capital to prevent future risk (Beck 1992). To be able to struggle in multiple and hierarchical fields and to anticipate future risk, education as a form of cultural capital has to be combined with other forms of valuable capital. In terms of the first objective above, the second finding is that education opens up the music field for seeking and creating jobs, but does not determine it.

11.1.2 The Importance of Education as an Opening Tool

Education is not a firm guarantee of future success either in music fields or in transition to adulthood. Education is only an instrument, a form of capital - among others - and a space to embody secondary habitus (Wacquant 2014). Longevity of transition struggle for young musicians implicates the variable availability as well as flexibility of capital reconstruction and translation into many different rules of the game in the fields. In other words, it depends on the reflexive capacity of young musicians to activate multiple dispositions (Lahire 2003) in order to be able to ‘surf’ in the conditions of late modernity which are characterized by constant unpredictable changes. Education provides the foundation for this struggle.
Chapter six highlighted the important role of formal music education as a field where young musicians accumulate valuable capitals under conditions of a hegemonic rule of the game which is continuously reproduced both objectively and subjectively by the dominant social agents. Formal music education represents the reproduction of a rigorous and structured pedagogical mode of knowledge production; reinforced epistemologically, ontologically and practically. This mode of production serves as a mechanism of distinction for formal music education itself as well as for social agents who successfully obtain a formalized symbolic legitimation and recognition from the institution. The privileged position of the qualification in society is legitimized by the state and the music industry indirectly. It certainly gives benefits for young musicians to develop their music careers. The symbiotic mutualism between state, industry and young musicians is manifested through mutual capital conversions; to put it simply, their transactions serve each other’s interests to maintain class position and to achieve upward class mobility, just as in any other field.

Although symbolic legitimation and recognition from formal education is one of important capitals for young musicians, it has to be noted that they grow up and build their music careers in the context of rapid social changes and operationalization of neoliberal governmentality (Kelly 2006). As an impact of the combination of those external factors as well as the reproduction of internal rules of the game in various music fields, cultural capital obtained from formal education often loses its conversion values. This occurs if young musicians are not able to combine it with other forms of capital, especially embodied cultural capital (reflexive capacity and mastering musical instruments) and durable and strategic social capital. That is why it is argued that education is only an ‘opening tool’. In the era of risk society, education is not a real guarantee. Young musicians need to accumulate other valuable forms of capital from
different fields including music communities. Referring back to the first project objective above, a further key finding from the data is the importance of informal learning and social networking in local music communities.

11.1.3 Music Communities as a Source of Shared-Autodidact Capital

As explained in chapter six, sources of valuable capital are not only from formal education. Reflexively, young musicians were very much aware of the importance of music communities. By joining music communities, being flexible and actively applying modes of reflexive habitus (Sweetman 2003) they get more opportunities to accumulate valuable forms of capital relevant to struggle in multiple and hierarchical fields of music. The most ideal mode of capital accumulation is a combination (from formal education and music communities). They also need to have committed time investment to grasp the embodiment process of cultural capital not only bodily but also mentally and emotionally (Wacquant 2004; 2014). Since they are deeply committed to, and participate in, a career which is ontologically insecure, being able to combine and re-translate various forms of capital from both the educational institution and the music community is one of the most realistic and smart strategies to anticipate future risk. The research findings confirm that this particular form of reflexivity is deeply individualized and is activated creatively in the process of negotiation within the realm of music communities as a mixture of subculture and post-subculture characteristics (Bennett 1999; Blackman 2005). This quality of mixture characteristic has been indicated throughout the empirical data analysis in this thesis. It is concluded that music communities allow two realms of expression in youth culture. On the one hand they offer a space for creative resistance to the status quo. On the other hand, they operate as a learning space in which young musicians can develop
into fluid, flexible, yet individualized performers suitable for the musical field of struggle in the era of late modernity.

In contrast to formal music education which continuously reproduces the rigorous and structured pedagogical mode of knowledge production, in music communities through their self-reproduced *doxa* (Bourdieu 1998), young musicians are unconsciously trained both individually and collectively in how to activate and re-construct cultural capital flexibly in a ‘real’ condition of the music field. Through the mechanism of apprenticeship which is manifested in public jam sessions, and through actual gigs including informal backstage mechanisms of constant and often ‘extreme’ deconstruction of the rigorous approach to playing music, young musicians learned how to adjust and adapt to multiple pressures and the gravity of the field of struggle. They also learn how to take a step forward to break from their taken-for-granted ‘comfort zone’, mentally, bodily and emotionally. Besides that, the self-reproduced *doxa* of music communities not only facilitates young musicians to develop individually but also provides a space to learn how to struggle together and to share many valuable forms of capital with their fellow young musicians. In other words, objectively, music communities in the broader scope of the field of struggle position themselves in a production space of the specific profession. Far from being exclusive, music communities serve their role as a ‘stepping stone’ and strategic ‘bridge’ for young musicians to be able to struggle successfully in higher levels of music fields.

An important contribution of the music community for young musicians is to encourage inclusive and relative flexibility in gathering multiple and plural nodes of social capital. This facilitates the acquisition of cultural capital shared by members. This inclusive character of the music community has an impact in two ways for young musicians. Firstly, it optimizes their chances to accumulate a higher volume of social
capital including the potentiality of strategic elements. Secondly, it maintains the availability of cultural capital updates based on the constant rapidly changing rules of the game in multiple and hierarchical music fields. It was found that not only do music communities show an inclusive character towards other fields of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993), but internally, their self-reproduced doxa facilitates the enhancement of durable solidarity among young musicians. In other words, music communities become a space for production of shared emotions among their members. This does not happen in terms of ‘narrow minded’, casual relations based on the principle of rational exchange or deterministic action of mutual capital conversion as a manifestation of ‘homo economicus’. It is deeper than that. Strategic social capital as a form of solidarity and shared emotions among young musicians’ manifests in the durability of still being on each other’s side through pain and joy (loyalty) not only in the past but also in shared commitments in the present and in the future. This form of durable and strategic social capital plays a vital role when young musicians decide to conduct temporary and/or permanent mobility to different locations to pursue their music careers. In relation to the first project objective above, another important finding from the data is the importance of mobility itself for seeking and creating jobs.

11.1.4 Mobility as a Strategy to Achieve a More Successful Music Career

As explored in chapters eight and nine, permanent and temporary mobility are important strategies for young musicians to achieve productive music careers and to develop successful transition to adulthood. As demonstrated in those chapters, there are complexities and multilayers of structural and cultural elements to be negotiated in their decisions to move between locations. Their strategies to deal with the anticipation of unpredictable risk demonstrate that they are reflexively aware of inequalities which
objectively exist related to the distribution of capital, not only economic capital but also
cultural and social capital in various music fields in other locations. Those music fields
as a space of mobility destination exist at both a national and international level. However,
young musicians are also reflexively aware of the ‘boomerang effect’ of personal
decision-making as a manifestation of individualization (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim
2002). Mobility as an act of risk anticipation can in itself be a source of risk for them if
they are not ready and do not possess a high volume of strategic capital. This represents
the internal logic of risk society where responsibility has been individualized while the
production of risk has been globalized (Threadgold 2011).

The ambivalence and contradiction of mobility as a strategy to achieve better
music careers is also related to cultural and transitional processes of young musicians as
an exemplar of reality in the Global South. Young musicians as a representation of the
post-reformation generation in Indonesia can be described as ontologically ‘in the middle’
or ‘in between’ (Robinson 2015). During the critical time of transition to adulthood, they
are expected by the family - as a representation of objective control from society and
based on their own personal expectation driven by libido and will to power - to be a
successful person (menjadi orang sukses). The criteria for achieving this is a mixture
between a high volume of material gain (money) and status/prestige. Yet culturally,
Indonesian youth are not fully individualized, in other words connections with the family
remain strong (Parker and Nilan 2013). Some families even expect their offspring not
only to become a successful person but also to live close to them spatially. Family
expectations may become contributing factors to negotiate whether young musicians will
seek permanent mobility to achieve better careers or not.

In seeking to achieve better music careers, various identified risks and benefits of
mobility were individually and collectively identified. Some young musicians had been
working as semi/professional musicians during their university study. This trajectory means that they had ‘tested the water’ of music fields, even practising temporary mobility to different cities. During that time, young musicians actively learned how to activate and re-activate multiple dispositions based on each rule of the game of music fields. They also ‘knitted’ together the potential and strategic network capital (Urry 2007) in various cities they visited. This ‘knitting’ process of network capital had to be maintained durably both through face-to-face interactions and also online. As shown in this thesis, availability of an ‘on hand’ stock of strategic network capital and social capital serves as a kind of ‘radar’ to show the map of a new music field. It operates as a form of social safety net to prevent unpredictable future risk as well as a short cut to achieve upward career mobility. However, due to the ontological insecurity of the music business, strategic network capital has to be combined with other forms of capital in order to maintain sustainability of music careers. Relevant to the first project objective above, a related finding from the data is the importance of reflexivity and risk anticipation in new fields of struggle as they seek and create jobs.

11.1.5 Reflexivity and Risk Anticipation in New Fields of Struggle

This thesis demonstrates the important role of reflexivity in the context of late modernity, which is characterized by constant rapid social changes. The finding resonates theoretically with previous studies, notably Sweetman (2003) on reflexive habitus and Threadgold and Nilan (2009) on reflexivity as a form of embodied cultural capital. However, this thesis takes the concept further and contextualizes it in the case of DIY young musicians in Indonesia. As shown through narratives of young musicians who moved to Jakarta and Bali, the crucial contribution of reflexivity as a form of embodied cultural capital lies in its function to adapt and adjust to new and often rapidly changing
‘rules of the game’ in multiple and hierarchical music fields in other locations. This reflexive capacity of young musicians is highly influenced by the plurality of their past experiences and the accumulation of individual ability to solve and deal with the social gravity (France and Threadgold 2016) of their circumstances, which reflect the internal logic of hierarchical fields of struggle. As a result, this embodied process not only bodily but also mentally and emotionally creates the fluid and flexible character of reflexivity as a form of cultural capital which suits the context of social Darwinism in Indonesia. ‘Survival of the fittest’ in the case of Indonesian young musicians can be translated as follows: the individual who is most fluid and flexible could well win the game! The multiple fields and multiple dimensions of the ‘game’ may be conceptualized as a nested system of material, physical, cultural and social process. These processes constitute the practice and of young people in their contexts. They are historically specific and subject to neoliberal forces (Bottrell and France 2015, p. 111).

In particular, risk in the context of the new music field in Jakarta is manifested in a mixture of socio-economic obstacles and massive commodification as a result of the hegemonic discourse of profit accumulation endorsed by the national music industry. This demands a certain kind of reflexive capacity to survive. On the other hand, in Bali, the structural and cultural manifestation of risk can operate in the form of ‘multiple layers of racism’ as an impact of global inequalities and commodification based on rapid development of the tourism industry. In both sites of mobility, the narratives of young musicians show the importance of reflexivity as a form of embodied cultural capital to anticipate and deal with multilayers of structural and cultural obstacles. Metaphorically, rather than being drawn to the bottom of the ocean when they move, young musicians employ reflexivity to ‘surf’ on top of the waves and safely land a paying job. In other words, they accept as a given that there will be rapid changes of context, and that they
need to respond to them actively (Beck, Bonns and Lau 2003, p. 26). Furthermore, a high level of reflexivity among young musicians allows them to convert forms of potentially ‘predatory’ social capital as a result of unequal power relations into ‘strategic’ social capital. This is important for survival of the fittest as a mode of competition; in other words, it is safer to create more friends rather than to create more enemies if they want to maintain the sustainability of music careers.

11.1.6 Music as a Way of Life and Optimistic View of the Future

We now turn to findings that engage the second objective of the thesis: To investigate how young creative musicians view the future. Many narratives of young musicians confirmed that they love their job and more than that, music is their way of life. They live for music and make a living from music. This is not simply a matter of identity or pressure to provide rice on the table per se. Their endurance and longevity of struggle shows that they ‘cannot live’ without music. In Bourdieusian terminology, they are absorbed into illusio (Bourdieu 2000) and the social gravity of the music fields (France and Threadgold 2016) in which they employ their time. Since they have long been living this way, it makes sense that they view their future optimistically. In the past, they had succeeded in their struggles against multilayers of risk when they had less stock of valuable capitals. Now, most of the young musicians are relatively in a better position in the music field, so they stay optimistic because it is important for their mind, body and soul (Wacquant 2004). To stay optimistic is an important form of cultural capital to construct an individual disposition as a winner in fields which are characterized by ‘survival of the fittest’ as the main rule of the game. Finally, although many of the young musicians successfully made a career for themselves despite their lower socio-economic
status, many of the stories give evidence that an advantageous class position matters very much in starting a young musician on the career ladder.

11.2 Broader Findings

We turn now to broader findings from the study that pertain to notions of youth transition, youth culture and Bourdieusian theorising. This thesis highlights three important findings related to youth studies. First, bridging the gap between youth transition and youth culture. Second, utilization of the theory of practice as a tool of empirical investigation of young musicians’ struggle. Third, mobility as a strategy to develop transition to adulthood. Details of these broader findings are presented below.

This thesis has demonstrated the interlinkages between the field of cultural production (music) and different aspects of youth transitions (family, school and work) in the context of rapid social changes. In that sense, the thesis represents a contribution to the agenda of bridging the gap between youth transitions and youth culture research (Furlong, Woodman and Wyn 2011; Woodman and Bennett 2015). From the young Indonesian musician’s point of view, those two domains are not separated rigorously as they are in western scholarly discourse. In reality they often overlap. In other words, the young Indonesian musician as a subject of this study is ontologically embracing both positions. He/she is both a representation of the ‘spectacular’ (Hodkinson 2012) – a music performer, and an ordinary young person (Woodman 2013). The young musicians here simultaneously engage, struggle and negotiate with different rules of the game and inner mechanisms of social gravity as a consequence of becoming a professional musician and becoming an adult at the same time. Furthermore, this thesis works towards unravelling the complexity of youth transitions in late modernity. The stories of the young musicians illustrate the many challenges they face in moving towards adulthood in a context of rapid
social change (see Woodman and Wyn 2015) particularly as the neoliberal forces intensify (France and Roberts 2015; Bottrell and France 2015). Not only are their lives and careers fractured and fragmented, but so too are the opportunities that arise through different forms of mobility. Their creative resilience is put to the test in navigating a viable pathway through the maze of possible options and blocked possibilities.

Through the application of Bourdieu’s theory as the primary theoretical source, this thesis contributes to the utilization of Bourdieu’s theory of practice as a tool to understand the process of struggle among young musicians in multiple and hierarchical fields. By eclectically combining the theory of practice (Bourdieu) with the social generation perspective (Mannheim 1952) and the risk society/individualization thesis (Beck 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), the analysis in this thesis demonstrates the process of struggle among young musicians as a representation of the post-reformation generation in Indonesia. They anticipate multiple layers of future risk as consequences of late modernity. The social generation perspective and the risk society/individualization thesis tend to focus on a macro level. To complement that, the findings of this thesis show that components of the theory of practice such as field of struggle, habitus, capitals and doxa are useful tools of empirical investigation to capture action in the various domains where young musicians continuously implement their creative strategies as social agents. This also includes their creative strategies to survive risk as a result of global inequalities. At the theoretical level, it represents compatibility between the theoretical paradigms of Mannheim, Bourdieu and Beck in order to understand the impact of social changes and global inequalities on the phenomenon of youth transition. Moreover, the findings of this thesis contributes to ongoing debates about the applicability of sociological theory to the area of non-western youth studies. These debates centre around: risk society and the individualization thesis from Beck.
(1992; see also Furlong and Cartmel 2007; Woodman 2009; Woodman and Wyn 2015),
the problem of the generations from Mannheim (1952; see also Wyn and Woodman 2006;
Andres and Wyn 2010) and the theory of practice from Bourdieu (1998; see also
Threadgold and Nilan 2009; Threadgold 2011; Bottrell and France 2015). The thesis
achieves congetly in its contextualization of youth transition experiences among young
musicians from Indonesia, a country in the Global South. In other words, context matters.

In terms of forms of capital, a broader finding of this thesis is that mobility as a
form of network capital (Urry 2007) is a crucial strategy for young musicians to develop
their transition to adulthood. As shown through their many narratives, it opens
unpredictable opportunities for them to achieve upward career mobility not only
nationally but sometimes also internationally. As a result, mobility is strategic as an
instrument to boost their volume of other capitals including economic capital, social
capital and reflexivity as a form of cultural capital (Threadgold and Nilan 2009). Those
forms of capital can be flexibly converted between the domain of music fields and the
domains of everyday life. In the era of globalization in Indonesia, the waves of youth
mobility predictably will increase not only locally but also nationally and transnationally.
However, it is an objective reality that global inequality still exists and continuously
reproduces. To counter that, young musicians actively develop network capital (Urry
2007) as a valuable resource for expanding their national and international music careers.

11.3 Limitations of the Study

In general, in-depth interviews and embedded participant observation as tools
were successful to gather data from fieldwork in three different locations in Indonesia.
However, due to the limited timeframe for fieldwork and writing-up, the analysis did not
explore deeply the historical aspects and dynamic nature of local music fields in Jakarta
and Bali. This is a limitation of the thesis because those aspects are actually very important to map the shift of rules of the game in specific music fields on a micro scale as well as to understand inter-generational creative strategies of social agents. In Foucauldian terms (1980), exploration of the local history and dynamic nature of power contestations can trace genealogically how the phenomenon of decentring knowledge/power operates. Another limitation is that the analysis in this thesis does not emphasise the gender aspect and how that affected young musicians’ strategies in making their careers and imagining their future lives.

An obvious limitation of this study is its lack of analysis of the ‘inside’ of musical practice and events. Maybe this is not a task for a sociologist but would be more suitable for a musicologist. However, as the student researcher himself is a musician and sometimes played music with the informants, during the fieldwork he sensed that reflexivity as a form of cultural capital is also manifested in technical, improvisational and performativity aspects of playing music. Reflexivity is present in the young musicians’ flexibility to modify the ‘level’ of sophistication based on various ‘cultural tastes’ of the audiences. This form of reflexivity is not only useful for session players who play regularly in venues but also for young musicians who produce DIY-music albums or sign record deals with major music companies. More in-depth research methods including utilization of audio and audiovisual archives as well as skills of directly analysing music would be needed to explore this properly.

Another obvious limitation of this study is related to theoretical perspectives. The student researcher is aware of the southern perspectives approach proposed by Connell (2007) and epistemologies of the South (Santos 2014). However, that kind of approach was not used to analyse data in this thesis even though the young musicians in Indonesia live in the Global South. When it comes to sociology of knowledge, reflexively, this thesis
perhaps implicitly reproduces forms of knowledge which strengthen the universalization of social theory from the metropole and the tendency of ‘extraversion’ (Connell 2007) in its analysis. However, global inequalities of knowledge production were acknowledged by the student researcher through contextualizing selected theoretical perspectives in the socio-cultural and historical context of Indonesia; and by prioritizing multiple voices of young creative musicians as social agents who struggle everyday in ‘real life’ in Indonesia. This is an important acknowledgement to keep the democratization of social science happening.

11.4 Implications for Further Research

The findings of this thesis uncover a wide scope of implications for further research. However, the student researcher will focus on three ideas. Firstly, there is a need to investigate the emotional aspects of reflexivity among young musicians. Secondly, there is a need to do research specifically on the international mobility of young musicians and their various strategies to achieve better music careers. Thirdly, as the young musicians in this research proclaim, music is a way of life. There is a need to follow them in the framework of longitudinal studies and to investigate deeply how they survive playing music in late adulthood and old age.

11.4.1 Emotional Aspects of Reflexivity

An important project finding was the importance of reflexivity as a form of cultural capital as well as durable and strategic social capital for young musicians to be able achieve upward career mobility and develop successful transition to adulthood. There is an emotional aspect to this ‘becoming’ which invites more research. Emotions are embedded in the development process of individual reflexive capacity and the
‘durability’ of social capital. In terms of reflexive capacity, as rapid changes of music fields are part of everyday life experiences and young musicians have to able to adjust to the new rule of the game every time, being able to maintain stable emotions is a must. This is not only in a scope of multiple fields of the game in local scenes, but also when they move to different cities and different countries and have to deal with very different rules of the game, including as a result of global inequalities.

In terms of maintaining durability of social capital, in their narratives there are elements of emotion in their interactions both on the stage and in daily life. Indeed, these emotions especially manifested objectively in the form of loyalty forged through shared pain and joy. It was the cultural ‘glue’ to maintain durability of social capital. In reality, as the process of struggle in music fields is very competitive, there are elements of ‘love’ and ‘hate’, ‘jealousy’ and ‘respect’ and there is never a constant and steady relationship among young musicians. However, this dynamic of emotions is actually functional for the durability of their long-term interactions, in the following sense:

The ability to interpret one’s own and others’ emotions successfully is not about recognizing authentic versus managed emotions but being able to engage in meaningful ways with the emotional ups and downs of living within a complex and uncertain world (Holmes 2010, p. 149).

In other words, handling emotions is important for maintaining the durability of social capital and for remaining flexible. Thus emotional aspects of reflexivity and durable social capital represent a need for further research to be undertaken. Previous studies on emotionalization of reflexivity (Holmes 2010), relations between class inequalities and
emotions (Skeggs 2004; Reay 2005) and emotional labour in a globalized labour market (Zhao 2002) could be an entry point for further studies on Indonesian young musicians.

11.4.2 International Mobility and Young Musicians’ Strategies

The findings of this thesis highlight the importance of mobility as a strategy to develop a successful career and a successful transition to adulthood. However, this thesis did not cover strategies of young Indonesian musicians who move permanently or temporarily to different countries. As international mobility predictably will become a new trend in the future, further research needs to be taken in order to understand their reflexive strategies to adjust and adapt not only in different music fields but also in different cultures. In other words, in Bourdieusian terminology, we need to know how these young people creatively deal with the ‘hysteresis’ effect (Bourdieu 1998). Practically, there are some research questions that can be proposed for further study. Using a Bourdieusian approach it would be interesting to investigate how young musicians reflexively adjust and re-translate their ‘on hand’ stock of capitals and ‘taken for granted habitus’ to the new rule of the game in the country of destination. Furthermore, considering global inequalities (Beck 2000) and normalization of racialized habitus (Cui 2015) in some countries, we need to know how these young musicians negotiate their ‘differences’ and reflexively re-modify their ‘differences’ so they are not obstacles for their future careers. It would be interesting to know which strategies they choose. They could assimilate with the dominant culture and accumulate a more valuable stock of capitals in order to break the ‘colour boundary’. Or they could emphasise their identity as ‘the other’, to be converted as a form of ‘strategic’ cultural capital and commodified for negotiation with the dominant culture in the country of destination. Hypothetically, the theory of practice from Bourdieu (1998), the plural actor thesis (Lahire 2003) and the risk
society thesis from Beck (1992) would be suitable tools of analysis for this further research agenda.

11.4.3 Rock ‘n Roll ‘til Death: Becoming Post-Adulthood Professional Musicians

The findings of this thesis show that most informants will continue to be a professional musician and maintain a balance between music and everyday life. This is an important finding to be explored further in research on post-adulthood professional musicians. It would be interesting to know how these musicians maintain career sustainability and rapid social change whilst at the same time dealing with their own issues of getting older as well as hegemonic discourse related to ‘becoming’ post-adulthood musicians. This further research could take a similar direction to the study conducted by Bennett (2013) which focused on youth subculture participant who are becoming older. It could also cover a broader range of topics as suggested by Hodkinson (2016):

Such research places emphasis on the development of participation in “youth” groupings as individuals become older, alongside and in negotiation with a range of other facets of life, from different peer groups to housing and family arrangements, to education and career trajectories, and ageing bodies and identities (p. 641).

Alternatively, such a research project could continue the agenda of bridging the gap between transition and youth culture (Furlong, Woodman and Wyn 2011; Woodman and Bennett 2015) in becoming post-adulthood professional musicians in the Global South. It
might also be possible to conduct comparative research between experiences of musicians in Global North and Global South countries, and thereby cross cultures (Nilan 2011).

11.5 Implications for policy and practice

The findings of this thesis indicate that young Indonesian musicians are able to achieve productive music careers and develop a successful transition to adulthood with very minimum supports from the state. They creatively maintain the durability and sustainability of various forms of capital using their own hands, so as to speak. Being able to achieve better careers through re-translating stocks of capital is fully the responsibility of young musicians themselves. Often in reality state intervention has operated in the form of obstacles for young musicians in terms of limiting their creative freedom. Moreover, in terms of the weak rule of law implemented by the state, there are corrupt ‘behind the stage’ economic transactions which are very often exploitative for young musicians. In policy terms, it is probably better for the state to stay away from the field of cultural production. However, the state could make a contribution to the wellbeing of young creative agents in general by creating a welfare system policy which gives support for their education, health and old age. Moreover, the state could provide welfare support for the parents of young musicians, especially from lower-middle and middle-middle class backgrounds. These forms of policy would help young musicians to anticipate risk and prevent themselves from experiencing downward class mobility in the future.

The practical implication of this thesis is the need to consider the important role of ‘informal’ activities by young people as well as the crucial role of informal spaces including music communities to develop and support transition to adulthood. The informal spaces occupied by youth are often regarded as a waste of time and irrelevant for young people’s future careers. This is demonstrated through the reproduction of
everyday discourse by older generations like: ‘Concentrate on your school, study hard and you’ll be a successful person (menjadi orang sukses) in the future’. However, this thesis advocates a counter discourse such as: ‘Keep the balance between your study, practice and hanging out; and you’ll be a successful person in the future’. Valuable qualities of youth entrepreneurship can be developed in the informal spaces of DIY cultural industries.

Subjectively speaking, it is the student researcher’s hope that by explaining the processes of struggle of young creative musicians, this thesis will contribute to the construction of an alternative discourse on young people who choose music as a way of life. Despite struggle against structural and cultural forces including global inequalities, young creative musicians in this thesis are able to maintain successful transition to adulthood as well as achieve upward mobility and sustainability in music careers. This is a great achievement in a country where the principle of ‘survival of the fittest’ is at the heart of everyday life. It is hoped the narratives of young musicians in this thesis can be a good example for the younger generation in Indonesia to stay optimistic and dare to follow their ultimate dreams.
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### Appendix I
#### List of Informants

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Appendix II
Photos from Fieldwork

Midnight nongkrong.

Yogyakarta indie band performing at a private university.
Young musicians performing together in a rural setting during the annual jazz festival in Yogyakarta, November 2013.

Yogyakarta DIY metal band before a gig.
Classical music community jamming in a regular open air venue in Jakarta. This is a networking event for some young musicians.

Sunday jam session in a tourist café in Bali. Note the Western violin player.
High level jazz musicians performing at a music venue in Bali. Note the Western saxophone player.

DIY poster for an indie band gig in Yogyakarta. The venue is in a private music studio.
Selling DIY Albums during Gigs. The sales income does not generate profit. It covers the production costs.
Appendix III

Human Research Ethics Approval from the University of Newcastle

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Notification of Expedited Approval

To Chief Investigator or Project Supervisor:
Professor Pamela Nilan

Cc Co-investigators / Research Students:
Mr. Oki Rahadianto Sutopo

Re Protocol:
Making the transition to adulthood through entrepreneurial activities and mobility: Creative musicians in three cities in Indonesia

Date: 30-Aug-2013
Reference No: H-2013-0198
Date of Initial Approval: 29-Aug-2013

Thank you for your Response to Conditional Approval submission to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) seeking approval in relation to the above protocol.

Your submission was considered under Expedited review by the Chair/Deputy Chair.

I am pleased to advise that the decision on your submission is Approved effective 29-Aug-2013.

In approving this protocol, the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) is of the opinion that the project complies with the provisions contained in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007, and the requirements within this University relating to human research.

Approval will remain valid subject to the submission, and satisfactory assessment, of annual progress reports. If the approval of an External HREC has been "noted" the approval period is as determined by that HREC.
The full Committee will be asked to ratify this decision at its next scheduled meeting. A formal Certificate of Approval will be available upon request. Your approval number is H-2013-0198.

If the research requires the use of an Information Statement, ensure this number is inserted at the relevant point in the Complaints paragraph prior to distribution to potential participants. You may then proceed with the research.

Note

a. In accordance with the privacy measures outlined in the application please consider reminding participants at the start of the interview/focus group, not to identify by name anyone who is discussed.

b. Please forward a copy of the recruitment material to human-ethics@newcastle.edu.au after the documents are translated.

Conditions of Approval

This approval has been granted subject to you complying with the requirements for Monitoring of Progress, Reporting of Adverse Events, and Variations to the Approved Protocol as detailed below.

PLEASE NOTE:
In the case where the HREC has "noted" the approval of an External HREC, progress reports and reports of adverse events are to be submitted to the External HREC only. In the case of Variations to the approved protocol, or a Renewal of approval, you will apply to the External HREC for approval in the first instance and then Register that approval with the University's HREC.

- Monitoring of Progress

Other than above, the University is obliged to monitor the progress of research projects involving human participants to ensure that they are conducted according to the protocol as approved by the HREC. A progress report is required on an annual basis. Continuation of your HREC approval for this project is conditional upon receipt, and satisfactory assessment, of annual progress reports. You will be advised when a report is due.

- Reporting of Adverse Events

1. It is the responsibility of the person first named on this Approval Advice to report adverse events.

2. Adverse events, however minor, must be recorded by the investigator as observed by
the investigator or as volunteered by a participant in the research. Full details are to be documented, whether or not the investigator, or his/her deputies, consider the event to be related to the research substance or procedure.

3. Serious or unforeseen adverse events that occur during the research or within six (6) months of completion of the research, must be reported by the person first named on the Approval Advice to the (HREC) by way of the Adverse Event Report form (via RIMS at https://rims.newcastle.edu.au/login.asp) within 72 hours of the occurrence of the event or the investigator receiving advice of the event.

4. Serious adverse events are defined as:
   - Causing death, life threatening or serious disability.
   - Causing or prolonging hospitalisation.
   - Overdoses, cancers, congenital abnormalities, tissue damage, whether or not they are judged to be caused by the investigational agent or procedure.
   - Causing psycho-social and/or financial harm. This covers everything from perceived invasion of privacy, breach of confidentiality, or the diminution of social reputation, to the creation of psychological fears and trauma.
   - Any other event which might affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

5. Reports of adverse events must include:
   - Participant's study identification number;
   - date of birth;
   - date of entry into the study;
   - treatment arm (if applicable);
   - date of event;
   - details of event;
   - the investigator's opinion as to whether the event is related to the research procedures;

   and

   - action taken in response to the event.

6. Adverse events which do not fall within the definition of serious or unexpected, including those reported from other sites involved in the research, are to be reported in detail at the time of the annual progress report to the HREC.
• **Variations to approved protocol**

If you wish to change, or deviate from, the approved protocol, you will need to submit an *Application for Variation to Approved Human Research* (via RIMS at [https://rims.newcastle.edu.au/login.asp](https://rims.newcastle.edu.au/login.asp)). Variations may include, but are not limited to, changes or additions to investigators, study design, study population, number of participants, methods of recruitment, or participant information/consent documentation. **Variations must be approved by the (HREC) before they are implemented** except when Registering an approval of a variation from an external HREC which has been designated the lead HREC, in which case you may proceed as soon as you receive an acknowledgement of your Registration.

### Linkage of ethics approval to a new Grant

HREC approvals cannot be assigned to a new grant or award (ie those that were not identified on the application for ethics approval) without confirmation of the approval from the Human Research Ethics Officer on behalf of the HREC.

Best wishes for a successful project.

Professor Allyson Holbrook

Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

*For communications and enquiries:*

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Research Integrity Unit  
The Chancellery  
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